

THE PROSOPOGRAPHY OF
THE LATER ROMAN
EMPIRE

J. R. MARTINDALE

VOLUME III

A.D. 527-641

Volume IIIA

(Abandanes - 'Iyād ibn Ghann)



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UP

PREFACE

The third volume of *The Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire* covers the years from 527 to 641. This brings the project as a whole down to the end of the period which it was planned to cover, from 260 to 641. The original intention of the editors of *PLRE* from the early days under Professor A. H. M. Jones was to incorporate as an appendix to the third volume a supplement containing *Addenda et Corrigenda* to the previous two volumes (Volume I, a. 260-395, published in 1971, and Volume II, a. 395-527, published in 1980). However, the publication of new evidence and the increased volume of scholarly work on the late empire during the last twenty years have produced a body of material which could not usefully be contained in the space available for such an appendix. It was therefore decided to publish the *Addenda et Corrigenda* as a supplementary volume some four or five years after the publication of Volume Three; the same volume will therefore be able also to include additions and corrections to Volume Three. In the meantime, for a bibliography of relevant publications down to 1986 the reader is urged to consult the articles by Dr Ralph W. Mathisen in *Medieval Prosopography* 7 (1986), pp. 1-37; 8 (1987), pp. 5-36.

The project for a late Roman prosopography, originally conceived by Theodor Mommsen, was revived after the Second World War and divided into two parts, a secular prosopography, directed in Britain by A. H. M. Jones, and a Christian prosopography, directed in France by H. I. Marrou (the *Prosopographie chrétienne*, in progress). In Britain, after the untimely death of A. H. M. Jones, the project was adopted by the British Academy and a supervisory committee set up under the chairmanship successively of E. A. Thompson (1970-1976), A. D. E. Cameron (1976-1977) and finally P. Grierson (1977 to the present). Financial responsibility for the preparation of the third volume was borne by the British Academy and accommodation for the project provided by the Faculty of History at Cambridge. The project was also supported by the Faculty of Classics at Cambridge, which provided administrative assistance.

As with Volume Two, the main responsibility for the work was assigned to a small editorial committee, this time consisting of Mr J. R. Martindale, Professor Averil Cameron and the Chairman, Professor P. Grierson. Regular reports were made to meetings of the supervisory committee, the other members of which were Dr S. P. Brock, Professor R. Browning, Dr P. Crone, Professor J. Crook, Professor C. J. S.

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Dowsett, Professor C. A. Mango, Miss J. M. Reynolds and (to 1984) Professor E. A. Thompson.

The first drafts of all entries were again composed by J. R. Martindale, and these were then submitted to members of the committee and to other scholars for comment and criticism. The editors would especially like to express their gratitude for advice and help with Near-Eastern sources to committee members S. P. Brock (Syriac), P. Crone (Arabic) and C. J. S. Dowsett (Georgian), and also to Professor Irfan Shahīd (Arabic). J. R. Martindale is responsible for the final form and content of all entries.

The geographical range of Volume Three is basically the same as that of Volumes One and Two, excluding only Britain (apart from one entry, Aethelbert of Kent, husband of the Frankish princess Bertha), but the changing political conditions of the Mediterranean world have called for the inclusion of a wide range of people from the successor kingdoms of the Franks, the Lombards and the Visigoths in the West, from the Persian empire in the East, and, at the end of the period, from the territories subject to the Arab conquests. Hence for instance the inclusion of many Frankish military and civil personnel alongside the many Gallo-Romans descended from Roman senatorial families.

As noted in the preface to Volume Two, entries on barbarian kings usually omit the domestic history of their reigns, but external events, particularly such as involved contact with the Roman Empire, have been registered. Such information provides the context for events recorded elsewhere in *PLRE*, in the entries for individual Romans and barbarians. We would again emphasise that no attempt is made to provide a continuous history of the relations of the barbarian peoples with one another or with the Roman Empire.

As in *PLRE* I and II, the careers of emperors are dealt with only down to the time when they began to rule as Augusti or when they became Caesars, being resumed where necessary if they abdicated or were overthrown. For information on their consulships, see the consular *Fasti* (p. 1496). For their titulature and for details of their reigns, see the entries in *P-W*.

The range of persons included is also much the same as in the earlier volumes: all rulers and holders of civil and military titles and offices, omitting most lowly *officiales* (cf. below), 'other ranks', and ordinary civilians (farmers, peasants, tradesmen, etc.) (of whom a solid further prosopographical dictionary could be composed, especially from Italian and Egyptian sources). We again include men of learning, such as lawyers, advocates, doctors, philosophers and writers generally (though not necessarily writers on theology and religion, whose natural home is in the *Prosopographie chrétienne*).

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One feature of this period is the inflation of titles and the resulting loss of value of certain older terms such as *vir perfectissimus* and *vir clarissimus*. This volume will be found to include a number of low-ranking *officiales* (notably from Italian and Egyptian sources). A number of such persons are now described in the sources as *clarissimi* or λαμπρότατοι and these are included. In addition a number of individuals, mainly in Egypt, alluded to in the sources as λαμπρότατος or addressed as ἡ σὴ λαμπρότης, are included, even though in many cases the words are probably used in flattery and not with technical correctness.

Some of the entries in this volume (e.g. Belisarius I, Narses I) are longer and record evidence in greater detail than was the practice in the first two volumes. This is in response to the nature of the evidence in this period, where there is a great shortage of precise technical information in the primary sources so far as dates, dignities, offices and status are concerned. Particularly where army officers are concerned it is sometimes only from the context of their actual activities that one can hope to draw conclusions about such matters. A man's status and perhaps his office can sometimes be deduced by identifying his superiors or his equals or his subordinates, or by considering what military manoeuvres he performed, where, with what troops and under whose authority. Whether this contextual information always gives the desired result is another question; nevertheless, we have included a certain amount as potentially useful for filling in gaps in our knowledge. Thus the entry for Belisarius, for instance, provides a context within which a large number of other entries can be placed.

On the other hand a great quantity of further detail could have been included about the saintly qualities and virtuous deeds of many persons recorded in this book, but much of this material consists of common-places and is all too often a sign of the absence of real information available to the author. It contributes little to our knowledge of the person in question, however valuable it may be as a reflection of the 'thought-world' of the author and his times.

We have again endeavoured to give the primary evidence in full, together with our interpretation of it. We have also followed the practice of *PLRE* II in citing modern works for fuller treatment than lies strictly within the scope of a prosopography (such as is often the case with literary persons) or to illuminate an argument or statement. Many more could have been cited, but since the major task of the *Prosopography* is the presentation of primary sources in convenient form, we have preferred to avoid too deep an involvement in modern literature. To have done so would have greatly enlarged an already large work without necessarily bringing a proportionate increase in its usefulness. Inevitably some

modern works of permanent worth will have been overlooked, but the siftings of time and the attentions of reviewers will doubtless bring such omissions to light.

A note should be included here about our use of Arabic sources. At the suggestion of Dr Crone a short-list of the more important Arab writers recording events before c. 641 was drawn up. The complexity of the problems arising therefrom proved too daunting to be dealt with in the present context; to do full justice to this material in the framework of *PLRE* would have added hugely to time and effort with perhaps only marginal profit. Therefore we decided to cite only one Arabic source (Balādhurī) and to give references to two important secondary works, the *Encyclopaedia of Islam* (first and second editions) and the recently published study by F. M. Donner, *The Early Islamic Conquests* (see modern bibliography).

Persons whose entries are in *PLRE* II but whose careers extend after 527 are recorded in Volume Three in summary form and the reader is invited to consult Volume Two for documentation and further details. For persons whose careers continued after 641 we have tried to give full details of their later career also. One person whose career is solely recorded after 641 (Manuel 3) is included because of an assertion, probably erroneous, connecting him with crucial events in 640/641.

It is perhaps appropriate at this point to record that the planned first volume of *The Prosopography of the Byzantine Empire* (*PBE*) will begin with the year 641 and will therefore include material which overlaps with *PLRE* III. We expect that coverage of Arabic material will be more comprehensive in *PBE*. In addition any post-641 material inadvertently omitted from *PLRE* will be found in *PBE* I.

The volume again concludes with consular *Fasti*, lists of office-holders, and a number of family trees, including the ruling dynasties of the more important barbarian peoples. The visual aid afforded by the latter should make more comprehensible some of the information set out in narrative form in the actual entries. As before, the convention has been adopted of distinguishing certain and putative relationships by the use of continuous and pecked lines respectively.

A new feature of the sources used for Volume Three is the large number of Byzantine lead seals. The project is deeply indebted to Professor N. Oikonomides and to Dr J. Nesbitt for much valuable material from the Dumbarton Oaks and Fogg Art Museum collections and for assistance with dating. Dr Nesbitt also visited the project in Cambridge bringing with him a great quantity of additional material. The editors would like to thank the authorities at Dumbarton Oaks for permission to use the material in their collections. The main source used

for seals was otherwise the collection of *Byzantine Lead Seals* edited by G. Zacos and A. Vegler. The tables of monograms printed at the back of *PLRE* III are based on the tables at the end of the third volume of Zacos and Vegler, though with the addition of much new material from Dumbarton Oaks. For seals already published in Zacos and Vegler the reader is referred to the photographic plates also included in their third volume. Originally we hoped simply to reproduce, with due permission, the tables in Zacos and Vegler, but many of the monograms there registered are not found on seals recorded in *PLRE* III, while many recorded in *PLRE* III do not occur in Zacos and Vegler. We therefore eventually decided to compile our own tables.

The editors would also like to extend their thanks to Dr Rosamund McKitterick and to Professor Robert Markus for their invaluable help in reading and extracting large quantities of material from the sources for Merovingian Gaul and for their encouragement of the project in general. We are also grateful to Dr Michael Whitby for allowing us to make use of his revised chronology of Theophylact Simocatta in advance of the publication of his own work (for which see modern bibliography); we have largely followed his reconstruction here.

NOTICE BY THE EDITORS

Volumes I and II of the *Prosopography* had their share of errors and omissions and we are only too well aware that the same will doubtless prove true of this volume also. The labours of many scholars in recent years have provided much food for thought, and their work, together with the quantity of new material, epigraphical and papyrological, that has been published since 1971 means that there is much that can usefully be assembled in due course in the Supplement volume. We would therefore again appeal to our readers to inform the editors, care of the Cambridge University Press (Publishing Division), Edinburgh Building, Shaftesbury Road, Cambridge, CB2 2RU, of any errors and omissions which they detect and to send new comments and material, published or unpublished, which we can use.

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SOURCES CITED (INCLUDING
COLLECTIONS AND PERIODICALS),
WITH ABBREVIATIONS

- Abh. Bay. Akad. Wiss.* *Abhandlungen der philosophisch-philologischen und historischen Klasse der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, 1835-
- ACOec.* *Acta Conciliorum Oecumenicorum*, ed. E. Schwartz and J. Straub (Berlin, 1914-1983)
- Acta Anastasii Persae* = *Acta Martyris Anastasii Persae*, ed. H. Usener (Bonn, 1894)
- Ado, *Chron.* Ado, bishop of Vienne, *Chronicle* (in *PL* 123.23-138)
- AE* *L'Année Epigraphique*
- Agapius Agapius of Menbij (Mabbug), *Kitab al-Unwan: histoire universelle écrite par Agapius (Mahboub) de Menbidj*, ed. and tr. A. A. Vasiliev (*PO* v, vii, viii, xi; 1909-1915); also ed. L. Cheikho, *CSCO* 65 (*Scr. Arab.* 10) (1912)
- Agath. Agathias, *Historiae*, ed. R. Keydell (Berlin, 1967)
- Agnellus, *Lib. Pont. Eccl. Rav.* Agnellus, *Liber Pontificalis Ecclesiae Ravennatis*, ed. O. Holder-Egger (*MGH, Ser. Rer. Lang.*, pp. 263-391)
- AGWG* *Abhandlungen der Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen*
- AJA* *American Journal of Archaeology*
- AJP* *American Journal of Philology*
- Alex. Trall. *Ther.* Alexander of Tralles, *Libri XII de re medicina*, ed. T. Puschmann (Vienna, Berlin, 1878-79, 1886)
- Anal. Boll.* *Analecta Bollandiana*
- Ananias of Shirak Ananias of Shirak, tr. F. C. Conybeare, *BZ* vi (1897), pp. 579ff. See also H. Berberian, *Autobiographie d'Anania Shirakac'i*, in *Revue des Etudes Arméniennes* (n.s.) 1 (1964), pp. 189-94
- Anast. Sin. *Hod.* Anastasius, of Sinai, *Hodegos* (in *PG* 89.35-310); also ed. K-H. Uthemann, *Corpus Christ.*, ser. gr. 8 (Turnhout, 1981)
- Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, ed. and tr. D. Whitelock, D. C. Douglas and S. I. Tucker (London, 1961)
- Ann. de l'Inst. de phil. et d'hist. or.* *Annuaire de l'Institut de philologie et d'histoire orientales et slaves* (Brussels, 1932-)
- Anon. Guidi See *Chron. Edess.*
- Anth. Gr.* *Anthologia Graeca*, ed. H. Beckby (Munich, 1957-1958); books 1-xv = *Anthologia Palatina*; book xvi = *Anthologia* (or *Appendix*) *Planudea*
- Anth. Lat.* *Anthologia Latina*, ed. F. Buecheler, A. Riese and E. Lommatzsch (Leipzig, 1869-1926)

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

- Anth. Pal., Anth. Plan.* See *Anth. Gr.*
- Antiochus Strategios Antiochus Strategios, Account of the Sack of Jerusalem in A.D. 614, tr. F. C. Conybeare, *EHR* 25 (1910), pp. 502-17. For the Georgian and Arabic versions, see *Capt. Hieros.* and *Exp. Hieros.*
- Arch. Class.* *Archaeologia Classica*
- Arch. Pap.* *Archiv für Papyrusforschungen und Verwandte Gebiete*
- ASS* *Acta Sanctorum*
- Auct. Haun. Extr.* *Auctarii Hauniensis Extrema*, ed. Th. Mommsen (*MGH*, *AA* ix, pp. 337-9)
- Auth.* *Authenticum* (early Latin version of the Novels of Justinian). See *Just. Nov.*
- Aviti Appendix* Appendix to the works of Avitus, bishop of Vienne, ed. R. Peiper (*MGH*, *AA* vi 2, pp. 161-96)
- Balādhurī al-Balādhurī, *Kūāb Futūh al-Buldān*, ed. M. J. de Goeje (Leiden, 1866), tr. P. K. Hitti, *The Origins of the Islamic State* (New York, 1916)
- Bar Hebr., *Chron.* Gregorius Bar Hebraeus Abu-l-Faraj (Abulpharagius), *Chronography*, ed. and tr. E. A. W. Budge (London, 1932)
- Bar Hebr., *Chron. Eccl.* Bar Hebraeus, *Chronicon Ecclesiasticum*, ed. and tr. J.-B. Abbeloos and T. J. Lamy (Louvain, Paris, 1872, 1874, 1877).
- Bar Hebr., *Hist. Dynast.* Bar Hebraeus, *Historia compendiosa dynastiarum*, tr. G. L. Bauer (Leipzig, 1783-5)
- Barlow, *Martini... Opera Omnia.* See Martin of Braga
- Basilica* *Basilica*, ed. W. E. Heimbach (6 vols., Leipzig, 1833-1870), with Suppl. I (ed. Zachariae von Lingenthal, Leipzig, 1846), Suppl. II (= vol. VII, ed. E. C. Ferrini and J. Mercati, Leipzig, 1897); also ed. H. J. Scheltema (14 vols., Gröningen, 1953-1974)
- Baudonivia, *V. S. Radeg.* Baudonivia, *Vita Sanctae Radegundis*, ed. B. Krusch (*MGH*, *Scr. Rer. Mer.* II, pp. 377-95)
- BCAR* *Bullettino della Commissione Archaeologica Comunale di Roma*
- BCH* *Bulletin de Correspondence Hellénique*
- BCTH* *Bulletin archéologique du Comité des Travaux historiques et scientifiques*
- Beda, *Chron.* Beda, *Chronicle*, ed. C. Plummer (Oxford, 1896); also ed. Th. Mommsen (*MGH*, *AA* XIII, pp. 223-356)
- Beda, *HE* Beda, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, ed. B. Colgrave and R. A. B. Mynors (Oxford, 1969)
- Beshevliev, *Spätgr. u. spätlat. Inschr. Bulg.* V. Beshevliev, *Spätgriechische und spätlateinische Inschriften aus Bulgarien* (Berlin, 1964)
- BGU* *Aegyptische Urkunden aus den staatlichen Museen zu Berlin. Griechische Urkunden* (1892-1937)
- Bol. Real. Acad. Hist.* *Boletín de la Real Academia de la Historia* (Madrid)

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

- Boniface IV, *Ep.* Pope Boniface IV, *Epistula* (*MGH*, *Epp.* III, p. 455 = *Ep. Aevi Mer. Coll.* 12)
- Braulio, *Ep.* Braulio, bishop of Saragossa, *Epistulae* (in *PL* 80.649-700); also ed. J. Madoz (Madrid, 1941)
- Braulio, *V. Aem.* Braulio, bishop of Saragossa, *Vita Aemiliani* (in *PL* 80.703-14); also ed. Vázquez de Parma (Madrid, 1943)
- BSOAS* *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*
- Bull. Arch. Crist.* *Bullettino di Archeologia Cristiana*
- Bull. de la Cl. des Lettres de l'Acad. de Belgique* *Bulletin de la Classe des Lettres de l'Académie de Belgique*
- Bull. de l'Inst. d'Égypte* *Bulletin de l'Institut d'Égypte*
- Bull. Soc. Nat. Ant. Fr.* *Bulletin de la Société Nationale des Antiquaires de la France*
- Byz.* *Byzantion*
- Byz. Austral.* *Byzantina Australiensia* (see Joh. Mal.)
- Byz.-neugr. Jahrb.* *Byzantinisch-neugriechischer Jahrbücher*
- BZ* *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*
- CAG* *Commentaria in Aristotelem Graeca* (Berlin, 1881-1904)
- Capt. Hieros.* *Captivitas Hierosolymae* = *La Prise de Jérusalem par les Perses en 614* (in Georgian), ed. G. Garitte (*CSCO* 202-3 (*Scr. Iber.* 11 and 12). See also Antiochus Strategios and *Exp. Hieros.*
- Cass. Inst. Div. Litt.* Cassiodorus, *Institutiones Divinarum Litterarum*, ed. R. A. B. Mynors (Oxford, 1937)
- Cass. Inst. Saec. Litt.* Cassiodorus, *Institutiones Saecularium Litterarum*, ed. R. A. B. Mynors (Oxford, 1937)
- Cass. Or.* Cassiodorus, *Orationes* (fragmenta), ed. L. Traube (*MGH*, *AA* XII, pp. 465-84)
- Cass. Var.* Cassiodorus, *Variae*, ed. Th. Mommsen (*MGH*, *AA* XII, pp. 1-385)
- Catal. reg. Lang.* *Catalogus regum Langobardorum*, ed. G. Waitz (*MGH*, *Scr. Rer. Lang.*, pp. 491ff.)
- Cedr.* Georgius Cedrenus, *Compendium Historiarum*, ed. I. Bekker (Bonn, 1838-1839)
- Chor. Or.* Choricus of Gaza, *Orationes*, etc., ed. R. Foerster and E. Richtsteig (Leipzig, 1929)
- Chron.* 724 *Chronicon miscellaneum ad annum Domini 724 pertinens*, ed. E. W. Brooks, tr. J. B. Chabot (*CSCO* (*Scr. Syr.*) III 4 (1903), pp. 61-119)
- Chron.* 819 *Chronicon Anonymi ad annum Domini 819 pertinens*, ed. and tr. J. B. Chabot (*CSCO* (*Scr. Syr.*) III 14 (1937), pp. 1-16)
- Chron.* 846 *Chronicon miscellaneum ad annum Domini 846 pertinens*, ed. E. W. Brooks, tr. J. B. Chabot (*CSCO* (*Scr. Syr.*) III 4 (1903), pp. 121-80)
- Chron.* 1234 *Chronicon Anonymi ad annum Domini 1234 pertinens*, ed. and tr.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

- J. B. Chabot (*CSCO* (*Scr. Syr.*) III 14 (text, 1920, transl., 1937), pp. 17-226)
- Chron. Caesaraug.* *Chronica Caesaraugustana*, ed. Th. Mommsen (*MGH, AA* XI, pp. 222-3)
- Chron. Edess.* (also Anon. Guidi) *Chronicon Edessenum*, ed. and tr. I. Guidi (*CSCO* (*Scr. Syr.*) III 4 (1903), pp. 1-11)
- Chron. d'Égypte* *Chronique d'Égypte*
- Chron. Iac. Edess.* Jacob of Edessa, *Chronicon*, ed. and tr. E. W. Brooks (*CSCO* (*Scr. Syr.*) III 4 (1903), pp. 197-258)
- Chron. Min.* *Chronica Minora*, ed. Th. Mommsen (*MGH, AA* IX, XI and XIII)
- Chron. Pasch.* *Chronicon Paschale*, ed. L. Dindorf (Bonn, 1832)
- Chronica Patriarcharum Gradensium*, ed. G. Waitz (*MGH, Scr. Rer. Lang.*, pp. 393-7)
- Chronicle of Séert* See *Hist. Nest.*
- CIG* *Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum* (Berlin, 1828-1877)
- CIL* *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum* (Berlin, 1863-)
- CJ* *Codex Justinianus*, ed. P. Krueger (Berlin, 1877)
- Class. Rev.* *Classical Review*
- CMG* *Corpus Medicorum Graecorum* (Leipzig, 1908-)
- Coll. Avell.* *Collectio Avellana: epistulae imperatorum, pontificum, aliorum* A.D. 367-553, ed. O. Guenther (*CSEL* 35; Vienna, 1895-1898)
- Columbanus, Ep.* St Columbanus, *Epistolae*, ed. W. Gundlach (*MGH, Epp.* III, pp. 154-90)
- Conc. Gall.* 314-506 *Concilia Galliae* a. 314-a. 506, ed. C. Munier in *Corpus Christianorum*, series latina, 148 (Turnhout, 1963)
- Conc. Gall.* 511-695 *Concilia Galliae* a. 511-a. 695, ed. C. de Clercq in *Corpus Christianorum*, series latina, 148A (Turnhout, 1963)
- Conc. Tol.* Councils of Toledo. See Vives, *Concilios*
- Const. Porph. Adm. Imp.* Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *De Administrando Imperio*, ed. Gy. Moravcsik and R. J. H. Jenkins, 2nd edition (Dumbarton Oaks, 1968)
- Const. Porph. de cer.* Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *De Ceremoniis Aulae Byzantinae*, ed. J. J. Reiske (Bonn, 1829-1830)
- Const. Porph. de them.* Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *De Thematribus*, ed. A. Pertusi (Vatican City, 1952) (= *Studi e Testi* 160)
- Constantopoulos, *Molybdoboulla* C. Constantopoulos, *Byzantiaca Molybdoboulla* (Athens; 1917) (also in *JIAN* 5-10, 1902-1907)
- Constantopoulos, *Stamoulis* C. Constantopoulos, *Byzantiaca Molybdoboulla* (Collection of A. C. P. Stamoulis) (Athens, 1930)
- Cont. Hisp.; Cont. Isid. Hisp.* *Continuatio Isidori Hispana*, ed. Th. Mommsen (*MGH, AA* XI, pp. 334-68)
- Corinth* Corinth: results of excavations at Corinth by the American

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

- School of Classical Studies at Athens, vol. VIII i Greek Inscriptions, ed. B. D. Meritt (Cambridge, Mass., 1931)
- Coripp. Ioh.* Corippus, *Iohannidos seu de bellis Libycis Libri VIII*, ed. J. Patsch (*MGH, AA* III, pp. 1-109; 1897); also ed. J. Diggle and F. R. D. Goodyear (Cambridge, 1970)
- Coripp. Iust.* Corippus, *In Laudem Iustini Augusti minoris Libri IV*, ed. J. Patsch (*MGH, AA* III, pp. 111-56; 1897); also ed. Averil Cameron (London, 1976)
- Coripp. Pan. Anast.* Corippus, *Panegyricus in Laudem Anastasii quaestoris et magistri* (edited with *Coripp. Iust.*)
- Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum* (Paris, 1881-)
- Cosm. Ind. Top.* Cosmas Indicopleustes, *The Christian Topography*, ed. E. O. Winstedt (Cambridge, 1909)
- Cougny* E. Cougny, *Epigrammatum Anthologia Palatina cum Planudeis et appendice nova epigrammatum veterum ex libris et marmoribus ductorum*, III (Paris, 1890)
- CPR* *Corpus Papyrorum Raineri* I, ed. C. Wessely (Vienna, 1895)
- CQ* *Classical Quarterly*
- CRAI* *Comptes-Rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres*
- CSCO* (*Scr. Arab.*) *Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium (Scriptores Arabici)* (1903-)
- CSCO* (*Scr. Copt.*) *Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium (Scriptores Coptici)* (1906-)
- CSCO* (*Scr. Iber.*) *Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium (Scriptores Iberici)* (1904-)
- CSCO* (*Scr. Syr.*) *Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium (Scriptores Syri)* (1903-)
- CSCO, Subsidia* *Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium, Subsidia* (1950-)
- CSEL* *Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum*
- CTh* *Codex Theodosianus*, ed. Th. Mommsen (Berlin, 1905)
- Cyr. Scyth.* Cyril of Scythopolis, ed. E. Schwartz, in *Texte und Untersuchungen* 49 (Leipzig, 1939)
- Cyr. Scyth. V. Euth.* Cyril of Scythopolis, *Vita Euthymii*
- Cyr. Scyth. V. Ioh. Hes.* Cyril of Scythopolis, *Vita Iohannis Hesyhastae*
- Cyr. Scyth. V. Sabae* Cyril of Scythopolis, *Vita Sabae*
- D H. Dessau, *Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae* (Berlin, 1892-1916)
- Dalton, *Catalogue* O. M. Dalton, *Catalogue of the Early Christian Antiquities in the British Museum* (London, 1901)
- De Virt. S. Geretrudis* See *V. S. Geretrudis*
- Desid. Cadurc. Ep.* Desiderius, bishop of Cahors, *Epistolae*, ed. W. Arndt (*MGH, Epp.* III, pp. 191-214)

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

- Doct. Iac.* *Doctrina Iacobi nuper baptizati*, ed. N. Bonwetsch in *AGWG*, phil.—hist. Kl., NF XII 3 (1910); also ed. G. Dagron, *Travaux et Mémoires* (forthcoming)
- DOP* *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* (Cambridge, Mass. and Washington, 1941—)
- Dowsett See Moses Dasxurançi
- Dumbarton Oaks seals Seals from the collections at Dumbarton Oaks and the Fogg Art Museum, communicated by Professor N. Oikonomides and Dr J. Nesbitt
- Durliat J. Durliat, *Les Dédicaces d'ouvrages de défense dans l'Afrique byzantine* (Rome, Paris, 1981)
- N. Durr, *Catalogue des poids byzantins, Musée d'art et d'histoire de Genève* (in *Genava* XII, 1964)
- Ebersolt, *Musées* J. Ebersolt, *Musées impériaux ottomans, Catalogue des sceaux byzantins* (Paris, 1922)
- Ed. Roth.* *Edictum Rotharii*, ed. F. Bluhme (*MGH, Leges* IV, pp. 1—90)
- EHR* *English Historical Review*
- Elias, *Op. Chron.* Elias of Nisibis, *Opus Chronologicum* I, ed. E. W. Brooks (*CSCO* 62 (*Scr. Syr.* III 7)); II, ed. J. B. Chabot (*CSCO* 63 (*Scr. Syr.* III 8))
- Elias, *V. Ioh. ep. Tell.* Elias of Nisibis, *Vita Ioannis episcopi Tellae*, ed. E. W. Brooks (*CSCO* (*Scr. Syr.*) III 25; 1907)
- Enarr. Brev. Chron.* See *Parastaseis*
- ΕΦΣ See *Hell. Phil. Soc.*
- Epigraphica*
- Ep. Aevi Mer. Coll.* *Epistolae Aevi Merovingici Collectae*, ed. W. Gundlach (*MGH, Epp.* III, pp. 434—68)
- Ep. Arelat. gen.* *Epistolae Arelatenses genuinae*, ed. W. Gundlach (*MGH, Epp.* III, pp. 1—83)
- Ep. Austras.* *Epistolae Austrasicae*, ed. W. Gundlach (*MGH, Epp.* III, pp. 110—53)
- Ep. Lang. Coll.* *Epistolae Langobardicae Collectae*, ed. W. Gundlach (*MGH, Epp.* III, pp. 691—715)
- Ep. Wisig.* *Epistolae Wisigoticae*, ed. W. Gundlach (*MGH, Epp.* III, pp. 658—90)
- Eustrat. *V. Eutyech.* Eustratius, *Vita Eutychiei* (*PG* 86.2.2273—390)
- Eutychius, *Annales* Eutychius of Alexandria (Sa'īd ibn Baṭrīk), *Annales ecclesiasticae*, tr. E. Pococke (printed in *PG* 111, 907—1156); text ed. P. L. Cheikho and others in *CSCO* (*Scr. Arab.* 6—7), 2 vols. (1906—1909); also ed. M. Breydy, *CSCO* 471—2 (*Scr. Arab.* 44—5) (1985)
- Evagr. *HE* Evagrius, *Ecclesiastical History*, ed. J. Bidez and L. Parmentier (London, 1898; reprinted Amsterdam, 1964)

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

- Exc. de ins.* *Excerpta historica iussu imperatoris Constantini Porphyrogeniti confecta* IV, *de insidiis*, ed. C. de Boor (Berlin, 1905)
- Exc. de leg.* *Excerpta historica iussu imperatoris Constantini Porphyrogeniti confecta* I, *de legationibus*, ed. C. de Boor (Berlin, 1903)
- Exc. de sent.* *Excerpta historica iussu imperatoris Constantini Porphyrogeniti confecta* III, *de sententiis*, ed. U. Ph. Boissevain (Berlin, 1906)
- Exc. Sang.* *Excerpta Sangallensia*, ed. Th. Mommsen (*MGH, A.I* IX, pp. 334—6)
- Exp. Hieros.* *Expugnationes Hierosolymae a. 614: recensiones Arabicae*, ed. and tr. G. Garitte in *CSCO* 340, 341 (*Scr. Arab.* 26 and 27) (1973). See also Antiochus Strategios and *Capt. Hieros.*
- Facundus, *pro def. trium capit.* Facundus of Hermiane, *Pro defensione trium capitulorum* (*PL* 67.527—852)
- Feissel, *Recueil* D. Feissel, *Recueil des inscriptions chrétiennes de Macédoine du III^e au VI^e siècle* (*BCH, Suppl.* 8; 1983)
- Feissel and Spieser D. Feissel et J.-M. Spieser, *Inventaires en vue d'un recueil des inscriptions historiques de Byzance. II: Les inscriptions de Thessalonique*, Supplement (in *Travaux et Mémoires* 7 (1979), pp. 303—48)
- Ferrand. *Ep.* Ferrandus, deacon of Carthage, *Epistolae* (*PL* 65, 378—80, 392—4; *PL* 67, 887—950); also ed. Reifferscheid, *Anecdota Casinensia* (Bratislava, 1871—1872)
- FHG* C. Mueller, *Fragmenta Historicorum Graecorum*, IV (Paris, 1851); V (Paris, 1870)
- Flodoard, *Hist. Rem.* Flodoard, *Historia Ecclesiae Remensis*, ed. J. Heller and G. Waitz (*MGH, Scriptores*, XIII, pp. 409—599)
- Fogg Art Museum seal See Dumbarton Oaks seal
- Fredegar. Fredegarus scholasticus, *Chronica*, ed. B. Krusch (*MGH, Scr. Rer. Mer.* II, pp. 18—193; 1888); also book IV only, ed. and tr. J. Wallace-Hadrill, *The Fourth Book of the Chronicle of Fredegar with its Continuations* (London, 1960)
- Fredegar. Cont.* *Fredegarii scholastici Chronica, Continuationes.* See Fredegar.
- Fulgentius, *Ep.* Fulgentius, bishop of Ruspe, *Epistolae* (in *PL* 65.303—498); also ed. J. Fraipont in *Corpus Christianorum* 91, 91A
- Georg. Pisid. Georgius Pisides, *Opera* (*PG* 92); also Georgius Pisides, *Poemi*; I, *Panegyrici epici, edizione critica, traduzione e commento*, by A. Pertusi (in *Studia Patristica et Byzantina* 7; Ettal, 1959)
- Georg. Pisid. *Bell. Avar.* Georgius Pisides, *Bellum Avaricum*
- Georg. Pisid. *Bon. Pat.* Georgius Pisides, *In Bonum Patricium*
- Georg. Pisid. *carmina inedita*, ed. L. Sternbach in *Wien. Stud.* 13 (1891), 14 (1892)

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

- Georg. Pisid. *Exp. Pers.* Geo. gius Pisides, *Expeditio Persica*
 Georg. Pisid. *Her.* Georgius Pisides, *Heraclias*
Gesta Dagoberti *Gesta Dagoberti I, regis Francorum*, ed. B. Krusch (*MGH, Scr. Rer. Mer.* II, pp. 401-25)
 Glaser, *Zwei Inschriften* E. Glaser, *Zwei Inschriften über den Dambruch von Marib*, in *Mitteilungen der vorderasiatischen Gesellschaft* (Berlin, 1897)
Gr. Schr. *Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller der ersten Jahrhunderte* (Leipzig, 1897-1941; Leipzig, Berlin, 1953; Berlin, 1954-)
 Gray Birch, *BM Seals* W. de Gray Birch, *Catalogue of Seals in the Department of Manuscripts in the British Museum* (1898)
GRBS *Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies*
 Greg. *Dial.* Gregory I, *Dialogi de vita et miraculis patrum Italicorum*, ed. U. Moricca (Rome, 1924)
 Greg. *Ep.* Gregory I, *Epistolarum Registrum*, ed. P. Ewald and L. M. Hartmann (*MGH, Epp.* I-II; 1891-1899)
 Greg. *Hom. in Evang.* Gregory I, *Homiliae in Evangelia* (in *PL* 76.1077-314)
 Greg. *Hom. in Ezech.* Gregory I, *Homiliae in Ezechielem* (*PL* 76.785-1072)
 Greg. *Tur.* Gregory, bishop of Tours, *Opera* (in *PL* 71); also ed. W. Arndt and B. Krusch (*MGH, Scr. Rer. Mer.* I; 1884-1885)
 Greg. *Tur. Glor. Conf.* Gregory of Tours, *Liber in Gloria Confessorum*
 Greg. *Tur. Glor. Mart.* Gregory of Tours, *Liber in Gloria Martyrum Beatorum*
 Greg. *Tur. HF* Gregory of Tours, *Historia Francorum*
 Greg. *Tur. Mir. b. Andreae* Gregory of Tours, *Liber de miraculis beati Andreae apostoli*
 Greg. *Tur. Mir. S. Mart.* Gregory of Tours, *Libri IV de virtutibus et miraculis S. Martini*
 Greg. *Tur. V. Patr.* Gregory of Tours, *Vitae Patrum*
 Greg. *Tur. V. S. Mart.* See *Mir. S. Mart.*
 Havet, *Oeuvres* J. Havet, *Oeuvres (1853-1893)*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1896)
 Heimbach, *Anecd.* G. E. Heimbach, *Anecdota*, 2 vols. (Leipzig, 1838)
 Heitsch E. Heitsch, *Die griechischen Dichterfragmente der römischen Kaiserzeit*, in *Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen*, phil.-hist. Kl., 3.49, 58 (1963, 1964)
Hell. Phil. Soc. *Hellenic Philological Society* (also ΕΦΣ)
 Hilgard, *Gramm. Gr.* A. Hilgard, *Grammatici Graeci*, IV (Leipzig, 1894)
Hist. Jahrb. *Historisches Jahrbuch*
Hist. Lang. cod. Goth. *Historia Langobardorum codicis Gothani*, ed. G. Waitz (*MGH, Scr. Rer. Lang.*, pp. 7-11)
Hist. nest. *Histoire nestorienne inédite (Chronique de Scert)*, ed. and tr. A. Scher (*PO* IV, V, VII and XIII; Paris, 1908-1918)

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

- Hon. *Ep.* Pope Honorius, *Epistula* (in *PL* 80.469-84; also in *MGH, Epp.* III, *Ep. Lang. Coll.* 2)
IG *Inscriptiones Graecae* (Berlin, 1873-)
IGC H. Grégoire, *Recueil des inscriptions grecques chrétiennes d'Asie Mineure*, I (1922) (no more published but see Hanton, *Byz.* IV, pp. 53-136)
IGLS L. Jalabert and R. Mouterde, *Inscriptions grecques et latines de la Syrie* (Paris, 1929-)
IK *Inschriften griechischer Städte aus Kleinasien* (Bonn, 1972-)
ILAlg. St. Gsell and H.-G. Pflaum, *Inscriptions latines de l'Algérie* (Paris, Algiers 1922, 1957)
ILCV E. Diehl, *Inscriptiones Latinae Christianae Veteres* (Berlin, 1925-1931)
 Ildefonsus, *DVI* Ildefonsus of Toledo, *De Viris Illustribus* (in *PL* 96.195-206); also ed. C. Codoner Merino (Salamanca, 1972)
ILT or *ILTun.* A. Merlin, *Inscriptions latines de la Tunisie* (Paris, 1944)
Imp. Byz. Coins See Wroth, *Imp. Byz. Coins*
 Innocent of Maronea, *Epist. de coll. cum Sev.* Innocent, bishop of Maronea, *Epistola de collatione cum Severianis habita*, ed. Ed. Schwartz (*ACOec.* IV 2)
Inscr. Cret. M. Guarducci, *Inscriptiones Creticae* (Rome, 1935-1950)
Inscr. Ital. *Inscriptiones Italiae* (in progress)
Inscr. Philae *Les inscriptions grecques et latines de Philae*, vol. II: *Haut et Bas Empire*, ed. E. Bernand (Paris, 1969)
 Ionas, *V. Columb.* Ionas, *Vitae SS. Columbani et aliorum*, ed. B. Krusch (*MGH, Scr. Rer. Mer.* IV, pp. 64-152)
 Ionas, *V. Iohannis Abbatis Reomaensis*, ed. B. Krusch (*MGH, Scr. Rer. Mer.* III, pp. 595-17)
 Isidore of Seville, historical works, ed. Th. Mommsen (*MGH, Ad* XI)
 Isid. *Chron.* Isidore of Seville, *Chronicle*
 Isid. *DVI* Isidore of Seville, *De Viris Illustribus* (in *PL* 83.1081-106); also ed. C. Codoner Merino (Salamanca, 1964)
 Isid. *Etym.* Isidore of Seville, *Etymologiae sive Origines*, ed. W. M. Lindsay (Oxford, 1911)
 Isid. *Hist. Goth.* Isidore of Seville, *Historia Gothorum*
 Isid. *Hist. Sueb.* Isidore of Seville, *Historia Sueborum*
 Isid. *Hist. Vand.* Isidore of Seville, *Historia Vandalorum*
 Iunillus, *Instituta* Iunillus, *Instituta regularia divinae legis* (*PL* 68.15-42)
 Jac. Ed. See *Chron. Iac. Edess.*
JHS *Journal of Hellenic Studies*
JIAN *Journal internationale d'Archéologie numismatique* (Athens, 1897-1927)
JOeAI *Jahreshefte des Oesterreichischen Archäologischen Instituts*

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

- JÖB *Jahrbuch der Oesterreichischen Byzantinistik*
 JÖBG *Jahrbuch der Oesterreichischen Byzantinischen Gesellschaft* (1951-1968)
 Joh. Ant. John of Antioch, fragments, ed. C. Mueller (*FHG* iv and v); also ed. C. de Boor (in *Exc. de ins.*)
 Joh. Bicl. John of Biclaro, *Chronicle*, ed. Th. Mommsen (*MGH, AA* xi, pp. 211-20)
 Joh. Diac. *V. Greg.* John the Deacon, *Vita Gregorii Magni* (in *PL* 75.61-242)
 Joh. Eph. *HE* John of Ephesus, *Ecclesiastical History*, Part III, ed. and tr. E. W. Brooks (*CSCO (Scr. Syr.)* III 3; 1936)
 Joh. Eph. *V. SS. Or.* John of Ephesus, *Vitae Sanctorum Orientalium*, ed. and tr. E. W. Brooks (*PO* xvii, xviii, xix; 1923, 1924, 1926)
 Joh. Epiph. John of Epiphania, fragments, ed. C. Mueller (*FHG* iv)
 Joh. Lyd. *de mag.* John Lydus, *De Magistratibus Populi Romani*, ed. R. Wuensch (Leipzig, 1903)
 Joh. Mal. John Malalas, *Chronographia*, ed. L. Dindorf (1831); see also translation with notes by E. Jeffreys, M. Jeffreys, R. Scott and others, *Byz. Austral.* 4 (1986)
 Joh. Mal. fr. John Malalas, fragments, ed. C. de Boor (in *Exc. de ins.*)
 Joh. Mal. *frag. Tusc.* John Malalas, Tusculan fragments (in *PG* 85.1805-24)
 Joh. Mosch. *Pratum* John Moschus, *Pratum Spirituale* (in *PG* 87.3.2851-3112); also ed. P. Pattenden (forthcoming) (see Note to the Reader)
 Joh. Mosch. *Pratum, Auct.* John Moschus, *Pratum Spirituale, Auctarium* (ed. P. Pattenden (see Note to the Reader))
 Joh. Nik. John of Nikiu, *The Chronicle of John of Nikiu*, tr. H. Zotenberg, in *Notices et extraits des MSS de la Bibliothèque Nationale* xxiv (Paris, 1883); also tr. R. H. Charles (London, 1916)
 Jordanes, ed. Th. Mommsen (*MGH, AA* v)
 Jord. *Get.* Jordanes, *Getica*
 Jord. *Rom.* Jordanes, *Romana*
 J. *Phil.* *Journal of Philology*
 JRS *Journal of Roman Studies*
 JTS *Journal of Theological Studies*
 Juansher Juansher, *History of Georgia* (Venice edition, 1884); tr. by M. F. Brosset, *Histoire de la Géorgie* I (1851)
 Juliani *Epitome* Julianus, *Epitome Latina Novellarum Justiniani*, ed. G. Haenel (Leipzig, 1873)
 Jungfleisch M. Jungfleisch, *Les dénéraux et estampilles byzantins en verre de la Collection Froehner*, in *Bull. de l'Inst. d'Égypte* 14 (1932), pp. 233-56

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

- Just. *Const.* 'Deo auctore', 'Omnem', 'Tanta', Δέδωκεν; see *Corpus Juris Civilis* I, *Dig.*, pp. xiii-xxix
 Just. *Const.* 'Haec', 'Summa', 'Cordi'; see *Corpus Juris Civilis* II, pp. 1-4
 Just. *Const.* 'Imperatoriam'; see *Corpus Juris Civilis* I, *Inst.*, p. xxii
 Just. *Dig.* Justinian, *Digesta*, ed. Th. Mommsen and P. Krueger in *Corpus Juris Civilis*, vol. I (Berlin, 1870)
 Just. *Ed.* Justinian, *Edicta* (published with Just. *Nov.*)
 Just. *Inst.* Justinian, *Institutiones*, ed. P. Krueger (published with Just. *Dig.*)
 Just. *Nov.* Justinian, *Novellae*, ed. R. Schoell and W. Kroll in *Corpus Juris Civilis*, vol. III
 Just. *Nov. App.* Appendix to the *Novellae* of Justinian (published with Just. *Nov.*)
 Justin II, *Novellae*; in Zepos, vol. I
 Kalinka, *Antike Denkmäler in Bulgarien* E. Kalinka, *Antike Denkmäler in Bulgarien (Kaiserliche Akademie der Wissenschaften, Schriften der Balkankommission, Antiquarische Abteilung IV)* (Vienna, 1906)
 Kraeling, *Gerasa* C. H. Kraeling, *Gerasa: A City of the Decapolis* (New Haven, 1938)
 Kraeling, *Ptolemais* C. H. Kraeling, *Ptolemais: A City of the Libyan Pentapolis* (Chicago, 1962)
 Kraus F. F. Kraus, *Die Münzen Odovacars und des Ostgotenreiches in Italien* (Halle, 1928; reprinted Bologna, 1967)
 La Parola del Passato (Naples, 1946-)
Latere. Pont. *Laterculus Pontificum Romanorum*, in *MGH, AA* XIII, pp. 522-5
Lat. reg. Vand. *Laterculus regum Vandalorum*, ed. Th. Mommsen (*MGH, AA* XIII, pp. 457-60)
Lat. reg. Visig. *Laterculus regum Visigothorum*, ed. Th. Mommsen (*MGH, AA* XIII, pp. 464-9)
 Latyshev, *Christian Greek Inscriptions* V. V. Latyshev, *Christian Greek Inscriptions from South Russia* (St Petersburg, 1896)
 Laurent, *Bulletin* I and II V. Laurent, *Bulletin de sigillographie byzantine*, in *Byz.* 5 (1929-1930), 6 (1931)
 Laurent, *Corpus* V. Laurent, *Le corpus des sceaux de l'empire byzantin*, tome v, vols. 1 and 2 (Paris, 1963, 1965)
 Laurent, *Médaillier* V. Laurent, *Les sceaux byzantins du médaillier Vatican* (Vatican, 1962)
 Laurent, *Orghidan* V. Laurent, *Documents de sigillographie. La Collection C. Orghidan* (Paris, 1952)
 Le Blant, *Inscr. chrét. de la Gaule* E. Le Blant, *Inscriptions chrétiennes de la Gaule antérieures au VIII^e siècle*, réunies et annotées par E. Le Blant (Paris, 1856-1865)

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

- Lefebvre G. Lefebvre, *Recueil des inscriptions grecques chrétiennes d'Égypte* (Cairo, 1907)
- Le Muséon, Revue d'études orientales* (Louvain, 1881-)
- Leo Gramm. Leo Grammaticus, *Chronographia*, ed. I. Bekker (Bonn, 1842)
- Leontius, *V. Ioh. El.* Leontius of Neapolis, *Vita Ioannis Eleemosynarii*, ed. H. Gelzer (*Sammlung ausgewählter kirchen- und dogmengeschichtlicher Quellenschriften* 5; Freiburg, Leipzig, 1893); see also A. J. Festugière, ed., *Leontios de Neapolis, vie de Syméon le Fou et vie de Jean de Chypre* (Paris, 1974)
- Letter of the Milanese Clergy = *Ep. Aevi Mer. Coll.* 4 (*MGH, Epp.* III, pp. 438-42), also in *Vigiliusbriege*, ed. E. Schwartz, *Sitz. Akad. Bayer.* 1940
- Lib. Hist. Franc.* *Liber Historiae Francorum*, ed. B. Krusch (*MGH, Scr. Rer. Mer.* II, pp. 215-328)
- Lib. Pont.* *Liber Pontificalis*, ed. L. Duchesne (1886); also ed. Th. Mommsen (*MGH, Gesta Pont. Rom.* I; 1898)
- Liberat. *Brev.* Liberatus, *Breviarium causae Nestorianorum et Eutyichianorum*, ed. E. Schwartz (in *ACOec.* II 5; 1936)
- Libyca*, Sér. 2: Archéologie-Epigraphie (Algiers, 1953-1961)
- Likhachev, *Nekotorie* N. P. Likhachev, *Nekotorie starejšie tipy pečati vizantijskich imperatorov* (*Some Ancient Types of Seals of Byzantine Emperors*), in *Nunismatičeskij Sbornik* I, pp. 497-539 (Moscow, 1911)
- Luxorius, *Epigr.* Luxorius, *Epigrammata*, ed. Morris Rosenblum, *A Latin Poet among the Vandals* (New York, 1961)
- Macler See Sebeos
- M.A.M.A.* *Monumenta Asiae Minoris Antiqua* I-VIII (1928-1962)
- Mansi J. D. Mansi, *Sacrorum Conciliorum nova et amplissima Collectio* (Florence, Venice, 1759-1798)
- Mar. Avent. Marius Aventicensis, *Chronicle*, ed. Th. Mommsen (*MGH, AA* XI, pp. 232-9)
- Marcell. com. Marcellinus comes, *Chronicle*, ed. Th. Mommsen (*MGH, AA* XI, pp. 60-104)
- Marcell. com. Addit.* Marcellinus comes, *Additions to the Chronicle*, ed. Th. Mommsen (*MGH, AA* XI, pp. 104-8)
- Marini, *P. Dip.* Gaetano Marini, *I papiri diplomatici raccolti ed illustrati* (Rome, 1805)
- Markoff A. Markoff, *Exagia byzantins en verre inédits*, in *Congrès internationale de Bruxelles* (Brussels, 1910), pp. 635-44
- Mart. Cap. *Lib.* Martianus Capella, *Libri IX de nuptiis Philologiae et Mercurii*, ed. J. Willis (Leipzig, 1983)

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- Martin of Braga C. W. Barlow, *Martini episcopi Bracarensis Opera Omnia* (Yale, 1950)
- Martyrium Arethae* *Martyrium S. Arethae et sociorum*, ed. J. Boissonade, *Anecdota Graeca* 5 (1833), also in *ASS*, Oct. X, 721-62
- Maur. *Strat.* Mauricius, *Strategicon*, ed. H. Mihăescu, *Arta Militara* (Bucharest, 1970); also ed. G. T. Dennis and E. Gamillscheg, *Das Strategikon des Maurikios* (Vienna, 1981); tr. Dennis (Philadelphia, 1984)
- Max. Conf. Maximus the Confessor, *Opera* (in *PG* 90-1)
- Max. Conf. Maximus the Confessor, *Computus Ecclesiasticus* (in *PG* 19.1218-80)
- Max. Conf. *Ep.* Maximus the Confessor, *Epistolae* (in *PG* 91.364-649)
- Max. Conf. *Opusc.* Maximus the Confessor, *Opuscula Theologica et Polemica* (in *PG* 91.9-286)
- Max. Conf. *Rel. Mot.* Maximus the Confessor, *Relatio Motionis* (in *PG* 90.109-29)
- MEFR* *Mélanges d'Archéologie et d'Histoire de l'École française de Rome*
- Men. Prot. Menander Protector, fragments, ed. C. Mueller (*FHG* IV); also ed. C. de Boor (*Exc. de leg.*); also ed. R. C. Blockley, *The History of Menander the Guardsman* (Liverpool, 1985)
- MGH, AA* *Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Auctores Antiquissimi* (Berlin, 1877-1919)
- MGH, Capit.* *Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Leges Sectio II, Capitularia regum Francorum* (Hanover, 1883-1897)
- MGH, Conc.* *Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Leges Sectio III, Concilia* (Hanover, 1893-1908)
- MGH, Diplomata Imperii I* *Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Diplomata Imperii*, I, ed. G. H. Pertz (Hanover, 1872)
- MGH, Epp. III* *Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Epistolae*, vol. III, = *Epistolae Merovingici et Karolini Aevi*, I (Hanover, 1892)
- MGH, Leg.* *Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Leges* (Hanover, 1835-1889)
- MGH, Scr. Rer. Lang.* *Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptores Rerum Langobardicarum et Italicarum* (Hanover, 1878)
- MGH, Scr. Rer. Mer.* *Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptores Rerum Merovingicarum* (Hanover, 1884-1920)
- Mich. Syr. Michael the Syrian, *Chronicle*, ed. and tr. J. B. Chabot (Paris, 1899-1924)
- Miles George C. Miles, *The Coinage of the Visigoths of Spain: Leovigild to Achila II* (New York, 1952)
- Millet, *Sceaux* G. Millet, *Sur les sceaux des commerçants byzantins*, in *Mélanges Schlumberger* II, pp. 303-27

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

- Mir. Artem.* *Miracula Artemii*, in *Varia Graeca Sacra*, ed. A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus (St Petersburg, 1909)
- Mir. Dem.* *Miracula Sancti Demetrii*, ed. and tr. P. Lemerle, in *Les plus anciens recueils des miracles de Saint Démétrius et de la pénétration des Slaves dans les Balkans* (Paris, 1979)
- Mitford and Nicolaou, *Inscriptions from Salamis* T. B. Mitford and I. K. Nikolaou, *The Greek and Latin Inscriptions from Salamis* (Nicosia, 1974)
- Mitteis, *Chrest.* L. Mitteis and U. Wilcken, *Grundzüge und Chrestomathie der Papyrskunde*, iv (Leipzig, Berlin, 1912)
- Monk of Whitby, *V. Greg.* *Whitby Life of Pope Gregory the Great*, ed. B. Colgrave (Kansas, 1968)
- Monneret de Villard, *Catalogue* Ugo Monneret de Villard, *Exagia bizantini in vitro, Catalogo*, in *Rivista Italiana di Numismatica e Scienze affini* xxxv (1922), pp. 93-107
- Moricca See *Greg. Dial.*
- Moses Dasxurançi Moses Dasxurançi (Mouses Daskhurançi), *A History of the Caucasian Albanians*, tr. C. J. F. Dowsett (Oxford, 1961)
- Narr. de aed. S. Soph.* *Narratio de aedificatione Sanctae Sophiae* (in *Scr. Or. Const.* 1.)
- Narr. de expugn. Syriae* *Narratio de expugnatione Syriae* (in *CSCO* (*Scr. Syr.*) iii 4)
- Narr. de reb. Arm.* *Narratio de rebus Armeniae* (in *PG* 132. 1237-57); also ed. G. Garitte with commentary in *CSCO*, *Subsidia* 4 (1952)
- Necrologium Imperatorum*, ed. R. Cessi, *Origo Civitatum Italiae seu Venetiarum* (= *Chronicon Altinate et Chronicon Gradense*) in *Fonti per la Storia d'Italia* (Rome, 1933), pp. 102ff.
- Neues Archiv* *Neues Archiv der Gesellschaft für ältere deutsche Geschichtskunde*
- Nic. Brev.* Nicephorus, *Breviarium*, ed. C. de Boor (Leipzig, 1880); also ed. and tr. C. A. Mango (Washington, D.C., 1990)
- Nic. Call. HE* Nicephorus Callistus, *Historia Ecclesiastica* (*PG* 145-7)
- Nonnosus Nonnosus, fragments, ed. C. Mueller (*FHG* iv)
- Not. Dig.* *Notitia Dignitatum*, ed. O. Seeck (Berlin, 1878)
- Not. Dig. Occ.* *Notitia Dignitatum, pars occidentalis*
- Not. Dig. Or.* *Notitia Dignitatum, pars orientalis*
- Not. Scav.* *Notizie degli Scavi di Antichità*
- Nouvelles Archives* *Nouvelles archives des missions scientifiques et littéraires*
- Olympiodorus, *In Alc.* Olympiodorus, *In Platonis Alcibiadem Commentarii*, ed. L. G. Westerink (Amsterdam, 1956)
- Orat. hist.* *Oratio historica* (*PG* 92. 1348-53)
- Origo Gent. Lang.* *Origo Gentis Langobardorum*, ed. G. Waitz (in *MGH, Scr. Rer. Lang.*, pp. 1-6)

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

- P. Amh.* *The Amherst Papyri*, ed. B. P. Grenfell and A. S. Hunt (London, 1900, 1901)
- P. Ant.* *The Antinoopolis Papyri*, 3 vols., ed. C. H. Roberts, J. W. B. Barns and H. Zilliacus (London, 1950, 1960, 1966)
- P. Beaugé* published by J. Maspero, in *Bulletin de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale* x (1912), pp. 131ff.
- P. Berl. Zill.* *Vierzehn Berliner Griechische Papyri*, ed. H. Zilliacus (Helsingfors, 1941) (= *Societas Scientiarum Fennica, Commentationes Humanarum Litterarum* xi, 4)
- P. Bour.* *Les Papyrus Bouriant*, ed. P. Collart (Paris, 1926)
- P. Cairo Masp.* *Catalogue général des antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Caire; papyrus grecs d'époque byzantine*, ed. J. Maspero, 3 vols. (Cairo, 1911-1916)
- P. Colt.* *Excavations at Nessana*, vol. iii, *Non-Literary Papyri*, ed. C. J. Kraemer, Jr. (Princeton, 1958)
- P. Erl.* *Die Papyri der Universitätsbibliothek Erlangen*, ed. W. Schubart (Leipzig, 1942)
- P. Flor.* *Papiri greco-egizii*, ed. D. Comparetti and G. Vitelli (Milan, 1906-1915)
- P. Fouad* *Les Papyrus Fouad I*, ed. A. Bataille, O. Gueraud, P. Jouguet and others (Cairo, 1939) (*Publications de la Société Fouad I de Papyrologie, Textes et Documents*, iii)
- P. Freer* *Greek and Coptic Papyri in the Freer Gallery of Art*, ed. L. S. B. McCoull (Washington, 1973)
- P. Gen.* *Les Papyrus de Genève*, ed. J. Nicole (Geneva, 1896-1900)
- P. Giss.* *Griechische papyri im Museum des oberhessischen Geschichtsvereins zu Giessen*, ed. O. Eger, E. Kornemann and P. M. Meyer (Leipzig, Berlin, 1910-1912)
- P. Grenf. II* *New Classical Fragments and other Greek and Latin Papyri*, ed. B. P. Grenfell and A. S. Hunt (Oxford, 1897)
- P. Harris* *The Rendel Harris Papyri*, ed. J. E. Powell (Cambridge, 1936)
- P. Herm.* *Papyri from Hermopolis and other Documents of the Byzantine Period*, ed. B. R. Rees (London, 1964)
- P. Iand.* *Papyri Iandanae*, 8 vols., ed. C. Kalbfleisch and others (Leipzig, 1912-)
- P. Ital.* *Die nichtliterarischen lateinischen Papyri Italiens aus der Zeit 445-700*, ed. J. O. Tjäder, 2 vols. (Stockholm, 1955, 1982)
- P. Lit. Lond.* *Catalogue of Literary Papyri in the British Museum*, ed. H. J. M. Milne (London, 1927)
- P. Lond.* *Greek Papyri in the British Museum*, ed. F. G. Kenyon and H. I. Bell (London, 1893-1917)

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- P. Mert.* *The Greek Papyri in the Collection of Wilfred Merton*, ed. H. I. Bell and others (London, Dublin, 1948, 1959)
- P. Michael.* *The Greek Papyri in the Collection of Mr G. A. Michailidis*, ed. D. S. Crawford (London, 1955)
- P. Monac.* *Veröffentlichungen aus der Papyrussammlung der K. Hof- und Staatsbibliothek zu München: Byzantinische Papyri*, ed. A. Heisenberg and L. Wenger (Leipzig, Berlin, 1914)
- P. Oxy.* *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, ed. B. P. Grenfell and others (London, 1898-)
- P. Princ.* *Papyri in the Princeton University Collections*, ed. A. C. Johnson and others (Princeton, 1931-1942 and 1965)
- P. Ross.-Georg.* *Papyri russischer und georgischer Sammlungen*, ed. G. Zereteli and others (vol. III, *Spätromische und byzantinische Texte*; Tiflis 1930)
- P. Strassb.* *Griechische Papyrus der Kaiserlichen Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek zu Strassburg*, ed. F. Preisigke and others (Leipzig, Paris, Strassburg, 1912-1963)
- P. Vars.* *Papyri Varsovienses*, ed. G. Manteuffel (Warsaw, 1935)
- P. Vatic. Aphrod.* *I papiri Vaticani di Aphrodito*, ed. R. Pintaudi (Rome, 1980)
- P. Wash. Un.* *Washington University Papyri I: Non-Literary Texts*, nos. 1-61, ed. V. B. Schuman (Chicago, 1980)
- Pais H. Pais, Supplement to *CIL* v, in *Memorie dei Lincei* v (Rome, 1888)
- Pal. Quart.* *Palestine Exploration Fund Quarterly Statement*; (later) *Palestine Exploration Quarterly*
- Panchenko, *Katalog* B. A. Panchenko, *Katalog molivodovulov* (published in *Bulletin de l'Institut Archéologique Russe à Constantinople*, 1903, 1904 and 1908)
- Papadopoulos-Kerameus, A., *Die Gewichte in Smyrna*, Μουσείο καὶ Βιβλιοθήκη τῆς Εὐαγγελικῆς Σχολῆς (Smyrna), 1881
- Parastaseis* *Parastaseis Syntomoi Chronicae* (*Enarrationes Breves Chronicae*), ed. Th. Preger (in *Scr. Or. Const.* 1); also ed. Averil Cameron and Judith Herrin, *Constantinople in the Early Eighth Century: The Parastaseis Syntomoi Chronikai* (Leiden, 1984)
- Pardessus, *Diplomata* J. M. Pardessus, *Diplomata, Chartae, Epistolae, Leges ad res Gallo-Francicas spectantia* (Paris, 1843-1849)
- Parochiale* *Parochiale of Suevic Galicia*, ed. P. David, *Études historiques sur la Galice et le Portugal du VI^e au XII^e siècle* (Lisbon, Paris, 1947); also in *Corpus Christianorum*, series Latina 175, pp. 411-20
- Partsch See Coripp.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

- Passio Kiliani* *Passio Kiliani martyris Wirziburgensis*, ed. W. Levison (*MGH, Scr. Rer. Mer.* v, pp. 722-8)
- Passio S. Desiderii* *Passio Sancti Desiderii episcopi Viennensis*, in *MGH, Scr. Rer. Mer.* III, pp. 638-45
- Patr. Const.* *Patria Constantinopolitana* (in *Scr. Or. Const.* II)
- Paul. Diac. *Hist. Lang.* Paul the Deacon, *Historia Langobardorum*, ed. G. Waitz (*MGH, Scr. Rer. Lang.*, pp. 45-187)
- Paul. Diac. *Hist. Rom.* Paul the Deacon, *Historia Romana*, ed. A. Crivellucci (Rome, 1914)
- Paul. Diac. *V. Greg.* Paul the Deacon, *Life of Pope Gregory the Great* (in *PL* 75.41-60); also ed. H. Grisar, in *Zeitschrift für katholische Theologie* XI (Innsbruck, 1887), pp. 158-73
- Paul. Silent. *Ephrasis* Paul the Silentary, Ἐκφρασις τοῦ νοοῦ τῆς Ἁγίας Σοφίας (in *PG* 86.2.2119-58); also ed. L. Friedlaender (Leipzig, Berlin, 1912)
- Pelag. I, *Ep.* Pelagius I, *Epistolae*, ed. P. M. Gasso and C. M. Batlle (Montserrat, 1956)
- Pelag. II, *Ep.* Pelagius II, *Epistolae* (in *PL* 72.703-50)
- Pertz, *Diplomata* See *MGH, Diplomata Imperii*
- PG* J. P. Migne, *Patrologia Graeca* (Paris, 1857-)
- Phot. *Bibl.* Photius, *Bibliotheca*, ed. I. Bekker (in *PG* 103-4); also ed. R. Henry (Paris, 1959-1977)
- Pink K. Pink, *Römische und byzantinische Gewichte in oesterreichischen Sammlungen* (*Sonderschriften des oesterreichischen archäologischen Institutes in Wien*, vol. XII) (Vienna, 1938)
- PL* J. P. Migne, *Patrologia Latina* (Paris, 1884-)
- PO* *Patrologia Orientalis* (Paris, 1903-)
- Preisigke, *Berichtigungsliste* F. Preisigke, *Berichtigungsliste der griechische Papyrusurkunden aus Aegypten* (Berlin, Leipzig, 1922-)
- Princ. Exp. Syr.* *Princeton University Archaeological Expeditions to Syria in 1904-1905 and 1909*, III (Greek and Latin Inscriptions) A (Leiden, 1921), B (Leiden, 1922)
- Pringle D. Pringle, *The Defence of Byzantine Africa from Justinian to the Arab Conquest* I-II (Oxford, 1981)
- Proc. Procopius of Caesarea, *Opera*, ed. J. Haury (Leipzig, 1905-1913)
- Proc. *Aed.* Procopius, *de aedificiis*
- Proc. *Anecd.* Procopius, *Anecdota sive Historia Arcana*
- Proc. *BG* Procopius, *de bello Gothico*
- Proc. *BP* Procopius, *de bello Persico*
- Proc. *BV* Procopius, *de bello Vandatico*
- Proc. Cam. Phil. Soc.* *Proceedings of the Cambridge Philological Society*

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

- Prosp. Haun. Extr.* See *Auct. Haun. Extr.*
- Ps.-Dion. *Chron.* *Chronicon Pseudo-Dionysianum vulgo dictum*, ed. and tr. J. B. Chabot in *GSCO (Scr. Syr.)*; vol. I = *Scr. Syr.* 43 (text), 66 (trans.); vol. II = *Scr. Syr.* 53 (text) (no trans.)
- Pseudo-Moschus See John Moschus, ed. P. Pattenden (forthcoming)
- PSI* *Papiri greci e latini*, ed. G. Vitelli and others (Florence, 1912-)
- Quart. Dept. Ant. Pal.* *Quarterly of the Department of Antiquities in Palestine*
- REA* *Revue des Études Anciennes*
- REB* *Revue des Études Byzantines*
- REG* *Revue des Études Grecques*
- Rev. Arch.* *Revue Archéologique*
- Rev. Bibl.* *Revue Biblique*
- Rev. d'hist. eccl.* *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique* (Louvain)
- Rev. d'hist. eccl. suisse* *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique suisse*
- Rev. de l'hist. des rel.* *Revue de l'histoire des religions*
- Rev. Num.* *Revue Numismatique*
- Rhein. Mus.* *Rheinisches Museum für Philologie*
- Rossi, *ICVR* G. B. de Rossi, *Inscriptiones Christianae Urbis Romae* (Rome, 1857-1888)
- Rostowtsew-Prou, *Catalogue* M. Rostowtsew and M. Prou, *Catalogue des plombs de l'antiquité et du Moyen Age et des temps modernes, conservés au Département des Médailles et Antiques de la Bibliothèque Nationale* (Paris, 1900)
- Rott, *Kleinasiatische Denkmäler* H. Rott, *Kleinasiatische Denkmäler aus Pisidien, Pamphylien, Kappadokien und Lykien* (Leipzig, 1908)
- Sabatier, *Iconographie, Plombs et Sceaux Titrés* J. Sabatier, *Iconographie d'une collection choisie de cinq mille médailles romaines, byzantines et cellibériennes* (St Petersburg, 1847-1860) (and cf. *Revue Archéologique*, 1858-1859, 1^{re} partie, pp. 82-100)
- SB* *Sammelbuch griechischer Urkunden aus Aegypten*, ed. F. Preisigke and others (Strassburg, Berlin, Leipzig and elsewhere, 1915-)
- Schlumberger, *Mél.* G. Schlumberger, *Mélanges d'archéologie byzantine* (Paris, 1895), with *REG* 13 (1900), *Rev. Num.* 9 (1905), 20 (1916)
- Schlumberger, *Sigill.* G. Schlumberger, *Sigillographie de l'empire byzantin* (Paris, 1884)
- Schwartz, *Vigiliusbriefe* See Vigilius, *Ep.*
- Scr. Or. Const.* *Scriptores Originum Constantinopolitanarum I-II*, ed. Th. Preger (Leipzig, 1901, 1907; repr. New York, 1975)
- SEG* *Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum*
- Sebeos Sebeos, *History of Heraclius*, tr. F. Macler (Paris, 1904)
- Sergius, *Epistola ad Honorium* (in *Mansi XI* 529-37)

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

- Sev. Ant. *Ep.* Severus of Antioch, *Epistolae*, ed. and tr. E. W. Brooks (PO 12 (1915), 14 (1919))
- Sev. Ant. *Ep. Sel.* *The Sixth Book of the Select Letters of Severus, Patriarch of Antioch*, ed. and tr. E. W. Brooks (London, 1902-1914)
- Severus (of Ushmūnayn), *Hist. Patr.* Severus ibn al-Muqaffa (Severus of Ushmūnayn), *History of the Patriarchs of Alexandria*, ed. and tr. B. Evetts (PO I; 1907)
- Severus (of Ushmūnayn), *Réfutation d'Eutychius* (in PO 3)
- Simpl. Simplicius, *Commentaries on Aristotle*, in *CAG VII-XI*
- Sisebut, *Ep.* Sisebut, *Epistola* (= *MGH, Epp.* III, *Ep. Wisig.* 9)
- Sitz. Akad. Bayer.* *Sitzungsberichte der bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, phil.-hist. Klasse
- Sophronius, *Anacreontica* Sophronius, patriarch of Jerusalem, *Anacreontica* (PG 87.3.3733ff.)
- Sophronius, *Mir. SS. Cyr. et Ioh.* Sophronius, patriarch of Jerusalem, *Miracula Sanctorum Cyri et Iohannis* (in PG 87.3.3423-676); also ed. N. Fernandez Marcos, *Los thaumata de Sofronio* (Madrid, 1975).
- Sophronius, *V. Ioh. El.* Sophronius, patriarch of Jerusalem, *Vita Iohannis Eleemosynarii*, ed. H. Delehayé, *Une vie inédite de Saint Jean l'Aumônier*, in *Anal. Boll.* 45 (1927)
- Spieser, *Travaux et Mémoires* 5 (1973) J.-M. Spieser, *Inventaires en vue d'un recueil des inscriptions historiques de Byzance. I. Les inscriptions de Thessalonique*, in *Travaux et Mémoires* 5 (1973), pp. 145-80.
- Spomenik* *Memoirs of the Royal Serbian Academy*
- Steph. Byz. Stephanus of Byzantium, *Ethnica*, ed. A. Meineke (Berlin, 1849; reprinted 1958)
- Stud. Amst.* *Studia Amstelodamensia ad epigraphicam, ius antiquum et papyrologicam pertinentia* (Amsterdam, 1972-)
- Stud. Pal.* *Studien zur Palaeographie und Papyruskunde*, ed. C. Wessely and others (Leipzig, 1901-)
- Suid. Suidas, *Lexikon*, ed. A. Adler (Leipzig, 1928-1938)
- Sym. Metaphr. *V. S. Theod. Coen.* Symeon Metaphrastes, *Vita Sancti Theodosii Coenobiarchae* (in PG 114.469-554)
- Symm. *Rel.* Symmachus, *Relationes*, ed. O. Seeck (*MGH, AA VI*)
- Ṭabarī Ṭabarī, *Annales*, ed. M. J. de Goeje (Leiden, 1879-1901)
- Tannery, *Mém. Scient.* Paul Tannery, *Mémoires scientifiques* (Paris, 1912)
- TAPS* *Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*
- Tchalenko, *Villages Antiques* G. Tchalenko, *Villages antiques de la Syrie du Nord*, 3 vols. (Paris, 1953-1958)
- Theod. Sync. Theodorus Syncellus, *Περὶ τῆς τῶν ἁθῶν βαρβάρων καὶ*

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

- Περσῶν... κινήσεως καὶ ἀναχωρήσεως, ed. L. Sternbach, in *Analecta Avarica*, Rozprawy Akademii Umiejetnosci Wydział Filologiczny, ser. II, tom. 15 (Cracow, 1900), pp. 297-334 (= L. Sternbach, *Studia Philologica in Georgium Pisidam*, Cracow, 1900)
- Theoph. Theophanes, *Chronographia* (dates 'Anno Mundi'), ed. C. de Boor (Leipzig, 1883, 1885)
- Theoph. Byz. Theophanes of Byzantium, fragments, ed. C. Mueller (*FHG* IV)
- Theoph. Sim. Theophylactus Simocatta, *Historiae*, ed. C. de Boor (1887); reprinted with corrections by P. Wirth (Stuttgart, 1972)
- Thiel A. Thiel, *Epistulae Romanorum Pontificum* (Braunsberg, 1867)
- Thomas Artsruni Thomas Artsruni, *History of the House of Artsruni*, tr. M. F. Brosset, in *Collections d'histoires arméniens* I (St Petersburg, 1874)
- Tiberius, *Nov.* Tiberius, *Novellae*, in Zepos, vol. I
- Türk Tarih Kurumu, Belleten*
- Tzetzes, *Chil.* John Tzetzes, *Historiarum Variarum Chiliades*, ed. T. Kiessling (Leipzig, 1826); also ed. P. A. M. Leone (Naples, 1968)
- Utilis Narratio* (in *PG* 92.1353-72)
- V. Anastas. Pers.* *Vita Anastasii Persae*, ed. A. Pertusi, *Anal. Boll.* 76 (1958)
- V. Aridii* *Vita Aridii episcopi Lemovicini*, ed. B. Krusch (*MGH, Scr. Rer. Mer.* III, pp. 581-609)
- V. S. Arnulfi* *Vita Sancti Arnulfi*, ed. B. Krusch (*MGH, Scr. Rer. Mer.* II, pp. 432-46)
- V(ita) S(anctae) Arthelaidis Virginis*, in *ASS*, Mart. I, pp. 263-4
- V. Audoeni* *Vita Audoeni episcopi Rotomagensis*, ed. W. Levison (*MGH, Scr. Rer. Mer.* V, pp. 553-67)
- V. Aviti* *Vita Aviti confessoris Aurelianensis*, ed. B. Krusch (in *MGH, Scr. Rer. Mer.* III, pp. 383-5)
- V. S. Balthildis* *Vita Sanctae Balthildis*, ed. B. Krusch (*MGH, Scr. Rer. Mer.* II, pp. 482-508)
- V. Betharii* *Vita Betharii episcopi Carnoteni*, ed. B. Krusch (*MGH, Scr. Rer. Mer.* III, pp. 613-19)
- V. Carileffi* *Vita Carileffi abbatis Anisolensis*, ed. B. Krusch (*MGH, Scr. Rer. Mer.* III, pp. 389-94)
- V. Dalmatii* *Vita Dalmatii episcopi Ruteni*, ed. B. Krusch (*MGH, Scr. Rer. Mer.* III, pp. 545-9)
- V. Dan. Scet.* *Vita Danielis Scetiotis*, ed. L. Clugnet, *Vie de l'abbé Daniel le Scétiote* (Paris, 1901)
- V. Desid. Cad.* *Vita Desiderii episcopi Cadurcensis*, ed. B. Krusch (*MGH, Scr. Rer. Mer.* IV, pp. 563-602)

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- V. Desid. Vienn.* Sisebut, *Vita Desiderii episcopi Viennensis*, ed. B. Krusch (*MGH, Scr. Rer. Mer.* III, pp. 630-7)
- V. Eligii* *Vita Eligii episcopi Noviomagensis*, ed. B. Krusch (*MGH, Scr. Rer. Mer.* IV, pp. 666-741)
- V. Gaugerici* *Vita Gaugerici episcopi Camaracensis*, ed. B. Krusch (*MGH, Scr. Rer. Mer.* III, pp. 652-8)
- V. S. Geretrudis* *Vita Sanctae Geretrudis*, ed. B. Krusch (*MGH, Scr. Rer. Mer.* II, pp. 453-74)
- V. S. Leobini* *Vita Sancti Leobini* (attributed wrongly to Venantius Fortunatus), ed. B. Krusch (*MGH, AA* IV, pp. 73-82)
- V. Nicetii* *Vita Nicetii episcopi Lugdunensis*, ed. B. Krusch (*MGH, Scr. Rer. Mer.* III, pp. 521-4)
- V. Patr. Emer.* *Vitas Sanctorum Patrum Emeretensium*, ed. J. N. Garvin (Washington, 1946)
- V. Samsonis* *Vita S. Samsonis*, ed. A. Plaine, *Anal. Boll.* 6 (1887), pp. 79-150
- V. Sym. Iun.* *Vita Symeonis iunioris*, ed. Van den Ven, *La vie ancienne de St Syméon le jeune* (Brussels, 1962-70)
- V. Theod. Syc.* *Vie de Theodore de Sykéon*, ed., tr. and comm. A.-J. Festugière (*Subsidia Hagiographica*, no. 48, parts 1 and 2) (Brussels, 1970)
- V. Vedastis* Ionas, *Vita Vedastis episcopi Atrebatensis*, ed. B. Krusch (*MGH, Scr. Rer. Mer.* III, pp. 406-13)
- Vardan *La Domination arabe en Arménie, extrait de l'Histoire Universelle de Vardan*, tr. with notes, by J. Muyltermans (Louvain, Paris, 1927)
- Ven. Fort. Venantius Fortunatus, ed. F. Leo and B. Krusch (*MGH, AA* IV)
- Ven. Fort. *App. Carm.* Venantius Fortunatus, *Appendix Carminum* (*MGH, AA* IV I, pp. 271-92)
- Ven. Fort. *Carm.* Venantius Fortunatus, *Carmina* (*MGH, AA* IV I)
- Ven. Fort. *V. S. Albini* Venantius Fortunatus, *Vita Sancti Albini* (*MGH, AA* IV II, pp. 27-33)
- Ven. Fort. *V. S. Germ.* Venantius Fortunatus, *Vita Sancti Germani* (*MGH, AA* IV II, pp. 11-27)
- Ven. Fort. *V. S. Mart.* Venantius Fortunatus, *Vita Sancti Martini* (*MGH, AA* IV II, pp. 295-370)
- Ven. Fort. *V. S. Paterni* Venantius Fortunatus, *Vita Sancti Paterni* (*MGH, AA* IV II, pp. 33-7)
- Ven. Fort. *V. S. Radeg.* Venantius Fortunatus, *Vita Sanctae Radegundis* (*MGH, AA* IV II, pp. 38-49) (also in *MGH, Scr. Rer. Mer.* II, pp. 364-7)
- Vict. Tonn. Victor Tonnennensis, *Chronicle*, ed. Th. Mommsen (*MGH, AA* XI, pp. 184-206)

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- Vigilius, *Ep.* Pope Vigilius, *Epistolae*, ed. E. Schwartz, in *Sitz. Akad. Bayer.* 1940 (= Schwartz, *Vigiliusbriefe*); also in *PL* 69.15-128 and in *MGH, Epp.* III, *Ep. Arelat.* gen. 38-45.
- Vita et Virtutes Eparchii Vita et Virtutes Eparchii reclusi Ecolismensis*, ed. B. Krusch (*MGH, Scr. Rer. Mer.* III, pp. 553-64)
- Vita Gregentii Vita et Disputatio cum Herbario Iudaeo*, ed. A. Vasiliev, *Vizantiskii Vremmenik* XIV (1907), pp. 39-66
- Vives, *Concilios* J. Vives, *Concilios visigóticos e hispano-romanos* (Barcelona, Madrid, 1963)
- Vives, *Inscripciones cristianas* J. Vives, *Inscripciones cristianas de la España romana y visigoda* (2nd edition; Barcelona, 1969)
- Wadd. W. H. Waddington, *Recueil des inscriptions grecques et latines de la Syrie* (Paris, 1870)
- Wallace-Hadrill See Fredegar.
- Whitby Life* See Monk of Whitby, *V. Greg.*
- Wien. Stud. Wiener Studien*
- Wilcken, *Chrest.* See Mitteis, *Chrest.*
- Wroth, *Coins of the Vandals, Ostrogoths and Lombards, and of the Empires of Thessalonica, Nicaea, and Trebizond in the British Museum* (London, 1911)
- Wroth, *Imp. Byz. Coins* W. Wroth, *Catalogue of the Imperial Byzantine Coins in the British Museum* (London, 1908)
- Xanthoudides, *ΕΕΒΣ* V (1928), pp. 31-5 Stephanos Xanthoudides, *Μολύβδιναι βούλλαι Κρήτης in Ἐπετηρίς Ἐταιρείας Βυζαντινῶν Σπουδῶν.*
- Zach. *HE* Zacharias Rhetor, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, ed. and tr. E. W. Brooks (*CSCO (Scr. Syr.)* III 5-6; 1919, 1921, 1924)
- Zachariae von Lingenthal, *Ἀνέκδοτα* (Leipzig, 1843)
- Zacos G. Zacos and A. Veglery, *Byzantine Lead Seals* (Basel, 1972)
- Zbornik Rad. Viz. Inst.* *Zbornik Radova Vizantoloshkog Instituta*
- Zepos, *Ius Graecoromanum* J. and P. Zepos, *Ius Graecoromanum*, 8 vols. (Athens, 1931)
- Zon. Ioannes Zonaras, *Epitome Historiarum*, ed. L. Dindorf (Leipzig, 1868-1875); also ed. Th. Büttner-Wobst (Bonn, 1897)
- ZPE* or *Z. Pap. Epigr.* *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik*

MODERN WORKS WITH ABBREVIATIONS

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- Oikonomides, *Listes* *Les Listes de préséance byzantines des IX^e et X^e siècles*;

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The following technical abbreviations have been used:

- Aug. Augustus
 com. comes
 com. dom. comes domesticorum
 com. Or. comes Orientis
 com. rei mil. comes rei militaris
 cons., cos. consul
 CRP comes rei privatae
 CSL comes sacrarum largitionum
 mag. lib. magister libellorum
 mag. mem. magister memoriae
 mag. mil. magister militum
 mag. off. magister officiorum
 MVM magister utriusque militiae
 not. notarius
 p., pr., praes. praeses
 p.c. post consulatum
 pal. palatinus

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

- pat. patricius
 PPO praefectus praetorio
 praef. praefectus
 praep. praepositus
 proc. proconsul
 PSC praepositus sacri cubiculi
 p.u. praefectus urbis
 PVC praefectus urbis Constantinopolitanae
 PVR praefectus urbis Romae
 QSP quaestor sacri palatii
 schol. scholasticus
 trib. tribunus
 vic. vicarius

- c.f. clarissima femina
 c.p. clarissimus puer or clarissima puella
 inl.f. inlustris femina
 sp.f. spectabilis femina
 v.c. (or c.v.) vir clarissimus
 v.d. vir devot(issim)us
 v.glor. vir gloriosissimus
 v.inl. vir inlustris
 v.l. vir laudabilis
 v.magn. vir magnific(entissim)us
 v.p. vir perfectissimus
 v.sp. vir spectabilis
 v.subl. vir sublimis

- acc. accepta
 dat. data
 pp. proposita

Note also (in seal references):

- obv. obverse
 rev. reverse

SYMBOLS AND CONVENTIONS

The attention of readers is drawn to the following:

Names in **bold roman** are of persons who held posts or dignities in the 'illustri' or higher grades or which were later elevated to those grades.

Names in **ROMAN CAPITALS** are of persons who held posts or dignities in the 'spectabilis' grade or which were later elevated to that grade.

Names in *ITALIC CAPITALS* are of persons who were 'clarissimi' or 'perfectissimi' (see also the remarks about *clarissimi* in the preface).

In cross-references the notice will be found under the name which is picked out by an initial bold roman letter, e.g. Flavius **T**iberius Constantinus.

In the stemmata the names of emperors are given in **bold type**.

Dates are given as follows:

527/565 at some date between 527 and 565 inclusive

527-565 from 527 to 565 inclusive

NOTE TO THE READER

The attention of readers is drawn to the following points:

- (a) Translated quotations (whether in Latin or in a modern language) from oriental sources are always given in quotation marks, whether they stand alone or in parentheses or form part of a sentence.
- (b) References to Syriac and Arabic sources, where double, give the page of the Syriac or Arabic text first and that of the translation second.

Similarly, in references to John of Nikiu, the first reference is to chapter and subsections of the translation by Charles, the second, in parentheses, is to the pages of that by Zotenberg.

References to John Moschus are also double, the first number being to the (forthcoming) edition by Dr Philip Pattenden (to be published in the *Corpus Christianorum* and the *Sources chrétiennes*), the second, in parentheses, to the text in Migne, *PG*.

- (c) On the interpretation of the word *ταξίαρχος*, see Theodorus 21.
- (d) On Procopius' use of stock phrases to describe people, see Averil Cameron, *Procopius*, pp. 44-45, p. 240 with n. 84.

THE PROSOPOGRAPHY

Abandanēs

Persian envoy to Belisarius 542

On the name, see Justi, p. 1.

A Persian, one of the royal secretaries (τῶν βασιλικῶν γραμματέων ἕνα), sent by Chosroēs on a mission to Belisarius in 542; Proc. *BP* II 21.1–22 (= Cedr. I 653). See further Belisarius, p. 210.

Abaskīrōn (? Ἄπτα Ἰσχυρίων)

?topoteretes or tribunus (in Egypt) L VI

On the name, see Maspero, *Org. Mil.*, p. 130, n. 1.

A native of the town of Aykilāh, later called Zāwiya, near Alexandria, he was of wealthy family, eldest brother of Menas 12 and Iacobus 6, father of Isaac 6; Joh. Nik. 97.1–4 (p. 529 Zotenberg).

He was a 'scribe'; Joh. Nik. 97.2 (p. 529). The Ethiopic word, according to Zotenberg (p. 529, n. 3), appears to be a transcription of an Arabic word for scribe (nassākh). The original title may have been some word denoting a man of learning, e.g. *scholasticus* or *grammaticus*, but this is only guesswork.

?TOPOTERETES OR TRIBVNVS: he and his brothers and his son were given 'le commandement de plusieurs villes d'Égypte' by the *augustalis* of Alexandria, Ioannes 169; Joh. Nik. 97.3 (p. 529). They took advantage of their position to misuse their authority, attacking members of the Blue faction and sacking the towns of Bana and Bousir, where they burned down the public baths; they are said to have acted without the authority of the 'préfet du canton' (probably the pagarch); Joh. Nik. 97.4–5 (p. 529). It is not obvious what positions they held. They do not appear to have been military men (soldiers are not mentioned as under their command) and were perhaps *loci servatores* (topoteretae) of the *augustalis* of Alexandria; they may however have been military officers, in spite of John of Nikiu's silence, and if so were perhaps *tribuni*.

The violence was reported to the emperor Maurice by Ioannes and by 'le préfet de la ville de Bousir' (perhaps the *defensor* – ἐκδικος), and he instructed Ioannes to dismiss them; they then revolted and with a band of armed followers seized grain ships bound for Alexandria, provoking a shortage there; Ioannes was replaced by Paulus 26, then reinstated with special orders to restore order at Aykilāh; the rebels extended their activities throughout Egypt by land and water and under Isaac even raided Cyprus; Joh. Nik. 97.7–9 (pp. 529–30 Zotenberg). They con-

tinued to seize grain ships and also confiscated imperial revenues ('s'emparaient de l'impôt impérial et forçaient le préfet du canton de leur remettre les livraisons de l'impôt'); Joh. Nik. 97.13 (p. 531 Zotenberg). Ioannes took action against them with the aid of the general Theodorus 59, who burned the rebel camp; many of their supporters deserted, and they were now defeated by Theodorus and pursued first to Abusan and then to Alexandria, where they were taken prisoner; they were put on public display, as an example, and then imprisoned; Joh. Nik. 97.19-25 (pp. 531-2 Zotenberg). Later the three brothers were executed by Constantinus 12; Joh. Nik. 97.28 (p. 532).

Abbelinus Frankish comes (in Burgundy) 610

Comes; in 610 Abbelinus and Herpinus 'cum ceteris de ipso pago comitibus' encountered an army of Alamannic raiders near Avenches and were heavily defeated; Fredegar. iv 37 (in year 15 of Theoderic).

Abbo Frankish tribunus 555/576

Tribunus, at Rotagiacum (Rozay-en-Brie); he refused a request by bishop Germanus of Paris (555/576) to release some captives; when they escaped (following the prayers of Germanus) he was held guilty (reus); Ven. Fort. *V. S. Germ.* LXI 163-5.

Ablabius (*Anth. Gr.* vii 559) V/VI: *PLRE* II.

Ablabius I musician (or ?official of the mint) 562

Son of Meltiades; Joh. Mal. 493, Joh. Mal. fr. 49.

He was probably a musician (apparently belonging to one of the circus factions) in or before 562: ὁ μελιστής, Joh. Mal. fr. 49; ἀπὸ μελιστῶν, Theoph. AM 6055. For μελιστής, cf. Cameron, *Circus Factions*, p. 260 with n. 2. It is possible however that he was instead an official of the mint; cf. Du Cange, *Glossarium Graecitatis* 899 'Μελιστής: Monetarius, ἀργυροκόπος, qui argentum vel monetam incidit, μελίζει, κόπτει. (Du Cange then cites Theophanes and comments:) Ubi interpres exmonetarium vertit. Miscella vero: erant autem Ablavius et Marcellus pecuniarum venditores.' The translation of Anastasius Bibliothecarius (perhaps Du Cange's Miscella) has: erant autem Ablabius et Marcellus pecuniarum venditor et Sergius (omitting to translate ἀπὸ μελιστῶν). The identity (and authority) of Du Cange's 'interpres' is apparently unknown.

On Nov. 25, 562, Ablabius was involved in the plot to assassinate Justinian and received fifty pounds of gold from Marcellus 4 for taking part; it was he who entrusted the secret to Eusebius 4 and Ioannes 81

and led to the plot's discovery; he was caught entering the palace with a dagger; Joh. Mal. 493, Joh. Mal. fr. 49, Theoph. AM 6055. His fate is not recorded.

Ablabius 2

vir illustris; poet M VI

Author of a poem apparently to be inscribed on a dish belonging to one Asclepiades (cf. Asclepiades); it was included in the *Cycle* of Agathias; *Anth. Gr.* ix 762 (Ἀβλαβίου ἰλλουστρίου), cf. Averil and Alan Cameron, *JHS* 86 (1966), p. 8.

Abocharabus (Abū Karib)

phylarch of the Arabs (in Palestine) 528-543

Ruler of the Arabs near the region known as ὁ φοινικῶν (the Palmtrees, adjacent to Palaestina Tertia) (ὁ τῶν ἐκείνη Σαρακηνῶν ἄρχων); he gave the Palmtrees to Justinian and was appointed *phylarchus* of the Arabs in Palestine (καὶ αὐτὸν βασιλεὺς φύλαρχον τῶν ἐν Παλαιστίνῃ Σαρακηνῶν κατεστήσατο); Proc. *BP* I 19.8-13. Abū Karib probably became *phylarchus* in 528, after the death of Arethas the Kindite (*PLRE* II); see I. Kavar, *BZ* 53 (1960), pp. 66, 68-9.

He was son of Jabalat (Jabalab, Gabala in *PLRE* II) (and therefore a brother of Arethas (al-Hārith ibn Jabalah) and a Ghassānid) and was alive in c. 540/542, when he was one of the rulers who sent an embassy to Abraha in South Arabia; Glaser, *Zwei Inschriften*, p. 50, lines 90-2 ('an envoy of Hārith son of Djabalat, and an envoy of Abikarib son of Djabalat') (the date is uncertain, but was c. 540/542).

He was still alive in 543; see Noeldeke, *Die Ghassānischen Fürsten*, p. 26.

Abraham: notarius, bishop of Amida E/M VI; *PLRE* II.

Abramius: father of Nonnosus; envoy to the Arabs E/M VI: *PLRE* II.

Abraamius I

curator (in Nubia) L VI

He composed the Greek inscription recording the construction of the fortress of Ikhmindī under Tociltōeton and Iosephius 5; *SB* 10074 = *SEG* xviii 724 = *La Parola del Passato* xiv (1959), pp. 458-65 (δὲ ἐμοῦ Ἀβρααμίου κοράτωρος ἐγράφη). He was possibly an imperial official stationed at Talmis or in Nubia to supervise trade.

Abramius 2

patricius VI

Ἀβραμίου πατρικίου; Fogg Art Museum seal 2748 (seal; VI Oikonomides; obv.: cruciform monogram (1) of Ἀβραμίου; rev.: cruciform monogram (251) of πατρικίου).

Abraamius 3 former scholasticus (in Egypt) VI

He wrote a (sixth-century) document found at Aphrodito—line 14 ἐγράφη δι' ἐμοῦ Ἀβρααμίου ἀπὸ σχ[ο]λ(αστικοῦ); *P. Lond.* v 1701 Aphrodito.

Abramius 4 honorary consul M VI/VII

Ἀβρααμίου ἀπὸ ὑπάτων; Fogg Art Museum seal 2257 (seal; VI/VII Oikonomides; obv.: cruciform monogram (2) of Ἀβρααμίου; rev.: +/ΑΠΟ/ΥΠΑ/ΤΩΝ).

Abramius 5 ex praefectis M VI/M VII

Ἀβρααμίου ἀπὸ ἐπαρχῶν; Zacos 2766 = Dumbarton Oaks seal 55.1.165 (seal; obv.: cruciform monogram (3) of Ἀβρααμίου; rev.: ΑΠΟ/ΕΠΑΡ/Χ[ΩΝ]).

Abraamius 6 argentarius (at Constantinople) ?E VII

Ἀ τραπεζίτης at Constantinople, near the church of St John, where he was treasurer of a fraternity (ὅς ἦν καὶ ἀρκάριος τοῦ φιλικοῦ τῶν τῆς παννυχίδος); *Mir. Artem.* 21.

Abraamius 7 MVM VII

Ἀβρααμίου στρατηλάτου; Zacos 1393 = Dumbarton Oaks seal 58.106.2292 (seal; obv.: cruciform monogram of Θεοτόκε βοήθει; rev.: +ΑΒΡ/ΑΑΜΙΟΝ/ΣΤΡΑΤΗ/ΛΑΤΟΝ).

Abraha king of the Himyarites c. 531–?547

A Christian, slave of a Roman merchant in Adulis, he became king of the Homeritae (the Himyarites, in South Arabia) in succession to Esimiphaeus, following a revolt by Ethiopian slaves; he retained his position in spite of attempts to overthrow him by Hellesthaeus (*PLRE* II, Elesboas), after whose death (date unknown) he agreed to pay tribute to the king of Ethiopia; once established, he agreed to requests from Justinian for military aid against Persia and, according to Procopius, actually set out on an expedition (perhaps in the 540s, during the second Persian war of Justinian) but quickly gave up and returned home; *Proc. BP* I 20.3–8, 20.13.

He is attested as king in c. 540/542; Glaser, *Zwei Inschriften*, p. 42, lines 3ff. (= *Corp. Inscr. Sem.* IV 541) ('Abraha, the descendant of men of Ge'ez, the *ramaihis*; Za Bayman, king of Saba' and Dhū Raydān and Ḥaḍramawt and Yamanat and of "their" Arabs on the plateau and in Tihamat' (translation by S. Smith, *BSOAS* 1954, p. 437); the inscription

records embassies sent to him in c. 540/542). He was still king in the mid 540s; see G. Ryckmans, *Inscriptions sud-arabes*, no. 506 (*Le Muséon* 66, pp. 278–84), lines 1–2 ('King Abraha Zybm, king of Saba and Dhū-Raydān and Ḥaḍramūt and Yamanat and of their Arabs, on the high plateau and the coastal plain'). The date may be 547 but could be earlier, perhaps 544 (it perhaps refers to events during the second Persian war of Justinian); cf. Ryckmans, pp. 339–40, but see also M. J. Kister, *Le Muséon* 78, pp. 425–28.

See also *Enc. of Islam*² I, pp. 102–3, and cf. I. Shahid, *The Martyrs of Najran*, pp. 228–30.

Abros (Abrash) dux (at Callinicum) 531

An Arab ally of the Romans and a *dux*, in 531 he was captured by the Persians at the battle of Callinicum (on April 19; see Belisarius, p. 185); *Joh. Mal.* 463 (ἐκ δὲ Ῥωμαίων Σαρακηνῶν ἐλήφθη Ἄβρος ὀνόματι δούξ). His name probably represents Arabic Abrash. In the battle the Arab allies were on the Roman right wing, away from the river, under the overall command of Arethas the Ghassānid (al-Ḥārith); cf. Bury, *LRE*² II, pp. 86–7.

Abū Badr governor of Edessa 639/640

The first Arab governor of Edessa, after the battle of the Yarmuk and the conquest of Mesopotamia; *Chron.* 819 s.a. 947 ('dux ex illis primus qui Edessam et Ḥarran ingressus est fuit Abu Bader'), *Chron.* 1234, cxxi ('primus ex Arabibus regnavit Edessae Abu Bedr'). Mesopotamia was conquered by the Arabs in 639; see *Iad.*

Abū Badr is apparently unknown apart from these two Syriac chronicles, which perhaps preserve a local tradition at Edessa.

Abū Bakr aṣ-Şiddīq caliph 632–634

Greek sources call him Ἀβουβάχαρ(ος).

A member of the Quraysh, he was born c. 570/571 and became a successful merchant; an early convert to Islam (cf. *Theoph. AM* 6122), he accompanied the Prophet on the emigration to Medina; his daughter 'Ā'ishah was one of the Prophet's wives; see *Enc. of Islam*² I, pp. 109–11 (*W. Montgomery Watt*) and cf. *Balādhurī*, pp. 11, 18 = *Hitti*, pp. 26, 34–5.

Caliph a. 632–634: chosen as successor (khalīfah), he ruled the Arabs from Medina from the Prophet's death in June 632 until his own on Aug. 23, 634; *Balādhurī*, pp. 32, 66, 69, 88, 114 = *Hitti*, pp. 54, 101, 107, 134, 175 (he died on the twenty-second of Jumāda II in year thirteen of the Hegira), *Theoph. AM* 6122, 6125 (ἀμπεύσας ἔτη δὺο ἡμισυ), *Cedr.*

1 738, 745. Const. Porph. *Adm. Imp.* 18.3 (δεύτερος ἀρχηγός τῶν Ἀράβων), Agapius, pp. 453, 468, 469, Eutychius, *Annales*, col. 1093, 1094, Bar Hebr., *Chron.*, pp. 92-3, *Hist. Nest.* II 104, Mich. Syr. XI 3, 4, 5, *Chron.* 1234, cv, cvi, cxii, *Chron.* 819, s.a. 942, 945, *Chron. Iac. Edess.*, p. 327 = p. 251.

After an initial period of warfare in Arabia against various tribes which rejected Islam or refused to accept rule from Medina (the so-called *ridda* wars), Abū Bakr sent armed forces into the Roman empire and began the conquest of Syria and Palestine (cf. 'Amr ibn al-'Āṣ, Abū 'Ubaydah, Khālīd ibn Sa'īd, and Shurahbīl ibn Ḥasanak); Balādhurī, pp. 76-7 = Hitti, p. 117, 88 = Hitti, p. 134, 94-107 = Hitti, pp. 143-62 (the *ridda* wars), pp. 107-9 = Hitti, pp. 165-8 (Syria), p. 138 = Hitti, p. 213 (Palestine), Theoph. AM 6124, Cedr. I 742, Const. Porph. *Adm. Imp.* 18, Agapius, p. 468, Eutychius, *Annales*, col. 1093, *Chron.* 1234, cvi, Mich. Syr. XI 4. He also sent Khālīd ibn al-Walīd against Iraq; Balādhurī, p. 241 = Hitti, p. 387.

He was succeeded by Omar ('Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb).

Abū Guaidadus(?) leading citizen of Jerusalem 637

He and the patriarch Sophronius were among the leaders of Jerusalem ('principes civitatis') when the city fell to 'Umar; *Chron.* 1234, cxx ('inter eos unus fuit, quem Abu Guaidadum appellat Arabes'). A note by Chabot *ad loc.* (versio, p. 199) proposes 'Guaidus' as the correct reading.

He was evidently an Arab; his name was possibly Abū Ju'aydid (suggested in a private communication by Dr Lawrence Conrad).

Abu Karib; see Abocharabus.

Abulkulab Arab commander 632/634

Arab sheikh from the Yemen ('dux Iemanitarum'), sent by Abū Bakr (with Abū 'Ubaydah, 'Amr, Shurahbīl and Yazīd) to attack Syria; *Chron.* 1234, cvi, and cf. Balādhurī, p. 107 = p. 165, Ṭabarī I, pp. 2004-5, 2082-4 (people from the Yemen and elsewhere came to Medina to serve on the campaigns against Syria under Khālīd, Shurahbīl and 'Amr), and Donner, *Early Islamic Conquests*, p. 119.

Abundantius: PPO Italiae 526-527; *PLRE* II.

Abundantius I officialis of the PVR M VI

Pr]a[ef]ectianus; died aged about forty, buried at Rome on 8 September 540; *CIL* VI 3371 = *ILCV* 411 adn.

Abundantius 2 military commander under Dagobert 631

In early 631 Abundantius and Venerandus led an army levied by Dagobert at Toulouse, to accompany Sisenandus to Saragossa; they returned to Gaul after the coronation of Sisenand (26 March 631); Fredegar. IV 73. The events are narrated by Fredegarius under year nine of Dagobert (a. 630).

Fl. Abus (*CIL* VIII 2272): *PLRE* II.

Abū Sufyān Arab leader E/M VII

He was a leader of the Quraysh and an active opponent of Mohammed before his conversion to Islam; see *Enc. of Islam*² I, pp. 150-1.

Father of Yazīd and Mu'āwiyah; *Chron.* 1234, cvi, cxx. In the pre-Islamic period he traded with Syria and owned an estate south of Damascus, a village called Qubbash; Balādhurī, p. 129 = Hitti, p. 197 ('Qubbash farm. I was told by certain learned men among whom was a neighbour of Hishām ibn 'Ammār that Abū Sufyān ibn Ḥarb possessed in the pre-Islamic period, in which he carried on trade with Syria, a village in al-Balqā called Qubbash. This village passed into the possession of Mu'āwiyah and his son, and at the beginning of the (Abbasid) dynasty it was confiscated and possessed by certain sons of al-Mahdī, the "Commander of the Believers". Then it passed into the hands of certain oil-sellers of al-Kūfah known as the Banū Nu 'aym').

Said to have arrived in the Arab camp shortly before the battle of Yarmuk; *Chron.* 1234, cxvi.

He died aged eighty-eight in year 31 A.H. = A.D. 653; Balādhurī, p. 135 = Hitti, p. 208.

Also mentioned in Balādhurī, pp. 36-8 (Hitti, pp. 61-3), 56 (Hitti, p. 87), 59 (Hitti, p. 91), 69 (Hitti, p. 107), 103 (Hitti, p. 157).

Abū 'Ubayda ibn al-Jarrāḥ Arab general (in Syria) 634-639

He was of the family of al-Hārith, of the Quraysh tribe of Fihri, and once emigrated to Ethiopia; he was (apparently) aged forty-one at the battle of Badr (in 624) (but cf. below); in 632 he and 'Umar helped to secure the appointment of Abū Bakr as caliph; see *Enc. of Islam*² I, p. 158 (H. A. R. Gibb).

One of the generals sent by Abū Bakr against Syria; *Chron.* 1234, cvi. A leading Arab in the campaigns in Syria, he was appointed commander-in-chief in succession to Khālīd ibn al-Walīd by 'Umar (in 634); Balādhurī, p. 108 = Hitti, pp. 165-6, p. 115 = Hitti, p. 176 (he was at the battle of Pella and replaced Khālīd in autumn 634), p. 116

= Hitti, p. 178, *Chron.* 1234, cxvi, Agapius, p. 474 (giving the year 15 Hegira, 26 of Heraclius, = A.D. 636). He was present at the siege of Damascus; Balādhurī, pp. 120ff. = Hitti, pp. 186ff., *Chron.* 1234, cxi. On 'Umar's orders he stopped plundering in the Jordan area and began to exact tribute; *Chron.* 1234, cxv. He was Arab commander at Yarmuk; Balādhurī, pp. 144-5 = Hitti, p. 223, *Chron.* 1234, cxvi. After Yarmuk he led the Arab conquest of northern Syria, capturing Aleppo and Antioch and advancing as far as the Euphrates; Balādhurī, p. 137 = Hitti, p. 211, pp. 144-50 = Hitti, pp. 223-32, *Chron.* 1234, cxix. He laid siege to Jerusalem (but cf. 'Amr); *Chron.* 1234, cxx. According to Agapius, he was made governor of Egypt as well as Syria by 'Umar after the fall of Jerusalem; Agapius, p. 476 (Egypt was not yet conquered; perhaps he was appointed to lead the invasion of Egypt, but died first).

He died of plague at Emmaus in 639 (year 18 Hegira), aged fifty-eight; Balādhurī, p. 139 = Hitti, p. 215, *Chron.* 1234, cxx, Agapius, p. 477.

See also *Enc. of Islam*² I, pp. 158-9, and, on the problems of the sources, Donner, *Early Islamic Conquests*.

Acholiuſ Abyduſ (*CIL* xiv 157): *PLRE* II.

Acaciuſ (*CIL* xv 7121): *PLRE* II.

ACACIVS I proconsul Armeniae Primae 536 (?538/539)

A native of Armenia; Proc. *BP* II 21.2 (= Cedr. 1653). Father of Adoliuſ; Proc. *BP* II 3.10, 21.2.

He accused his friend, Amazaspes, to Justinian of misusing his authority over the Armenians and of planning treason with Persia, and on the emperor's instructions he treacherously murdered him; Proc. *BP* II 3.4-5.

?CONSULARIS ARMENIAE MAGNAE, then PROCONSUL ARMENIAE PRIMAE a. 536 March 18 (?538/539): he was made governor of Armenia in place of Amazaspes; Proc. *BP* II 3.5 (τὴν Ἀρμενίων ἀρχὴν δόντος βασιλέως ἔσχεν αὐτός). In office on March 18, 536; Just. *Nov.* 21 (addressed Ἀκακίῳ τῷ μεγαλοπρεπεστάτῳ ἀνθυπάτῳ Ἀρμενίας; the law confers on Armenian women the same rights of inheritance as those enjoyed by women elsewhere in the Roman empire). Another law of Justinian, also issued on March 18, 536, which reformed the provincial administration of Armenia by creating four new provinces, records Acacius as already the governor of Armenia Interior, which is now re-formed as Armenia Prima and placed under a proconsul; Just. *Nov.* 31. 1 praef. (τοιγαροῦν τέσσαρας εἶναι πεποιήκαμεν Ἀρμενίας, τὴν μὲν ἐνδοτάτην... ἦνπερ καὶ ἀνθυπατεία τετιμήκαμεν, ἧς Ἀκάκιος προέστηκεν ὁ μεγαλοπρεπέστατος,

σπεκταβιλίαν τε ἀποφάναντες τὴν ἀρχὴν καὶ πάντα δόντες αὐτῇ, ὁπόσα προσῆκόν ἐστιν ἀνθυπατείαν ἔχειν. The province is identified as Armenia Prima in *Nov.* 31. 1 3). This suggests that Acacius was originally *consularis* of Armenia Magna (for the status of the governor, cf. Just. *Nov.* 8, *notit.* 23 and for the identity of Armenia Magna with Armenia Interior, cf. *CJ* I 29.5) and was then promoted to proconsul with the creation of the new province.

He proved highly unpopular, extorting money and collecting heavy taxes from subjects who hitherto had been exempt; he is also accused by Procopius of great cruelty; eventually the Armenians formed a conspiracy and killed him; Proc. *BP* II 3. 6-7. His assassin was the Arsacid Artabanes 2; Proc. *BV* II 27.17. The date was 538/539; cf. Sittas and Buzes.

Acacius 2 army officer (at Alexandria) 539/540

A native of Amida; given command of the troops in Alexandria in 539/540 to guard the newly enthroned patriarch Zoilus from the populace ('et huius ab impetu populi urbis custodiendi causa χιλίαρχον Romanorum ibi collocatorum Acacium Bar Eškāphā amidensem constituerunt'); Zach. *HE* x 1.

The supreme army commander in Alexandria by this date was the *dux et praefectus augustalis Aegypti*; this was certainly not the post held by Acacius, who was presumably a professional soldier, perhaps a *comes rei militaris* or a *tribunus*.

Acacius 3 imperialis curator M VI

'Ακακίου τοῦ βασιλικοῦ κουράτορος; he had a daughter; the attempt to punish a man of the Green faction for her rape led to factional disorders in the Pittacia district; Joh. Mal. fr. 50. From the position of the fragment the incident occurred late in Justinian's reign, after the plot of Nov. 562 to kill Justinian (fr. 49; cf. Ablabius 1) and before the second urban prefecture of Zemarchus in 565 (fr. 51). An incident in the Pittacia is recorded (Joh. Mal. 492) but its date was Oct. 562.

He may have been *curator* of a *domus divina* (and if so was a *vir illustris*) but this is not certain; possibly he was an official of the palace.

Acacius 4 ?scribo 573

Son of Archelaus; Joh. Epiph. fr. 4 ('Ακάκιον ἐκπέμψας - Ἀρχελάου δὲ τοῦτον Ῥωμαῖοι προσονομάζειν εἰώθησαν), Theoph. Sim. III 11.1 ('Ακάκιον τὸν Ἀρχελάου), cf. Joh. Eph. *HE* III 6.2 (= Mich. Syr. x 8) ('cui nomen fuit Acacius Archelao'). Acacius; Evagr., *Chron.* 1234, Bar Hebr. Archelaus; Theoph.

Sent by Justin II to the east to dismiss the MVM *per Orientem* Marcianus 7, he did so in an insulting manner in front of Marcianus' troops and at a time when Marcianus was on the point of capturing Nisibis by siege; the Roman troops promptly abandoned the siege; Joh. Epiph. fr. 4, Joh. Eph. HE III 6.2 (= Mich. Syr. x 8), Evagr. HE v 9, Theoph. Sim. III 11.1, Nic. Call. HE XVII 38, Chron. 1234, lxx, Bar Hebr., Chron., p. 77. Several of the sources claim that he succeeded Marcianus as MVM *per Orientem* (Joh. Epiph., Theoph., Nic. Call., Chron. 1234, Bar Hebr.) but this is not supported by the other early sources and Theoph. Byz. fr. 4 names Marcianus' successor as Theodorus Tzirus (Theodorus 31).

One good Syriac source calls him 'tribunus'; Chron. 1234, lxx. He may have been a *scribo*; *scribones* were often employed on important missions.

Described as reckless and insolent; Evagr. HE v 9 (ἀτάσθαλόν τινα καὶ ὑβριστήν), Nic. Call. HE XVII 38, cf. Joh. Eph. HE III 6.2 ('vir quidem agrestis'), Chron. 1234, lxx, Bar Hebr., Chron., p. 77.

Acacius 5 argentarius ?VI/VII

'Αργυροπράτης, whose young son was miraculously cured; *Mir. Artem.* 10 (p. 10).

Acataphronius PPO Italiae VI/E VII

'Ακαταφρονίου p(raefecti) p(raetorio) Italiae; Zacos 732 (seal; obv.: AKAT/[A]ΦΡΟ/ΝΙΟΝ; rev.: +ΠΡ/IT[A]/LI[Ε]). For similar seals, see Gray Birch, *BM Seals*, p. 59, nos. 17766 and 17768, and Laurent, *Médailles*, no. 104.

Acellus senior (?of Naples) 598/599

Senior; he paid eight *solidi* to ransom a hostage, Stephanus; Greg. *Ep.* ix 84 (a. 598 Dec./599 Jan.). The letter is addressed to the *rector patrimonii* in Campania, Anthemius. The *seniores* were municipal dignitaries; cf. Brown, *Gentlemen*, p. 18 with n. 35. Possibly Acellus was at Naples.

Achilles (*CIL* VI 31937/8) c. 457-534: *PLRE* II.

Acindynus I commander of Carrhae (Osrhoene) L VI

Governor of Harran (Carrhae, in Osrhoene) in the reign of Maurice; he was crucified after his secretary (Iyarios) denounced him as a pagan who only pretended to be a Christian; Mich. Syr. x 24 ('the chief (ἡγεμών) who commanded in the city'; he 'had the government of Harran'), Chron. 1234, lxxviii ('erat autem praefectus Harran hoc

tempore, vir nomine Acindynus'). The use of ἡγεμών implies a civil governor, but Carrhae was not the metropolis of Osrhoene (that was Edessa) and Acindynus could have been a military commander stationed at Carrhae.

Acindynus 2 MVM VI/VII

'Ακινδύνου στρατηλάτου; Zacos 733, Fogg Art Museum seal 974 (two seals, dated VII Zacos, VI/VII Oikonomides; obv.: +AKI/NAVN/OV+; rev.: +CTP/ATH[Λ]/ATOV Zacos, +CTP/ATHΛ/ATO/V Museum seal).

Acindynus 3 ex praefectis M VI/M VII

'Ακινδύνου ἀπὸ ἐπάρχων; Fogg Art Museum seal 187 (seal; obv.: cruciform monogram (11) of 'Ακινδύνου; rev.: +/ΑΠΟ/ΕΙΤΑΡ/ΧΩΝ).

Ad... (?) illustrius (in Egypt) VI

A letter from Aphrodito records the arrival of a ταξεώτης announcing the approach of τοῦ ἐνδοξοτάτου ἰλλουστρίου αδ... (?); *PSI* 939 Aphrodito. Possibly αδ is the beginning of a name but this is not certain.

Adabrandus (*CIL* VI 37276) V/VI: *PLRE* II.

Adalgiselus Frankish dux (in Austrasia) 632-639

In 632, when Dagobert made Sigibert king of Austrasia at Metz, he appointed Adalgiselus and bishop Chunibert of Cologne to govern the kingdom and palace (Chunibertum...et Adalgiselum ducem palatium et regnum gubernandum instituit); Fredegar. iv 75. In 633 Adalgiselus *dux* was an enemy of Radulfus; Fredegar. iv 77. In 639 Grimoaldus and Adalgiselus *duces* guarded Sigibert during the invasion of Thuringia against Radulfus; part of Adalgiselus' army was led by Bobo; Fredegar. iv 87.

Adaloaldus king of the Lombards 616-626

For the name, which is Germanic, see Schönfeld, p. 1.

Son of Agilulfus and Theodelinda; Greg. *Ep.* xiv 12, Fredegar. iv 34, 49, Hon. *Ep.* (*MGH, Epp.* III, *Ep. Lang. Coll.* 2), *Hist. Lang. cod. Goth.* 6, Paul. Diac. *Hist. Lang.* iv 21, 25, 27, 30, 41. Brother of Gundoberga; Fredegar. iv 34, 50, Paul. Diac. *Hist. Lang.* iv 47. He was born at Modicia (Monza) in 602/3 (cf. Smaragdus) and received baptism there on Easter Day, April 7, 603; Paul. Diac. *Hist. Lang.* iv 25, cf. Greg. *Ep.* xiv 12, and, for the baptism, *Hist. Lang.* iv 27 (he received a catholic baptism, though from the schismatic bishop Secundus of Trent).

He was crowned in July 604 at Milan in the presence of his father and

of envoys from the Frankish king Theudebert; on the same occasion he was betrothed to a daughter of Theudebert and peace was confirmed between the Franks and the Lombards; Paul. Diac. *Hist. Lang.* iv 30, but cf. Fredegar. iv 45 for the annual tribute paid by the Lombards.

KING of the Lombards a. 616–626: he succeeded to the throne on his father's death in 616; Paul. Diac. *Hist. Lang.* iv 41, Fredegar. iv 49. He was king for ten years; *Hist. Lang. cod. Goth.* 6, Paul. Diac. *Hist. Lang.* iv 41. King of the Lombards; Paul. Diac. *Hist. Lang.* iv 21, Hon. *Ep.*, Sisebut, *Ep.* (*MGH, Epp.* iii, *Ep. Wisig.* 9).

After ten years he was driven out and succeeded by his sister's husband Ariold; he took poison and died; Paul. Diac. *Hist. Lang.* iv 41 (he supposedly went mad), Fredegar. iv 50 (his pro-Byzantine policy, cf. Eusebius 12, was unacceptable to the Lombard nobility), Hon. *Ep.* (the pope expected his restoration with the help of the exarch Isaac).

Adalulfus official at the Lombard court 626/629

A Lombard; while serving at the royal court he brought false charges against Gundoberga and was killed in trial by combat; Fredegar. iv 51 (cum in aula palatii assidue ad obsequium regis conversaretur). On the date, cf. Gundoberga. Fredegarius places it in year forty of Clothar II, but it occurred after Ariold became king.

Adamantius (?) cubicularius E/M VII

Ἀδαμαντίου(?) κουβικουλαρίου; Zacos 1394 (seal; obv.: cruciform monogram of Θεοτόκε βοήθει; rev.: square monogram (5) of Ἀδαμαντίου(?) κουβικουλαρίου).

Adarmaanes Persian general L VI

Adārmahan; Joh. Eph. Ἀδαρμάνης; Joh. Epiph., Evagr., Nic. Call. Ἀδορμαάνης; Theoph. Sim. Ἀρδαρμάνης, Ἀρταβάνης; Theoph., Zon. Ἀρταβάν; Cedr. Ardahmon; *Chron.* 1234. Mzldrhmn; *Chron.* 724. Adarmon; Mich. Syr. Adrāmōn; Bar Hebr. On the name, see Justi, p. 51, s.n. Āturmāh.

He was *marzban*, probably at Nisibis, from 573 to 581; styled 'marzban' in 573, Joh. Eph. *HE* iii 6.6 ('marzbānā cui nomen Adārmahan'), *Chron.* 724, p. 145 = 112; in 577, Joh. Eph. *HE* iii 6.13 ('Adārmahan igitur marzbānā magnus Persarum'—perhaps *marzbān-shahrdar*, cf. Christensen, *L'Iran sous les Sassanides*,² pp. 136–7 and Stein, *Le Muséon* 53 (1940), pp. 130–1); and in 580, Joh. Eph. *HE* iii 6.17 ('marzbānā Persarum cui nomen fuit Adārmahan'), Mich. Syr. x 13. He was 'the Warden of the Marches'; Bar Hebr., *Chron.*, pp. 78 (in 573), 83 (in 580). Stationed by Chosroes at Nisibis; *Chron.* 1234, lxxiii.

A Persian commander serving under Chosroes in 573, sent to invade Roman territory while the king relieved Nisibis; crossing the Euphrates near Circesium he reached Antioch, took Apamea and then returned home without meeting any opposition; Joh. Epiph. fr. 4 (στρατηγός), Joh. Eph. *HE* iii 6.6 (cited above), Evagr. *HE* iv 26, v 9–10, Theoph. Sim. iii 10.7–9 (στρατηγός), Theoph. AM 6066, Zon. xiv 10, Cedr. i 684, Nic. Call. *HE* xvii 38, Mich. Syr. x 9, *Chron.* 1234, lxxviii, lxxiii, Bar Hebr., *Chron.*, p. 78, *Chron.* 724, p. 145 = p. 112, Agapius, p. 176 = p. 436.

In late 577/early 578 he was involved with peace talks at Dara (cf. Zacharias 2) and raided the districts near Dara and Tella (Constantina) when they broke down; Joh. Eph. *HE* iii 6.13, Mich. Syr. x 13 and cf. Mebodes 2 and Tamchosroes. In 580, under Hormisdas, he was sent to ravage Osrhoene, and then proceeded to Callinicum to meet the advancing army of Mauricius and Alamundarus; at Callinicum he was defeated and withdrew to Nisibis, probably laying waste the monastery of Qartamin and the region of Tur Abdin on the way; Joh. Eph. *HE* iii 6.17, Mich. Syr. x 13, Theoph. Sim. iii 17.8–11, *Chron.* 1234, lxxviii (mentions the attack on Tur Abdin after his defeat), Bar Hebr., *Chron.*, p. 83.

He and Tamchosroes joined forces near Constantina in 581 against Mauricius; the Persians were routed, Tamchosroes was killed and Adarmaanes fled; Evagr. *HE* v 20, Nic. Call. *HE* xviii 5, cf. Theoph. Sim. iii 18.1–3, Joh. Bicl. s.a. 580, Bar Hebr., *Chron.*, p. 81.

Adarnase I (Atrnerseh) ruler of Iberia 627–637/642

Son of Bakur III, he was a leading Iberian noble and duke of Kakhetia; in autumn 627 he was made ruler of Iberia by Heraclius; he ruled until 637/642 (see below) and was succeeded by his son Stephanus II; see Toumanoff, *Le Muséon* 65 (1952), pp. 201–2, and cf. Justi, p. 3, s.n. Ādharnarseh, no. 4.

In 627/628 he assisted the Khazar Jēbu Khak'an with the siege of Tiflis; Juansher, p. 97, cf. Moses Dasxurançi II 12, Theoph. AM 6117. He bore three Roman titles; Moses Dasxurançi II 19 ('who held three titles of the Roman Empire'). Possibly identical with the honorary consul Adarnase ('Atrnerseh hiwpat', i.e. ὑπάτος) recorded on an inscription from Georgia; Brosset, *Rapport sur un voyage archéologique dans la Géorgie et dans l'Arménie*, 1850, I, pp. 48–50. His other titles are likely to have been those of *patricius* and, perhaps, στρατηλάτης. In 637/642 (after the battle of Qādisīyah and before that of Nihāwand) he joined the Albanian prince Juansher in an attack on Persian forces in Albania; Moses Dasxurançi II 19, and see Dowsett's note, p. 114, n. 1 for the date.

He is also recorded in the early seventh century in the (Armenian) *Book of Letters* (Girk' T'lt'oc'), pp. 133, 138 and 169, and cf. p. 165 (where the Georgian catholicos Cyrion states that 'the King of Kings is likewise a lord (*ter*) of the Romans').

Fl. Marianus Iacobus Marcellus Aninas Addaeus

PPO 551; PVC 565; patricius

Full name; *SB* v 8938 (cited below). Addaeus; *elsewhere*.

He was Syrian by race; *Proc. Anecd.* 25.7.

He was a leading member of the senate in the reign of Justinian; *Evagr. HE* v 3 (= *Nic. Call. HE* xvii 34) (cited under Aetherius 2).

When Justinian imposed customs dues on ships using the harbour of Constantinople (probably in the 540s, see Stein, *Bas-Emp.* II 442, n. 1), Addaeus was placed in charge (τῶν τινά οἱ ἐπιτηδείων προύστησατο, Σύρον μὲν γένος, ὄνομα δὲ Ἀδδαῖον, ᾧ δὴ ἐπήγγελλεν ἐκ νηῶν ἐνταῦθα καταρουσῶν ὄνησίν τινά οἱ πορίζεσθαι); *Proc. Anecd.* 25.7-8. He was possibly a financial official in the praetorian prefecture (perhaps a *scriniarius* in the *scrinium urbis*, cf. *Joh. Lyd. de mag.* III 5) appointed *commercarius* of the harbour of Constantinople; cf. Stein, *Bas-Emp.* II 213-4 with 214, n. 1, 442, n. 1, and 774, and see also Fl. Ioannes 11, p. 627, and *PLRE* II, pp. 604-5 (Ioannes 45) and 726-7 (Marinus 7).

PPO (ORIENTIS) a. 551: in office a. 551 June 15, *Just. Nov.* 129 ('Αδδαίω ἐπάρχῳ πραιτωρίων; the law concerns the Samaritans). A prefectorial edict of his is recorded; Zachariae von Lingenthal, 'Ανέκδοτα, pp. 258ff., no. 23 (ἴδικτον Ἀδδαίου ὑπάρχου πραιτωρίων). The address of an undated petition to him from Fl. Dioscorus of Aphrodito is extant; *AJP* 60 (1939), p. 171 = *SB* v 8938 ([P Φλαου]ίφ Μαρνανῶ [I]ακκῶβφ Μαρκέλλω Ἀνινᾶ Ἀδδαίφ τ]ῶ ἐνδοξ(οτάτω) καὶ πανευφήμῳ ἐπάρ[ρ]χῳ τῶν ἱερῶν πραιτωρίων). He perhaps succeeded Eugenius and was succeeded by Hephaestus.

PVC a. 565: ἐπάρχος πόλεως, in Jan. 565, when he assisted Aetherius 2 in sending the patriarch Eutychius into exile; *Eustrat. V. Eutych.* 76 (*PG* 86.2.2361).

He and Aetherius are said to have offered to Justinian the services of a magician whom they regarded highly; *Joh. Nik.* 90.55-9.

PATRICIUS a. 566(?): *Joh. Bicl. s.a.* 568(?), *Joh. Nik.* 90.55. For the date, see below.

Early in the reign of Justin II he was named by Aetherius as his accomplice in a plot to poison the emperor; he denied it on oath but admitted that he deserved death for his role in murdering the PPO Theodotus 3 by sorcery; he and Aetherius were both executed on October 3, probably in 566; *Eustrat. V. Eutych.* 76 (*PG* 86.2361)

(October 3rd), *Evagr. HE* v 3 (= *Nic. Call. HE* xvii 34), *Joh. Bicl. s.a.* 568, *Theoph. AM* 6059, *Cedr.* I 683. For the year, cf. Stein, *Stud.*, p. 32, n. 10.

According to Evagrius he was paederastic (παἰδομικῶν); *Evagr. HE* v 3.

Two monograms on silver objects from the reign of Justinian (Dodd, *BSS*, Table III, nos. 17-18) may represent the name Ἀδδέου (for Ἀδδαίου) and probably date from the time of Addaeus' city prefecture; see Feissel, *Rev. Num.* 28 (1986), p. 137 with n. 99, and cf. fig. 2, p. 135.

Adegis ('Αδηγίς) officer of Belisarius' bodyguard 537-538

Officer (δορυφόρος) of the bodyguard of Belisarius; in late 537 he and Suntas were sent with eight hundred of Belisarius' bodyguard (τῶν αὐτοῦ ὑπασπιστῶν) to accompany Ioannes 46 (nephew of Vitalian) to Alba in Picenum and were put under his orders; *Proc. BG* II 7.26-7. In March/April 538 they returned with Ildiger and Martinus to rejoin Belisarius at Rome; *Proc. BG* II 11.22. Cf. Belisarius, p. 202 and Ioannes 46, p. 653.

Ademunt *qui et* Andreas at Ravenna 553

Natural son of Aderit; brother of Ranilo; mentioned in a document at Ravenna in 553; Marini, *P. Dip.* 86 = *P. Ital.* 13, lines 21-5 (he received gifts from his sister).

Adeodata illustri femina (in Sicily) 598-600

Addressee of *Greg. Ep.* VIII 34 (a. 598 Aug.; addressed 'Adeodatae illustri'; she is styled 'gloria vestra') and XI 5 (a. 600 Sept.; addressed 'Adeodatae illustri feminae'; she is styled 'gloria vestra'); mentioned in *Greg. Ep.* IX 233 (a. 599 Aug.; styled 'gloriosissima femina').

In 598 she wrote to Gregory informing him of her desire to pursue a religious life; he replied encouragingly and also informed her of his arrangements for investigating Decius, the bishop of Lilybaeum; *Ep.* VIII 34. In 599 Gregory ordered Decius to consecrate the nunnery which she had founded on her own property in Lilybaeum (in domo siquidem iuris sui intra civitatem Lillabitanam); *Ep.* IX 233. In 600 he sent her the relics which she had requested for her nunnery; *Ep.* XI 5.

Adergoudounbades ('Αδεργουδουνβάδης) Persian governor 498-541

On the name, cf. *Justi.* p. 4.

In 498 he supported Cavades on his return from exile among the Huns, and as a reward was appointed to the post of *chanaranges* (χαναράγγης; military governor of a frontier province, cf. Christensen,

L'Iran sous les Sassanides,² p. 108) in place of his kinsman, Gousanastades; he was at the time a young man in good repute as a soldier; Proc. *BP* I 6.15-18. His province bordered the lands of the Ephthalite Huns; cf. Proc. *BP* I 5.4.

In 531 he was still in office and was charged with the care of Chosroes' nephew, Cavades; he disregarded Chosroes' orders to kill the boy and secretly brought him up, but in 541 was betrayed by his own son Varrames and put to death on Chosroes' orders; he was succeeded by Varrames; he was by this time a very old man; Proc. *BP* I 23.7-22. Described in Procopius as a highly successful general who had subdued twelve barbarian tribes to the Persians; Proc. *BP* I 23.21.

Aderit (vir) gloriosus (in Italy) M VI

Styled 'gl(orio)s(us)'; father of **Ranilo** and (an illegitimate son) **Ademunt**; dead by 553 ('q(uon)d(am) patris mei'); Marini, *P. Dip.* 86 = *P. Ital.* 13.

Adila (*IGLS* 1073) V/VI: *PLRE* II.

Adiud (Adiut) vir industris (in Italy) 557

In(ustris) v(ir), at Reate, in 557; one of the accusers of **Gunduhulus**; Marini, *P. Dip.* 79 = *P. Ital.* 7, lines 43-6, 58, 66, 78. The others were **Gundirit** and **Rosemu(n)d**.

Adobin ?Lombard mercenary (in Italy) 591

In 591 **Adobin** and his *familia*, together with those of **Aloin** and **Iugildus Grusingus**, were with the MVM **Mauricius 2**; Gregory asked **Velox** to let them loose in order with Maurice's men to counter any moves by the *dux* of Spolegium **Ariulfus**; Greg. *Ep.* II 7 (a. 591 Sept. 27; illud tamen prae omnibus ammonemus, ut familiam Aloin et Adobin atque Iugildi Grusingi, qui cum glorioso Mauricio magistro militum esse noscuntur, sine aliqua mora vel excusatione relaxes, quatenus venientes illic homines praedicti viri cum eis sine aliquo impedimento debeant ambulare).

Adobin, **Aloin** and **Iugildus Grusingus** were apparently mercenaries (perhaps Lombards) serving with their bands of followers (*familiae*) with the Romans; see Brown, *Gentlemen*, pp. 71-2, with n. 18.

Adolius silentiarius; army officer 542-543

A native of Armenia; Proc. *BP* II 21.2 (= Cedr. I 653). Son of **Acacius 1**; Proc. *BP* II 3.10, 21.2. On the name, cf. *Iusti*, p. 5.

After the murder of his father in 538/539, **Adolius** urged Justinian to compel **Sittas** to pursue those responsible more vigorously, apparently

making insinuations against **Sittas**; Proc. *BP* II 3.10. He was perhaps already a *silentiarius* (see below), to judge by his evident access to the emperor.

SILENTIARIUS a. 542: by 542 he used to serve from time to time as a *silentiarius* in the imperial palace; Proc. *BP* II 21.2 (cited below).

In 542 he was on the eastern frontier with the army of **Belisarius** and commanded a troop of Armenians; Proc. *BP* II 21.2 ('Αδόλιον τὸν Ἀκακίου, ἄνδρα Ἀρμένιον γένος, βασιλεῖ μὲν αἰεὶ ἐν παλατίῳ τὰ ἐς τὴν ἡσυχίαν ὑπηρετοῦντα (σιλεντιαρίους Ῥωμαῖοι καλοῦσιν οἷς ἡ τιμὴ αὐτῆ ἐπίκειται), τότε δὲ Ἀρμενίων τινῶν ἄρχοντα). When **Belisarius** staged a display of military strength to dismay the Persians, **Adolius** and **Diogenes 2** were sent across the Euphrates with a thousand cavalry and ordered to manoeuvre on the bank as if to prevent the Persians from crossing; Proc. *BP* II 21.2 (= Cedr. I 653). Later, when Chosroes determined to make the crossing, they were instructed not to interfere; Proc. *BP* II 21.18-20.

In 543 **Adolius** was one of the officers (ἄρχοντες) serving with **Petrus** (*PLRE* II, pp. 870-1); they assembled near Citharizon with **Martinus 2** and other commanders preparing to invade Persarmenia; Proc. *BP* II 24.13. When **Petrus** marched into Persia on his own initiative without waiting for agreement with his fellow-generals, **Adolius** presumably accompanied him (**Petrus** went σὺν τοῖς ἄμφ' αὐτόν); Proc. *BP* II 24.18. For the ensuing campaign, ending with the defeat of the Romans at **Anglon**, see **Martinus**. During the retreat from **Anglon**, while passing through a fortified place in Persarmenia, **Adolius** was killed by a stone thrown by one of the inhabitants; Proc. *BP* II 25.35.

Adonachus commander of troops in Chalcis 540

Ὁ τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἄρχων; hidden from Chosroes by the inhabitants of Chalcis in 540 in fear lest they might have to surrender him and his men and so incur the anger of Justinian; Proc. *BP* II 12.2.

ADQUISITVS v.c., optio numeri (in Italy) c. 600

Witness of a donation at Ravenna by **Sisivera**; Marini, *P. Dip.* 93 = *P. Ital.* 20, line 76 opt(io) num(eri) victr(icis) **Mediol(ani)**, line 122 v.c. optio numeri **Mediol**.

Adula Gallo-Roman lady E VII

A pious lady of noble family (ex nobili genere orta, cui nomen erat **Adula**, in omnibus vere ancilla Christi); she visited the monastery of **Nivelles**; *De Virt. S. Geretrudis* 11 (*MGH, Scr. Rer. Mer.* II, p. 469).

Aega maior domus (under Clovis II) 638-?641

Of noble birth (genere nobilis); Fredegar. IV 80. He had a daughter who married Ermenfredus; Fredegar. IV 83.

In Neustria he was Dagobert's chief adviser (Aega vero a ceteris Neprasiis consilio Dagoberti erat adsiduus); Fredegar. IV 62. Dagobert ruled Neustria from his father's death in 629 to his own in 638. Aega may have been *maior domus* in Neustria under him, but is not so styled. See further Gundelandus and Erchinoaldus.

Dagobert on his death-bed entrusted Aega with the government (of Neustria and Burgundy) and the care of his widow and his son, Nantechildis and Clovis II; Fredegar. IV 79. He governed the palace and the kingdom with Nantechildis during the first two years of Clovis' reign and the beginning of the third; Fredegar. IV 80 (Aega vero cum regina Nantilde quam Dagobertus reliquerat, anno primo regni Chlodovei, secundo et imminente tertio eiusdem regni anno, condigne palatium gubernat et regnum).

MAIOR DOMUS (MAIOR PALATI) a. 638-?641: probably in 638 he supervised the division of Dagobert's treasure at Compiègne between Nantechildis, Clovis II and Sigebert III; Fredegar. IV 85 (instantia Aeganis maioris domus). After his death his successor as *maior domus* in Neustria was Erchinoaldus; Fredegar. IV 84 (cited under Erchinoaldus).

Described as surpassing the other Neustrian nobles (primates) in prudence and in patience, he pursued justice and his administration is praised by Fredegarius; he restored to their former owners many estates confiscated by Dagobert; Fredegar. IV 80.

He died of a fever at Clichy in the third year of Clovis II; Fredegar. IV 83, 89.

After the death of Dagobert (a. 638 Jan. 19) there was a gap of two years nine months before Clovis was officially enthroned (in 640, Oct. 26/31; cf. Courtois, *L'Avènement de Clovis II*, in *Mélanges Louis Halphen*, pp. 155ff.). Aega was clearly in office during this period. Fredegarius does not record the interregnum and his figures for Clovis' regnal years are probably reckoned from 638. This suggests 640 or 641 for Aega's death; probably the latter is correct.

He was a wealthy man (opibus abundans) and educated (eruditus in verbis, paratus in responsis), but is accused of avarice; Fredegar. IV 80.

Calumniosus qui et Aegyla.

Aegyina; see Aighyna.

Aelia Anastasia

Aelia Flavia (wife of Heraclius); see Eudocia *quae et Fabia*.

Aelianus (CIL XIII 1796) v/vi: PLRE II.

AEMILIANA (c.f.); aunt of pope Gregory M VI

Paternal aunt of pope Gregory, of noble family, she lived as a nun with her sisters Gordiana and Tarsilla in their own home ('in domo propria socialem vitam ducebant'); she died shortly after Tarsilla; Greg. *Hom. in Evang.* 38.15 (PL 76.1290-2), *Dial.* IV 17. See stemma 11.

(A)emilianus 1 ?v.c. (in Spain) 542

Husband of Paulina 1 *industriis femina*, father of Principius 2; Vives, *Inscriptioes Christianas*, no. 145 = ILCV 222a Zahara (in Baetica). His dignity is lost, but to judge by his wife's rank he was probably of senatorial ancestry.

Aemilianus 2 law student M VI

Native of Caria and a law student at the same time as Agathias; after four years of studying law, he and three fellow-students (Agathias, Ioannes 60 and Rufinus 4) offered an image to the archangel Michael with a prayer for a prosperous future; *Anth. Gr.* 135 (verses by Agathias). According to the lemma the verses were ἐν τῷ Σωσθενίῳ, i.e. in the church of the Archangel Michael at Sosthenium (Stenia, on the European side of the Bosphorus).

Aemilianus 3 Mag. Mil. (in Italy) 559

Called 'filius noster vir magnificus Aemilianus magister militum' in a letter of Pelagius I, written in Feb. 559, ordering that Aemilianus, Constantinus 8 and Ampelius 2 be informed of the consecration of a deacon Anastasius as bishop of Luceria (in Apulia); Pelag. I, *Ep.* 29. Perhaps Aemilianus was one of the *magistri militum* in Italy under Narses 1; he presumably operated in Apulia.

This letter was ascribed to pope Gelasius in Thiel (Gelas. *Ep.* fr. 3) and so this entry replaces that in PLRE II under Aemilianus 5.

Aemilianus 4 v.d., scriniarius of the PPO (Italiae) 575

Emilianus v.d. scrin(iarius) gl(oriosae) s(edis); one of the witnesses to the will of Manna at Ravenna in 575; Marini, *P. Dip.* 75 = *P. Ital.* 6, lines 7 and 38.

Aemilianus 5 a secretis VI

Aemiliano adsecretariae; Zacos 730B (seal; obv.: +AΕ/MILI/ΑΠΟ; rev.: +Αδς/ΕCΡΙ/ΤΑΕ). For Zacos 1396, see Iulianus 41.

Aemilianus 6 honorary consul VII

Αἰμιλιανοῦ ἀπὸ ὑπάτων; Zacos 731 = Dumbarton Oaks seal 58.106. 4571 (seal; obv.: +AI/ΜΙΛΙΑ/ΝΟV; rev.: ΑΠΟ/VΠΑ/ΤΩN).

(?FLAVIV)S AENEAS I

praeses Thebaidis Inferioris after 538/539

[Φλάουιος Αἰνείας... [ἡγεμῶ]ν Θηβαΐδος κάτω; SB 7380 Thebaid. The province of Thebais Inferior was created in 538/539; cf. Just. Ed. 13.21, and see Rhodon for the date.

Fl. Aeneas 2 silentiarius VI

Φλ(άουιος) Αἰν[ε]ίας σιλεντιάριος; published an imperial decree at Jerusalem protecting the aqueduct; SEG VIII 171 = Rev. Bibl. 35, p. 285 Jerusalem.

Aenovales (Fredegar. iv 87): see Innowales.

Aeschmanus (Ἀΐσχυμος) officer of Belisarius' bodyguard 537

On the name, see Justi, p. 11.

A Hun (Μασσαγέτης); officer (δορυφόρος) of the bodyguard of Belisarius, in Italy in early 537 when he and other δορυφόροι were sent with Constantinus 3 to Etruria; Proc. BG I 16.1. See further Chorsamantis and Constantinus.

Aethelbert king of Kent L VI/E VII

Adilbertus; Greg. Aedilberctus; Beda. Aethelberht, Aethelbriht; *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*.

Husband of the Frankish princess Bertha; Beda, HE I 25, Greg. Ep. xi 35.

KING of Kent a. 560-616 (cf. below): the ruler of Kent when St Augustine's mission arrived in 597, he was soon converted to Christianity; Beda, HE I 25 (his domain extended northwards as far as the river Humber), 26, 33, II 2, Beda, Chron. 531 (quidam Aedilberectus), cf. Greg. Ep. xi 35 (a. 601 June; to Bertha, q.v.), 37 (a. 601 June 22; addressed 'Adilberto regi Anglorum'; he is styled 'gloriose fili', 'gloria vestra'; the pope encourages him to hasten the spread of Christianity) (cited in Beda, HE I 32).

He died in 616 after reigning for fifty-six years; Beda, HE II 5.

Aetheria lady of rank (in Gaul) M VI

Illustris Aetheria; held under armed guard 'in Dullacense villa' (perhaps Dreuilé, near Angers) on the king's orders; visited there by

bishop Albinus of Angers who paid the king a sum of money to secure her liberty; Ven. Fort. V. S. Albini xi 33-5, cf. xii 38 (the king was Childeburt I, 511/558). See Stroheker, no. 6.

Aetherius I poet L V or E/M VI

He wrote verses in epic style, among them an epithalamium to his brother Simplicius; Suid. A1 116. Nothing by him is extant.

His date is unknown. He may be identical with the Aetherius to whom Panolbius addressed a poem, see Alan Cameron, *Historia* xiv (1965), 505-6 and cf. PLRE II, Aetherius I; or with a *grammaticus* of the sixth century of that name, see Christ-Schmid-Stählin II 2, 1079. The notice in Suidas perhaps came from Hesychius Illustrius (PLRE II, Hesychius 14); if so, he lived before the mid sixth century.

Aetherius 2

curator divinae domus Antiochi 560-565 (-?566); patricius ?566

Uncle of Sergius 6; Joh. Mal. 493, 494, Joh. Mal. fr. 49, Theoph. AM 6055.

He was a leading member of the senate in the reign of Justinian; Evagr. HE v 3 (he and Addacus, τῆς μὲν συγκλήτου βουλῆς καθεστῶτε, μεγάλα δὲ καὶ πρωτεῖα παρ' Ἰουστινιανῷ ἐσχηκότε) (= Nic. Call. HE xvii 34).

CURATOR DIVINAE DOMVS ANTIOCHI a. 560-565 (-?566): in office in late 560, Theoph. AM 6053 (τὸν κουράτορα τῶν Ἀντιόχου); in late 562, Joh. Mal. 493, Joh. Mal. fr. 49, Theoph. AM 6055 (ὁ κουράτωρ); and on Jan. 22, 565, Eustrat. V. Eutych. 77 (PG 86.2.2361) (τῶν Ἀντιόχου κουράτωρ). The head of an imperial *domus* under Justinian, he is said by Evagrius to have robbed the living and the dead alike in its name; Evagr. HE v 3 (τάς τε τῶν ζώντων τῶν τε τελευτώντων τὰς οὐσίας ληϊζόμενος ὀνόματι τῆς βασιλικῆς οἰκίας, ἧς ἐπὶ Ἰουστινιανοῦ προϋστήκει) (= Nic. Call. HE xvii 34). Apparently the banker Marcellus 4 was one of his subordinates; Joh. Mal. fr. 49 (Μάρκελλος ὁ ἀργυροπράτης... ὁ κατὰ Αἰθέριον τὸν κουράτορα).

He is recorded on two boundary stones from near Constantinople. One is in Gedeon, Ἐγγραφοὶ λίθοι καὶ κεράμια (Constantinople, 1893), p. ρξστ' (sic) (ὄροι διορίζοντες τὰ δίκαια τοῦ Ὀρφανοτροφίου καὶ Αἰθέριου τοῦ ἐνδοξοτάτου κουράτορος τῶν ἐμψυτευθέντων αὐτῷ τόπων). The other, apparently unpublished, is in the Istanbul Archaeological Museum and has the same text minus the last four words.

For the *domus divina* named after Antiochus (presumably a man of great wealth in former times, cf. PLRE II, Antiochus 5, 7, 10, and 15), see Aristobulus and Leontius 27.

In late 560 he and Georgius 7 were accused by Eugenius 1 of plotting to replace Justinian with Theodorus 34, son of Petrus 6; the charge was examined and dismissed as unfounded; Theoph. AM 6053. In late 562 he was suspected of involvement in the same plot against Justinian as his nephew Sergius; two of the inquisitors, Constantinus 4 and Iulianus 15, were removed when suspected of protecting him; Joh. Mal. 495. In 565 he and Addaeus were active in driving the patriarch Eutychius into exile; he arrested Eutychius in church on Jan. 22 with a force of soldiers and took him to the monastery of Choracoudin; Eustrat. V. *Eutych.* 38 (loosely styled στρατηγός), 76 (PG 86.2.2320, 2361).

ΠΑΤΡΙΚΙΟΥS a. 566(?): Joh. Bicl. s.a. 568, Joh. Nik. 90.55. For the date, see below. He was apparently still *patricius*, and perhaps *curator*, at his death, since he is represented as saying that he had not been stripped of his titles in Eustrat. V. *Eutych.* 77 (καὶ τῆς ζώνης, ἦτοι τῶν ἀξιωμάτων μου, ἀφαίρεσις οὐ γέγονεν).

Early in the reign of Justin II he was convicted of conspiring to poison the emperor; he accused Addaeus of complicity and they were executed on October 3, probably in 566; Eustrat. V. *Eutych.* 76 (PG 86.2.2361) (Oct. 3rd), Evagr. HE v 3 (= Nic. Call. HE xvii 34), Joh. Bicl. s.a. 568, Stein, *Stud.*, p. 32, n. 10.

He and Addaeus are said to have offered Justinian the services of a sorcerer; Joh. Nik. 90.56-9.

His protégé was Anastasius 14, who is described as having learned the art of causing mischief from him; Joh. Eph. HE III 2.29 ('magister eius maledictus Aetherius').

Aethicus (author) v/vi: PLRE II.

AETIA (c.f. (in Italy) L VI

'Quondam gloriosae memoriae', she died before July 591; she had given a slave-girl by deed of gift to Morena *quaedam femina* who subsequently manumitted the girl; Greg. Ep. I 53 (a. 591 July). Presumably of senatorial family.

Aetius (SEG VIII 16) V/VI: PLRE II.

Afrila vir inluster (in Spain) 589

Vir inluster; one of the *seniores Gothorum* who subscribed the catholic faith at the Third Council of Toledo, in 589; Mansi IX 989 = Vives, *Concilios*, p. 123. In 653 an Afrila *comes scanciarum* and *vir inluster officii palatini* subscribed the Eighth Council of Toledo, and in 693 an Afrila *comes* and *vir inluster* subscribed the Sixteenth Council; Mansi X 1223, XII 85 = Vives, *Concilios*, pp. 289 and 521.

Agallianus ex praefectis VII

Ἀγαλλιανοῦ ἀπὸ ἐπάρχων; Zacos 2770 = Dumbarton Oaks seal 58.106.2441 (seal; obv.: cruciform monogram (4) of Ἀγαλλιανοῦ; rev.: cruciform monogram (28) of ἀπὸ ἐπάρχων).

Agapetus I pope 535-536

Son of Gordianus; already elderly, he became bishop of Rome in 535 and died in the following year in Constantinople; *Lib. Pont.* 59. The name of his father suggests that he was related both to pope Felix III (a. 483-492) and to pope Gregory I (a. 590-604). See Gregorius 5.

Agapetus 2 v.c. (in Egypt) VII

A list of accounts records payments to Agapetus (τῷ λαμπρο(τάτῳ) Ἀγαπητῷ) for barley and for a mule; *P. Oxy.* 1919 (of seventh-century date).

Agapetus 3 notarius VII

Ἀγαπητῷ νοταρίῳ; Zacos 586 = Dumbarton Oaks seal 58.106.2745 (seal; obv.: eagle with open wings, between them a cruciform monogram of θεοτόκε βοήθει; rev.: +ΑΓΑ/ΠΗΤΩ and, underneath, a square monogram (240) of νοταρίῳ. In the monogram the ο is read by Oikonomides as c, possibly for σ(ακέλλης), i.e. νοταρίῳ σ(ακέλλης) (information from Nesbitt).

Agapius banker (at Constantinople) E VII

Ἀργυροπρακτῆς, at Constantinople; condemned to death as a pagan, he escaped execution by bribery and fled to Alexandria; there he was afflicted by paralysis and went to the church of SS Cyrus and John for a cure, pretending to be a Christian; he eventually died, still a pagan; Sophronius, *Mir. SS. Cyr. et Ioh.* 32 (PG 87.3, 3524-9).

Agathias advocate; poet and historian M/L VI

Native of Myrina, in the province of Asia; Agath. I proem. 14, *Anth. Gr.* I 35, IV 3, V 237, IX 442, Joh. Epiph. I, Suid. A 112. His father was Memnonius; Agath. I proem. 14, *Anth. Gr.* XVI 16. His mother was probably Pericleia; *Anth. Gr.* VII 552, and see Pericleia. He had a brother, whose name is not recorded; *Anth. Gr.* XVI 16. He probably also had a sister, Eugenia; *Anth. Gr.* VII 593, and see Eugenia. He lived under Justinian and was a contemporary of the poets Paulus 21 (the Silentary), Macedonius 3 and Tribonianus 2; Suid. A 112. He was born around 530, to judge by the date when he was a law student (cf. below).

He was a law student at Alexandria in 551 when the great earthquake occurred which destroyed Berytus; Agath. II 15.7 (ἐτύγχανον γὰρ αὐτοῦ διατρίβων παιδείας ἕνεκα τῆς πρὸς τῶν νόμων). Shortly afterwards he left for Constantinople and visited Cos where he personally observed the devastation caused by the earthquake; Agath. II 16.4. After studying law for four years he made an offering, with three fellow-students, Aemilianus 2, Ioannes 60 and Rufinus 4, to the archangel Michael at Sosthenium for a prosperous future; *Anth. Gr.* I 35, and see Aemilianus.

ADVOCATUS: he was enrolled as an advocate at Constantinople, Joh. Epiph. I (τοῖς ἐν Βυζαντίῳ ῥήτορσι καταλεγέντι). He himself describes his profession as that of advocate; Agath. I prooem. 14 (τέχνη δὲ τὰ Ῥωμαίων νόμιμα καὶ οἱ τῶν δικαστηρίων ἀγῶνες). Styled ὁ ῥήτωρ, *Anth. Gr.* XVI 16 (cited below), Evagr. *HE* IV 24, V 24, Nic. Call. *HE* XVII 13; and σχολαστικός, *Anth. Gr.* passim (cf. below; his poems are Ἀγαθίου σχολαστικοῦ), Suid. A 112, Joh. Nik. 92.20.

At some stage of his career he was *pater civitatis* of Smyrna, where he had latrines constructed; *Anth. Gr.* IX 662 (by Agathias; cf. *vv.* 5-6 ἀλλὰ πατήρ με πόλης ἐναλλάξας Ἀγαθίας θῆκεν ἀρίζηλον τὸν πρὶν ἀτιμώτατον, and see IX 642-4, also by Agathias, on the same buildings, without mention of his role).

Before turning to history Agathias wrote poetry; he published a collection of short youthful poems, written in hexameters, on themes of love and romance, arranged into nine books and called the Daphniaca; this is no longer extant apart from Agathias' introductory verses; *Anth. Gr.* VI 80 (line 1: Δαφνιακῶν βιβλῶν Ἀγαθιάς ἑνεάς εἶμι), Agath. I prooem. 7 (ἐτύγχανον γὰρ μᾶλλον δὴ τι ἐκ παιδῶν τῷ ἠρώω ῥυθμῷ ἀνεμένος, καὶ με ἤρεσκε τὰ ἠδύσματα τῶν τῆς ποιητικῆς κομψευμάτων. καὶ τοῖνυν πεποίηταί μοι ἐν ἑξαμέτροις βραχέα ἄττα ποιήματα, ἃ δὴ Δαφνιακὰ ἐπωνόμασται, μύθοις τισὶ πεποικιλμένα ἐρωτικοῖς καὶ τῶν τοιούτων ἀνάπλεα γοητευμάτων), Suid. A 112. He also composed many epigrams which he published, together with a number of similar poems written by his friends and contemporaries, under the title of the *Cycle* of Agathias; the date was early in the reign of Justin II (c. 566/567; see Alan and Averil Cameron, *JHS* 86 (1966), pp. 6-25, and cf. also R. C. McCail, *JHS* 89 (1969), pp. 87-96); Agath. I prooem. 8 (ἔδοξε δέ μοι πρότερον - i.e. before writing history - κάκεινο ἀξίεπαινόν τι εἶναι καὶ οὐκ ἄχαρι, εἴ γε τῶν ἐπιγραμμάτων τὰ ἀρτιγενῆ καὶ νεώτερα, διαλαυθάνοντα ἔτι καὶ χύδην οὕτως παρ' ἐνίοις ὑποψιθυριζόμενα, ἀγείραμι τε ὡς οἶόν τε εἰς ταῦτό καὶ ἀναγράψαμι ἕκαστα ἐν κόσμῳ ἀποκεκριμένα). The *Cycle* no longer exists as such but many poems from it, including his preface to the *Cycle*, were eventually included in the *Anthologia Palatina* and the *Anthologia Planudea*; over one hundred poems by Agathias are preserved

therein, viz. *Anth. Gr.* I 34-6, IV 3 a-c (the preface to the *Cycle*); V 216, 218, 220, 222, 237, 241ff., 261, 263, 267, 269, 273, 276, 278, 280, 282, 285, 287, 289, 292, 294, 296ff., 299, 302, 305; VI 32, 41, 59, 72, 74, 76, 79ff., 87, 167; VII 204ff., 220, 311, 551ff., 567ff., 572, 574, 578, 583, 589, 593, 596, 602, 612, 614; IX 152-5, 204, 344, 442, 482, 619, 631, 641-4, 653, 657, 662, 665, 677, 766-9; X 14, 64, 66, 68ff.; XI 57, 64, 350, 352, 354, 365, 372, 376, 379, 382; XVI 36, 41, 59, 80, 109, 244, 331ff.

He then turned to the writing of history, in the reign of Justin II, claiming that he was unwilling to leave unrecorded the momentous events of his own times and that he received great encouragement from his friends, particularly one Eutychianus; he continued his history from the point at which that of Procopius ended, concentrating mainly on warfare in the East against Persia and in Italy under Narses I against the Franks; Agath. I prooem. 10-13. 21-2. 32. The work is extant but was not completed, since Agathias died before he could finish it; he undertook to describe the later years of Justin II (IV 22.9) and the collapse of the Hun empire (V 25.5), but neither story survives in the extant work; he was still alive in the reign of Tiberius and knew of the death of Chosroes in 579, but seems not to have known that Maurice succeeded Tiberius as emperor (IV 29). This suggests that Agathias wrote IV 29 between 579 and 582 and may have ceased to write, presumably through death, before late 582. His history was continued by Menander Protector; Men. Prot. fr. I (μετὰ τὴν ἀποβίωσιν τοῦ Ἀγαθίου). It is alluded to by Evagr. *HE* IV 24 (Evagrius knew of it but it was not available to him), V 24, Joh. Epiph. I, Suid. A 112, Joh. Nik. 92.20.

He was honoured with a statue, together with his father and brother, by their native city; the statue was accompanied by verses written by Michael I *grammaticus*; *Anth. Gr.* XVI 316 ἡ πόλις Ἀγαθίαν τὸν ῥήτορα, τὸν στιχαιοῖδόν, δίζυγος εὐεπίης ῥυθμὸν ἀγασσαμένη, ὡς μήτηρ ἐτέλεσεν ἐφ' υἱέι, καὶ πόρε τήνδε εἰκόνα, καὶ στοργῆς μάρτυρα καὶ σοφίης Μειμόνιον δὲ τοκῆα κασιγνητόν τε συν αὐτῷ ἔστησεν, γενεῆς σύμβολα σεμνοτάτης. This poem does not explicitly state that Agathias was dead and alludes only to his eloquence as an advocate and a poet, apparently knowing nothing of him as a writer of history.

For personal allusions in the extant poems, cf. *Anth. Gr.* VII 204-5 (his cat ate his partridge, cf. 206 by Damocharis on the same subject), 220 (a visit to Ephrya). For a possible reference to a house owned by him, see Musonius 2.

See further Averil Cameron, *Agathias*.

Agathon

in Alexandria M VI

According to John of Nikiu 94.8 Agathon was 'the prefect of

Alexandria' sent by Justinian (in 551) to install Apollinaris as patriarch of Alexandria. In fact he is very probably to be identified with abbot Agathon or Agathus, brother of Apollinaris. Cf. Theoph. AM 6059 and see Maspero, *Hist. des patr. d'Alex.*, p. 161, n. 3 and Stein, *Bas-Emp.* II 629 with n. 2.

AGATHONICVS comes (in Syria) 563

An inscription recording road repairs in the Jebel ez Zāwiye was erected ὑπὲρ εὐχῆς κ(αί) σωτηρίας Ἀγαθονίου κόμιστος; Tchalenko, *Villages Antiques* III, p. 33, n. 35 Deir Debbāne, near el Bāra (Syria). The date was year 874 of the Seleucid era, in the month Panemos, i.e. July 563.

Agenantia (Cass. *Var.* IX 4) c. 527: PLRE II.

AGEROCHIVS v.c., (consularis) Haemimonti 535

In office a. 535 June 15, Just. *Nov.* 32 (addressed Ἀγερωχίῳ τῷ λαμπροτάτῳ ἄρχοντι Αἰμιμόντου τῆς Θράκης), cf. 34 (a Latin version, addressed 'Agerochio v.c. praesidi Haemimontis'). In *Nov.* 34 praef. there is a reference to 'Mysia Secunda provincia quam administras'; this suggests that Agerochius had authority also in Mysia Secunda (to the north of Haemimontus) but it is perhaps more probable that *Nov.* 34 was originally addressed to the *praeses Mysiae Secundae*, whose name and title were erroneously replaced by those of Agerochius when the collection of Novels was made. The governor of Haemimontus was a *consularis*; see Just. *nov.* 8, *notitia* 30.

Agila I king of the Visigoths 549-555

Agil; Jord. Agila; *elsewhere*.

KING of the Visigoths a. 549 Dec.-555 March: successor of Theudisclus in Dec. 549; Jord. *Get.* 303, *Chron. Caesaraug.* s.a. 545, Isid. *Hist. Goth.* 45 (in year of the province 587, = a. 549; in the 24th year of Justinian, = a. 550-551), Greg. Tur. *HF* III 30. Said to have reigned for five years, three months, *Lat. reg. Visig.* 22 (*MGH, AA* XIII, p. 466), or five years, seven months, *Chron. Caesaraug.* s.a. 545, cf. Isid. *Hist. Goth.* 45 (for five years). For the dates of his reign, see Zeumer, *Neues Archiv* XXVII (1902), pp. 418ff.

In 550 (for the date, cf. Thompson, *Goths in Spain*, p. 322) he attacked Cordova, then in revolt, and was heavily defeated, losing his son, much of his army and all the royal treasures, and then retreating to Emerita; Isid. *Hist. Goth.* 45-6. In the following year there began the rebellion of Athanagildus who obtained the aid of imperial troops (under Liberius, PLRE II) in 552, and defeated the army of Agila near Seyille; Jord. *Get.*

303, *Chron. Caesaraug.* s.a. 552, Isid. *Hist. Goth.* 46, cf. Greg. Tur. *HF* IV 8 (the imperial army entered Spain when the people were suffering under the heavy yoke of Agila's rule).

Agila was assassinated at Emerita in March 555 and succeeded by Athanagildus; Isid. *Hist. Goth.* 46, 47, *Chron. Caesaraug.* s.a. 552, Greg. Tur. *HE* IV 8.

Agila 2 vir inluster (in Spain) 589

His name is also spelt 'Aila'.

In 580 he was sent by Leovigild as envoy to Chilperic; en route he visited bishop Gregory of Tours and discussed the Trinity with him, the debate ending in abuse; Gregory judged him to lack ability and reasoning power and to be inspired by hatred of the catholic faith (virum nulli ingenii aut dispositionis ratione comperitum, sed tantum voluntate in catholica lege perversum); after his return to Spain Agila fell ill and, according to Gregory, felt impelled to adopt catholicism; Greg. Tur. *HF* V 43.

Vir inluster; in 589 he was one of the *seniores Gothorum* who subscribed the catholic faith at the Third Council of Toledo; Mansi IX 989 = Vives, *Concilios*, p. 123.

Agilulfus qui et Ago king of the Lombards 590/591-616

Agilulf qui et Ago dictus est; Paul. Diac. *Hist. Lang.* IV 1. Agilulf rex, qui et Ago est appellatus; Paul. Diac. *Hist. Lang.* IV 41. Agilulfus qui et Ago; *Prosp. Havn. Extr.* 14. Ago; Greg. *Ep.* IV 2, *Origo Gent. Lang.* (Acquo), Fredegar. IV 13, 31, 34, 45, Paul. Diac. *Hist. Lang.* IV 3, 13. Agilulfus; *elsewhere*.

According to the *Origo Gentis Langobardorum* 6 (cited below) (and cf. *Hist. Lang. cod. Goth.* 6) he was a Thuringian; so also *Ed. Roth.*, p. 2 (Turingus).

He was a relation of his predecessor on the Lombard throne, Authari; Paul. Diac. *Hist. Lang.* III 35, cf. Fredegar. IV 34, 45 (called his son, wrongly).

He married his predecessor's widow, Theodelinda (in 590) and had two children, his own successor Adaloald (born 602/603) and a daughter Gundoberga; see below. He had another (older) daughter, presumably by a former marriage, who married Godescalus; see below. See stemma 20c.

dux of Turin c.a. 589-590; dux Taurinensium civitatis; Paul. Diac. *Hist. Lang.* III 30 (in c. 589). Dux Taurinatum; Paul. Diac. *Hist. Lang.* III 35 (in 590). Dux Turingus de Thaurinis (sic); *Origo Gent. Lang.* 6, *Hist. Lang. cod. Goth.* 6 (in 590).

He was present at the wedding of Authari and Theodelinda in c. 589; Paul. Diac. *Hist. Lang.* iii 30.

KING of the Lombards a. 590/591-616: after Authari died, Agilulf was chosen as his successor by the Lombard nobles and queen Theodelinda who married him (*illa consilium cum prudentibus habens*); he became king on marrying Theodelinda in November 590 (*suscepit Agilulf... regiam dignitatem*) but was not formally crowned until May 591, at Milan before the assembled Lombards (*postea mense Maio ab omnibus in regnum apud Mediolanum levatus est*); Paul. Diac. *Hist. Lang.* iii 35, cf. Fredegar. iv 13 (*ipsoque anno Ago dux in Italia super Langobardos in regno sublimatur*), *Prosp. Haun. Extr.* 14, 15 (*MGH, AA xiii*, p. 339). The *Origo* and *Hist. Lang. cod. Goth.* however imply that his role was more active and he perhaps seized the throne; *Origo Gent. Lang.* 6 (*et exivit Acquo dux Turingus de Thaurinis et iunxit se Theudelendae reginae et factus est rex Langobardorum*).

In his early years he sought peace with the Franks and the Avars and consolidated his position in Italy by putting down opposition among the Lombards (see Mimulfus, Gaidulfus, Vlfari, Zangrulfus and Warnecautius); Paul. Diac. *Hist. Lang.* iv 1 (the Franks, in 591), 3 (rebellion in Italy), 4 (the Avars, in 593), 12 (the Avars, in c. 596), 13 (the Franks under Theoderic, and further rebellion in Italy, in c. 596).

In 593, after the successful military operations of Romanus 7 (in 592), Agilulf marched from Ticinum and recaptured Perugia, where he executed Maurisio; Paul. Diac. *Hist. Lang.* iv 8. He then laid siege to Rome but after negotiations with pope Gregory he withdrew and returned to Ticinum; Paul. Diac. *Hist. Lang.* iv 8, Greg. *Hom. in Ezech.* ii, praefatio, *Ep.* v 36, *Prosp. Haun. Extr.* 17 (*MGH, AA xiii*, p. 339) (he met Gregory on the steps of St Peter's and agreed to withdraw, going to Milan). There followed several years of negotiations for peace, urged on by Gregory, resisted by Romanus, and finally crowned under Callinicus 10 with a peace treaty, probably in late 598; Paul. Diac. *Hist. Lang.* iv 8, 12, Greg. *Ep.* iv 2 (a. 593 Sept.), v 34 (a. 595 May), vi 63 (a. 596 April), ix 11 (a. 598 Oct.); Gregory anticipates that peace will soon be made). In Nov./Dec. 598 Gregory wrote to Agilulf and Theodelinda thanking them for concluding peace; Greg. *Ep.* ix 66 (addressed 'Agilulfo regi Langobardorum'), 67.

In 601 war broke out again after the exarch Callinicus captured Agilulf's daughter and her husband Godescalus; Agilulf captured and destroyed Padua, and he renewed contacts with the Avars, sending shipwrights to help the khan, making a perpetual peace with them and joining forces with the Avars and Slavs in plundering raids on Istria (in 602); Paul. Diac. *Hist. Lang.* iv 20, 23, 24. In 602/603 the rebellious

Lombard *duces* Gaidoaldus and Gisulfus made peace with him; Paul. Diac. *Hist. Lang.* iv 27. In July 603 he left Milan and besieged Cremona with Slav allies sent by the khan, capturing it on August 21 and razing it to the ground; on Sept. 13 he entered Mantua and destroyed the city walls while allowing the Roman troops to withdraw to Ravenna: the fort of Vulturina surrendered to the Lombards and the Roman troops at Brexillum fired the city and fled; the new exarch Smaragdus returned Agilulf's daughter and son-in-law, with their children and property and peace was made, to last from November 603 to the beginning of April 605 (*usque kalendas Apriles indictionis octavae*); Paul. Diac. *Hist. Lang.* iv 28, and see also *Prosp. Haun. Extr.* 16 (*MGH, AA xiii*, p. 339).

In late 602 his son Adaloald was born; he was baptised at Monza at Easter 603 (April 7) and was proclaimed king in July 604, in the presence of Agilulf, when the daughter of Theodebert II was betrothed to him and perpetual peace was affirmed with the Franks; Paul. Diac. *Hist. Lang.* iv 25, 27, 30. In 608 he agreed to a quadruple alliance with Theodebert, Chlotharius II and the Visigothic king Wittericus against Theoderic II, though it did nothing; Fredegar. iv 31 (cf. Ermenberga).

In Nov. 605 he made peace with Smaragdus for one year, after having seized Balneum Regis (Bagnorea) and Urbs Vetus (Orvieto) in Tuscia; Agilulf was paid twelve thousand *solidi* by the Romans; in the following year he again made peace, this time for three years (606-609), and thereafter renewed the peace treaty with the Romans on an annual basis until at least 612; Paul. Diac. *Hist. Lang.* iv 32, 35 (cf. Stablicianus), 40. He also renewed peace with the Franks in 611; Paul. Diac. *Hist. Lang.* iv 40. He is said in a Gallic source to have paid tribute to the Franks on a regular basis and to have sent a deputation to Chlotharius in 617 which had it cancelled; Fredegar. iv 45, but cf. Agilulfus, Gauto and Pompegius.

Agilulfus died in 616, after a reign of twenty-five years, and was succeeded by his son Adaloald; Paul. Diac. *Hist. Lang.* iv 41, Fredegar. iv 49, cf. *Ep. Lang. Coll.* 2 (*MGH, Epp.* iii, p. 694).

According to Paul he was converted to Catholicism by Theodelinda; *Hist. Lang.* iv 6. This is contradicted in a letter of Columbanus, who knew him and claimed that he would have become a Catholic were it not for the Three Chapters controversy; Columbanus, *Ep.* 5 (*MGH, Epp.* iii, p. 173). He did however have his son baptised a Catholic; Paul. Diac. *Hist. Lang.* iv 27. He also gave permission for Columbanus to found a monastery at Bobbio; Ionas, *V. Columb.* 1 30.

A description of Agilulf is given in Paul. Diac. *Hist. Lang.* iii 35; *erat enim isdem vir strenuus et bellicosus et tam forma quam animo ad regni gubernacula coaptatus.*

Aginus dux (in Gaul) 592

Dux; owner of property at Ponthion where a slave of his was injured in a raid in March 592; Greg. Tur. *Mir. S. Mart.* iv 41 (Maurellus quidam ex domo Ponticonensi, servus Agini ducis), cf. iv 37 (for the date).

Possibly identical with Aginus who in 590 defended Tetrada; Greg. Tur. *HF* x 8. In *HF* ix 19 *ad fin.* the words 'ad Aginum' more probably refer to the town of Agen than to a person.

Agiulfus 1 a person of note (under Childebert II) 575/595 (?579/582)

Asked by Venantius Fortunatus to commend a client, Audulfus, to Childebert II and Brunichildis, in whose service he was; Ven. Fort. *App. Carm.* vii (title: ad Agiulfum; cf. lines 5-6 moribus excellens, Agiulfe, benigne sodalis, praecipuis dominis qui famulando places), and cf. *App. Carm.* v and vi. Allusions in *App. Carm.* vi to a daughter of Brunichildis ruling in Spain may refer to Ingundis, who was wife of Hermenegild in 579-582.

Agiulfus 2 Lombard noble 617

In the thirty-fourth year of Chlothar II (= 617) Agiulfus, Pompegius and Gauto, tres nobiles ex gente Langobardorum, were sent by king Ago (sic; Ago, i.e. Agilulfus, died in 616) to Chlothar to request cancellation of the annual tribute of twelve thousand *solidi* paid by the Lombards to the Franks; they bribed Warnecharius, Gundelandus and Chucus and offered a lump sum of thirty-six thousand *solidi* to Chlothar and secured their request and also a pact of friendship; Fredegar. iv 45. If the date is correctly recorded, the embassy was sent early in the reign of Agilulf's son, Adaloald.

Agnella wife of Antoninus VI/VII

Wife of Antoninus 2; *AE* 1972, 200 Iesolo (Venetia).

Agnellus 1 bishop of Ravenna 557-570

Born in 487, of noble family, he inherited great wealth (ex nobili ortus prole, dives in possessionibus, animalibus locuples, abundans opibus); he married and had a daughter but on his wife's death he gave up his secular career (relictum militiae cingulum) and entered the church; consecrated deacon at Ravenna under bishop Ecclesius (c. 521/532); he became bishop of Ravenna in 557, occupying the see for thirteen years and dying on Aug. 1, 570, aged 83; he had a granddaughter, whom he named as his heir; Agnellus, *Lib. Pont. Eccl. Rav.* 84-5, 92.

Agnellus 2 iatrosophist (at Ravenna) VI

An iatrosophist, he taught at Ravenna and translated Greek medical works; Subscriptio to Cod. Ambros. G. 108, f. 48 recto/verso, cited by O. Temkin, *Bull. of Hist. of Medicine* III (1935), p. 409 (explicit scolia peri hereseon Galeni actio trigesima tertia feliciter. Ex voce Agnello Yatrosophista ego Simplicius domino iuvante legi et scripsi in Ravenna feliciter).

AGNELLVS 3 v.c. (in Italy) ?VI

V.c.; brother of Maximus 8 (notarius et defensor ecclesiae, at Aquileia), son of Ioannes 151 and Domnica; the family recorded their contribution to work in the basilica of the martyrs at Trieste, in fulfilment of a vow (pro vot(o) suo [fe]cer(unt) pedes... C...); *AE* 1973, 250 = 1975, 422g Trieste, mosaic inscription on the floor of the basilica, Via Madonna del Mare.

Agnes Gallo-Roman lady E/M VII

Of noble family (ex nobili genere), she was brought up under the care of St Gertrude; later she became abbess of the monastery of Nivelles; *De Virt. S. Geretrudis* 6 (*MGH, Scr. Rer. Mer.* II, p. 467).

Agnilla (*CIL* XI 2588) V/VI: *PLRE* II.

Agilulfus *qui et Ago*

Agrestius notarius (of Theoderic II); monk E VII

Quondam Theuderici regis notarius; entered the monastery of Luxeuil under abbot Eustasius, to whom he transferred all his wealth; later he complained against the rules of Columbanus; Ionas, *V. Columb.* II 9.

AGRICOLA 1 (v.c.); bishop of Chalon-sur-Saône c. 537-580

Of senatorial family (genere senatorio), he became bishop of Chalon in c. 532 and died aged eighty-three, in the forty-eighth year of his episcopate, in 580; Greg. Tur. *HF* v 45. Cf. Stroheker, p. 143 for further references.

Agricola 2 patricius (in Burgundy) 561

In office when Clotharius I died (in 561), he was dismissed by Guntram and replaced by Celsus 2; Greg. Tur. *HF* iv 24 (amoto Agroecula (sic) patricio).

Agrippa ?vir spectabilis (in Egypt) E VII

Mentioned in a letter from Victor 15, asking Georgius 55 to send a

chartularius to settle accounts πρὸς Ἀγρίππαν τὸν περίβλεπτον to discover what they were owed by him; *P. Oxy.* 1854. For the date, early seventh-century, see Victor. He apparently was in debt to the Apion estate.

Agroecius (*CIL* XII 2103) V/VI: *PLRE* II.

Aiditqlios (sic) ?PPO or general ?538/539

According to Mich. Syr. IX 22, in the year 850 Sel. (= A.D. 538/539), crowds gathered in the hippodrome at Constantinople, 'for the moment had come for distribution and largesses to be made by the hands of Aiditqlios who was about to be sent to the war'. Chabot, *ad loc.*, suggests that the person was Archelaus, PPO Africae, and the date 535/536. However Archelaus was PPO in 533 and 534 in connection with Belisarius' campaign against the Vandals (cf. *PLRE* II, pp. 133-4). The identity of Aiditqlios, the date and the circumstances are all uncertain.

Aietes Lazican notable 555/556

A leading figure among the Lazi (ἀνὴρ δὲ τις τῶν λογιμωτάτων) and an accomplished orator, represented by Agathias as chief spokesman for the view that the Lazi should abandon the Romans after the murder of Gubazes and ally themselves with Persia; Agath. III 8.7-8, 11.1, 11.7, and cf. 9.1-10.12 (his supposed speech). The name is that of the mythical king of Colchis in the Argonaut legend and therefore perhaps not above suspicion in this context.

Aigan (Ἀϊγάν) cavalry commander (in Africa) 533-534

He was a Hun; Proc. *BP* I 13.20 (he and Sunicas were Μασσαγέται γένος), *BV* I 11.9 (Ἀϊγάν δὲ ἦν Μασσαγέτης γένος, οὗς νῦν Οὐννοὺς καλοῦσιν), II 10.3 (τὸν Μασσαγέτην). On the name, cf. Justi, p. 11.

At the battle of Dara in June 530 (Theoph. AM 6022) Aigan and Sunicas commanded six hundred cavalry in the Roman army under Belisarius; Proc. *BP* I 13.20. They helped to rout the Persian right wing and were then transferred to strengthen the Roman right wing under the Huns Simmas and Ascan; Proc. *BP* I 14.39-44.

By 533 (see below) he was a prominent member of the household of Belisarius, where he was one of the officers (δορυφόροι) of his bodyguard; Proc. *BV* I 11.7 (he and Rufinus I, ἐκ τῆς Βελισαρίου οἰκίας ὄντες), II 10.4 (ἄμφω γὰρ (Aigan and Rufinus) λογίμω ἐς ἄγαν ἐν τε τῇ Βελισαρίου οἰκίᾳ ἦσθιν καὶ τῷ Ῥωμαίων στρατεύματι, ἄτερος μὲν αὐτοῖν Ἀϊγάν ἐν τοῖς Βελισαρίου δορυφόροις ταπτόμενος). Whether he owed this position to his valour at Dara or was already in Belisarius' household is not made clear by Procopius.

In 533 he was one of the four cavalry commanders (στρατιωτῶν δὲ ἵππέων μὲν sc. ἄρχοντες) sent with Belisarius on the expedition against the Vandals; Proc. *BV* I 11.7. For the others, see Rufinus I. At the battle of Tricamarum in mid December he was one of the cavalry commanders on the right wing of the Roman army; Proc. *BV* II 3.4 (τὸ δὲ δὴ δεξιὸν (sc. εἶχον) Πάππος τε καὶ Βαρβάτος καὶ Ἀϊγάν καὶ ὅσοι τῶν ἵππικῶν καταλόγων ἦρχον; the last phrase perhaps denotes the *tribuni* of the *numeri equitum*).

In 534 he and Rufinus remained in Africa under Solomon I when Belisarius returned to Constantinople. Probably in late 534 they commanded cavalry forces in Byzacena where they ambushed a Moorish raiding party, killing them and freeing their prisoners; Proc. *BV* II 10.5 (cited under Rufinus). In revenge they were then attacked by a Moorish army in overwhelming numbers and after fighting bravely were overcome; Aigan was killed in the battle; Proc. *BV* II 10.6-10. Cf. also Rufinus I.

Aighyna (Aegyna, Aigyna)

Saxon; dux under Chlotharius and Dagobert E/M VII

A Saxon and one of the *optimates*; Fredegar. IV 55, 78.

dux, in 626, 635 and 636: in 626 he accused Palladius 7 and Sidocus of aiding a Gascon rebellion; Fredegar. IV 54 (incusante Aighynane duce). In 627 his followers murdered Ermenarius at Chlotharius' court at Clichy; on the king's orders he made a stand with his men at Montmartre, and an armed contest with Produlfus was narrowly avoided; Fredegar. IV 55. In 635 he was one of the ten *duces* under Chadoind sent from Burgundy against the Gascons, and in the following year, after the Gascons were defeated, he accompanied their leaders to Dagobert at Clichy (Wascones omnes seniores terrae illius cum Aiginane duce ad Dagobertum Clippiacum venerunt); Fredegar. IV 78. He had apparently remained behind in the area after the main army returned to Burgundy, and may therefore have been *dux Wasconiae* in 636.

Aio

Lombard dux of Beneventum 641-642

Son of Arichis; Paul. Diac. *Hist. Lang.* IV 42-4.

Sent to Rothari's court by his father (a. 636/641), he passed through Ravenna where, 'Romanorum malitia', he was allegedly given a drug which permanently affected his mind; Paul. Diac. *Hist. Lang.* IV 42. Subsequently his father recommended that because of this his successor should be not Aio but Radoald and Grimoald; Paul. Diac. *Hist. Lang.* IV 43.

dux of Beneventum a. 641–642; nevertheless he succeeded to the office of dux on his father's death, receiving loyal service from Radoald and Grimoald, but after holding office for a year and five months (cum iam annum et mensibus quinque Beneventanorum ducatum regeret) he was killed in fighting with Slavs near Sipontum; Paul. Diac. *Hist. Lang.* iv 44.

Alacanza Moorish chief 546–548

One of the Moorish 'duces' with Antalas and Carcasan in winter 546/547; Coripp. *Ioh.* iv 642. Killed in the battle of the Plains of Cato in 548 by Ioannes Troglita; Coripp. *Ioh.* viii 543.

Alagisilus ?Frank, at Sigibert's court M VI

Brother of Sigimundus; Ven. Fort. *Carm.* vii 21. Probably, like his brother, he served at court in Austrasia, perhaps under Sigibert.

Ala(h)is Lombard dux of Amiternum L VI

A Lombard; he and Vmbolus seized the *ducatus* of Amiternum (qui ducatum civitatis usurpaverant sibi) during the papacy of Gregory; they fell out and Alahis invited Verilianus to occupy the town; the attempt failed and Alahis (with bishop Cethe(g)us) was executed by Vmbolus; *ASS*, Iun. ii, 691A (*V. Cethei*). For the date, see Verilianus.

Alamundarus: king of the Lakhmids 505–554; *PLRE* II.

Alamundarus (al-Mundhir ibn al-Hārith)
phylarchus of the Ghassānids 570–581; patricius

Son of Arethas (al-Hārith); Joh. Eph. *HE* III 2.8, 3.40, 4.21, 4.36, 4.39, 6.3, 6.16, *Chron.* 1234, lxvii, lxxiii, Bar Hebr., *Chron. Eccl.* I 47 (pp. 238, 250), *Chron.*, pp. 79–80. He had four sons; Joh. Eph. *HE* III 3.42. The eldest was Naaman 3; Joh. Eph. *HE* III 3.42, 3.56, Evagr. *HE* VI 2, Nic. Call. *HE* XVIII 10, *Chron.* 1234, lxxiii, Bar Hebr., *Chron.*, p. 82. His wife, two sons (not including Naaman) and a daughter accompanied him into exile (see below); Joh. Eph. *HE* III 3.40–1, Evagr. *HE* VI 2, Nic. Call. *HE* XVIII 10.

PHYLARCHVS of the Ghassānid Arabs a. 570–c. 581: he had already succeeded his father by May 20, 570; *Chron.* 724, p. 143 = p. 111 ('anno 881 ... et feria quinta Ascensionis huius anni proelium inuit Mundar. Et auxiliatus est Dominus Mundaro, et devicit Qabus et crux triumphavit', and cf. below). He was a *phylarchus*; *CIG* 4517 = Wadd. III 2562c El-Burdj (Syria) (Φλ. Ἀλαμουνδάρ[ος] [ὁ] πανεϋφημος πατρίκιος καὶ φύλαρχος). Ruler of the Arabs allied to Rome: in 570, Men. Prot. fr. 17,

Joh. Eph. *HE* III 6.3; in 572, *Chron.* 1234, lxvii, Bar Hebr., *Chron.*, pp. 79–80; in 580, Joh. Bicl. s.a. 575 (Sarracenorum rex), Evagr. *HE* V 20, Theoph. Sim. III 17.7, Nic. Call. *HE* XVIII 5, Joh. Eph. *HE* III 3.40, 4.21, 4.36, 4.39; in 581, Evagr. *HE* VI 2, Nic. Call. *HE* XVIII 10. The Greek sources use phrases like τῶν ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίους Σαρακηνῶν ἡγούμενος or τῶν Σκηνητῶν βαρβάρων ἡγεῖτο.

After his father's death the territory of Alamundarus was raided by the Arabs of Caboses (Qābūs), allies of Persia; he drove them off, then invaded their territory and seized their herds; when he withdrew, he was challenged by them to battle and, accepting the challenge, he completely routed them; Men. Prot. fr. 17, Joh. Eph. *HE* III 6.3 (= Mich. Syr. x 8), cf. *Chron.* 724, p. 143 = 111 (for the date, 570; cited above; this battle was, presumably, the decisive one).

After his victory over Caboses, Alamundarus wrote to the emperor Justin asking for gold for his troops; this allegedly angered the emperor, who began plotting to kill him; Joh. Eph. *HE* III 6.3 (= Mich. Syr. x 8), Bar Hebr., *Chron.*, pp. 79–80. In mid 572 the emperor wrote to Marcianus 7 and Alamundarus, luring the latter into a trap, but the letters were misaddressed, the plot was revealed, and Alamundarus broke off relations with the Romans for three years during which he refused to take action against attacks by the Persians and their Arab allies; perhaps in early 575, he opened negotiations with Justinianus 3 and was reconciled to the Romans; Joh. Eph. *HE* III 6.4 (= Mich. Syr. x 8), *Chron.* 1234, lxvii, Bar Hebr., *Chron.*, pp. 79–80. In Mich. Syr. x 17, *Chron.* 1234, lxxiii, and Bar Hebr., *Chron.*, p. 82, there is some confusion between this reconciliation and his visit to Constantinople in 580 (see below). After his reconciliation Alamundarus collected an army in secret and attacked al-Hīrah, the capital of the Arabs allied to Persia (the Lakhmids, cf. Ambrus); he defeated them heavily and returned laden with booty, which he proceeded to distribute to monasteries and churches and to the poor; Joh. Eph. *HE* III 6.4.

PATRICIVS a. 578: by 578 he was *patricius*; Wadd. III 2110 = *Princ. Exp. Syr.* III, n. 367 El-Heyat (Batanea) (ἐπὶ τοῦ πανεϋφήμου) Ἀλαμουνδάρου πατρίκιου), dated indiction 11, year 473 of the province), cf. *CIG* 4517 = Wadd. III 2562c (cited above), Joh. Eph. *HE* III 4.39 ('gloriosus Mondir patricius' in 580). Styled both 'gloriosus' and 'illustris' in 580; Joh. Eph. *HE* III 4.39–43.

In 580 he was summoned to Constantinople by Tiberius; he reached the city on Feb. 8 accompanied by two of his sons and received a warm welcome; they were showered with gifts and honours by the emperor and Alamundarus was given a royal diadem, not merely a crown as formerly, before they were sent home; Joh. Bicl. s.a. 575 (Aramundarus

Sarracenorum rex Constantinopolim venit et cum stemmate suo Tiberio principi cum donis barbariae occurrit. qui a Tiberio benigne susceptus et donis optimis adornatus ad patriam abire permissus est), Joh. Eph. *HE* III 4.39 (a. 580 Feb. 8; 'diademate etiam regio eum dignatus est'), 4.42 (received royal gifts, 'et praeter haec omnia diadema etiam regium ei donavit, quod usque ad hunc nullis regibus Tayāye umquam fuerat nec datum erat, sed nonnisi coronam tantum sumere eis fas erat'; cf. Proc. *BP* I 17.47, cited under Arethas), Mich. Syr. x 20, 21, cf. Mich. Syr. x 17, *Chron.* 1234, lxxiii, Bar Hebr., *Chron.*, p. 82.

During this stay in Constantinople he convened, with the approval of Tiberius, a monophysite council, which met on March 2, 580, and came to an agreement (short-lived) reconciling the different factions within the monophysite movement; Joh. Eph. *HE* III 4.40, cf. 4.1-2. A zealous monophysite, he had tried earlier to reconcile the factions; Joh. Eph. *HE* III 2.8 (in c. 572/574 he protected Paul of Antioch), 4.21 (tried to reconcile the supporters of Paul and Jacob Baradaeus), 4.22 (in 576 he met Longinus and Theodorus, bishops of the Nobades and of Philae), 4.36, Mich. Syr. x 13, Bar Hebr., *Chron. Eccl.* I 47. Before the council he met Damianus of Alexandria in Constantinople, and later expressed his anger when Damianus went back on his agreements at the council; Joh. Eph. *HE* III 4.41, 4.43.

He secured an undertaking from Tiberius to end the persecution of the monophysites, and then returned home laden with gifts, via Antioch, only to find that the Persians and their Arab allies had taken advantage of his absence and were raiding his lands; he led his army against them and defeated them, returning with much booty; Joh. Eph. *HE* III 4.42.

In summer 580 he accompanied Mauricius 4 on a campaign against the Persians; the campaign went badly wrong when a vital bridge was found to be broken and they were forced to return, with Mauricius accusing Alamundarus of betraying their plans (cf. Mauricius); Joh. Eph. *HE* III 3.40, 6.16-17, Evagr. *HE* v 20, VI 2, Nic. Call. *HE* XVIII 5, Theoph. Sim. III 17.7, *Chron.* 1234, lxxiii. On his return Alamundarus was attacked by the Persians and their Arab allies but routed them; Joh. Eph. *HE* III 6.18.

Accused of treachery by Mauricius before Tiberius, he was arrested at Huwārīn (Evaria) through a trick by his trusted friend Magnus 2 and taken with his wife, two sons and a daughter to Constantinople, probably in 581; Joh. Eph. *HE* III 3.40-1 (Haurin), *Chron.* 1234, lxxiii (Homs), Bar Hebr., *Chron.*, p. 82. He was held in custody in Constantinople for the remainder of Tiberius' reign, in the same house as he had previously stayed in, but under Maurice he was sent into exile to Sicily; Joh. Eph. *HE* III 3.41, 3.54 (= *Chron.* 1234, lxxvii), Evagr. *HE*

VI 2, Nic. Call. *HE* XVIII 10. There he was later joined by his son Naaman; Joh. Eph. *HE* III 3.56.

Very probably identical with Anamundarus, mentioned in 600 by pope Gregory who had apparently intervened on his behalf at the request of the PPO Africae Innocentius 3; Greg. *Ep.* x 16 (a. 600 July; de Anamundaro autem quae scripsistis fecimus, sed voluntatem utinam sequatur effectus, quia, quantum ad nos pertinet, afflictis intercessionis nostrae solacium non negamus). If so, he was still alive in 600. Cf. Goubert, II II, p. 217 with n. 28.

One late source states that he was freed from exile and allowed home after the death of Maurice; *Chron.* 1234, lxxxiii.

He is mentioned in an acclamation recorded on an inscription, undated, from Sergiopolis in Syria; *SEG* VII 188 (+νικᾶ ἡ [T]ύχη 'Ἀλαμυδα[ρ]ου).

Albilas

Gothic commander 538

A leading Goth, left in command of Orvieto (Vrbs Vetus) with a thousand men by Vitigis in March 538; besieged first by Peranius and then by Belisarius, he held out under great difficulties from summer 538 until at least December; Proc. *BG* II 11.1, 18.19, 19.1 (Peranius), 20.3-14 (Belisarius). He surrendered soon after Belisarius arrived in December 538; Proc. *BG* II 20.4, *Marcell. com. Addit.* ad a. 538. Cf. Belisarius, p. 204.

Albinus (*CIL* VI 7969) V/VI: *PLRE* II.

Albinus (*CIL* V 7640) V/VI: *PLRE* II.

Albinus I

bishop of Angers M VI

A native of the area around Vannes, he came of a well-to-do family; Ven. Fort. *V. S. Albini* v 11 (Veneticae regionis oceano Britannico confinibus indigena, non exiguis parentibus oriundus, immo digni germinis dignissima proles emergens). He took to the religious life at an early age and entered a monastery at Tincillacum (in Tincillacense monasterio) (site unknown); Ven. Fort. *V. S. Albini* v 12-13. He became abbot at the age of thirty-five and remained abbot for twenty-five years, when he was chosen bishop of Angers; Ven. Fort. *V. S. Albini* VIII 21, 23, IX 24, cf. Greg. Tur. *Glor. Conf.* 96 (Gregory records a miraculous cure in his church and also alludes to the recently composed Life by Venantius Fortunatus).

He subscribed the Third Council of Orleans in 538 and, through an abbot Sapaudus, the Fourth in 549; *Conc. Gall.* 511-695, pp. 127, 129 (a. 538), 161 (a. 549).

Albinus 2

(patricius?); rector Provinciae 572/573; bishop of Uzès 581

Successor of Iovinus 1 as rector Provinciae under Sigibert in 572/573; he fined the archdeacon of Marseilles, Vigilius, four thousand *solidi* for fraud, but had to compensate him fourfold after Vigilius, supported by Iovinus, complained to the king; Greg. Tur. *HF* iv 43 (cited under Iovinus). He is later styled *ex praefecto* (cf. Iovinus); Greg. Tur. *HF* vi 7. Other holders of this office were *patricii*; cf. *Fasti*.

In 581 he became bishop of Uzès in succession to Ferreolus with support from Dynamius 1 but without the approval of King Childebert; after three months, when moves to unseat him had already begun, he died; Greg. Tur. *HF* vi 7.

Perhaps mentioned in Ven. Fort. *Carm.* vi 10, line 69 (asking Dynamius 1 to greet 'Albinus eximius').

Albinus 3

Gallo-Roman noble ?L VI

A leading citizen of Saintes (*vir Sanctonice civitatis magnificus*), he was miraculously cured at the tomb of Eparchius the hermit of Angoulême; *Vita et Virtutes Eparchii* ii 5 (*MGH, Scr. Rer. Mer.* iii, p. 561).

Albinus (*Lib. Pont.* 61): see Anicius Faustus Albinus Basilus 3.

(Fl.) Anicius Faustus Albinus Basilus

Albis

Gothic envoy 537

Envoy of Vitigis to Belisarius at the beginning of the siege of Rome (Feb./March 537); Proc. *BG* i 20.7-8. The embassy is described in Proc. *BG* i 20.8-21.2. See Belisarius, p. 198.

Alboenus

Frankish noble 613

He was one of the *proceres* with Warnacharius 2 sent by Brunichildis to accompany Sigibert to Thuringia in 613 to obtain help against Chlotharius II; he received orders from Brunichildis to assassinate Warnacharius and the others, but the letter was discovered and the contents disclosed by a servant of Warnacharius; Fredegar. iv 40.

Alboin

king of the Lombards (?-) 561-572

Son of Audoin and Rodelinda; *Origo Gent. Lang.* 5, *Hist. Lang. cod. Goth.* 5, Paul. Diac. *Hist. Lang.* i 23, 27. His first wife was the Frankish princess, Chlodosinda, daughter of Chlotharius I, who bore him a daughter, Albsuinda; Greg. Tur. *HF* iv 41, *Ep. Austras.* 8 (*MGH, Epp.* iii, p. 119), *Origo Gent. Lang.* 5, *Hist. Lang. cod. Goth.* 5, Paul. Diac. *Hist. Lang.* i 27. His second wife was the Gepid princess, Rosimunda, daughter

of Cunimund (see below); Greg. Tur. *HF* iv 41, Theoph. Sim. vi 10.7ff., *Origo Gent. Lang.* 5, *Hist. Lang. cod. Goth.* 5, Paul. Diac. *Hist. Lang.* i 27. His *patria* was Pannonia; Mar. Avent. s.a. 569. He was probably born sometime in the 530s; see Audoin and cf. below. He was uncle of Gisulfus 1. See stemma 20b.

In 552 he fought in the great battle between the Lombards and the Gepids and killed Turismodus, son of the Gepid king Turisindus; afterwards he sought Turisindus' hospitality and received from him the arms of Turismodus; Paul. Diac. *Hist. Lang.* i 23, 24, *Hist. Rom.* xvi 20. He was evidently a young man, not a boy, by this date.

KING of the Lombards, a. (?-) 561-572: successor of his father, Audoin, as tenth king of the Lombards; *Origo Gent. Lang.* 5, *Hist. Lang. cod. Goth.* 5, Paul. Diac. *Hist. Lang.* i 27. The date of his father's death is not recorded, but the statement in Paul the Deacon, *Hist. Lang.* i 27, that the Frankish king Chlotharius I married Chlodosinda to him when he was already a famous king implies that he was already king by 561. The further statement, *Hist. Lang.* ii 1, that he sent troops to help Narses 1 against Totila is a mistake; it was Audoin (q.v.) who sent them. King of the Lombards; Greg. Tur. *HF* iv 41, v 15, *Ep. Austras.* 8, Mar. Avent. s.a. 569, s.a. 572, Joh. Biel. s.a. 573, Men. Prot. fr. 24, Theoph. Sim. vi 10.7, *Origo Gent. Lang.* 5, *Hist. Lang. cod. Goth.* 5, Paul. Diac. *Hist. Lang.* ii 8, 9, 12, 27, 28, Agnellus, *Lib. Pont. Eccl. Rav.* 96.

Probably in 566 he attacked the Gepids under Cunimund; they obtained help from the Romans and the Lombards were defeated by Baduarius 2; Theoph. Sim. vi 10.8-12. Subsequently Alboin sent envoys to the Avars requesting their support against the Gepids; the Avar khan agreed to the alliance; Men. Prot. fr. 24-5, Paul. Diac. *Hist. Lang.* i 27, *Hist. Lang. cod. Goth.* 5. There followed a battle between the Lombards and Gepids in which Cunimund was killed and the Gepid kingdom effectively destroyed; *Origo Gent. Lang.* 5, *Hist. Lang. cod. Goth.* 5, Paul. Diac. *Hist. Lang.* i 27. For the date, probably 567, see Cunimund.

In 568 Alboin led his people from Pannonia to invade and occupy Italy; Mar. Avent. s.a. 569, Greg. Tur. *HF* iv 41, v 15, *Origo Gent. Lang.* 5, *Hist. Lang. cod. Goth.* 5. For the assertion in *Origo Gent. Lang.* 5, *Hist. Lang. cod. Goth.* 5 and Paul. Diac. *Hist. Lang.* ii 5 that Alboin was invited to settle in Italy by Narses 1, see Narses, p. 925. Alboin invited the Saxons to accompany them to Italy; Paul. Diac. *Hist. Lang.* ii 6. When the Lombards left Pannonia, they abandoned it to the Avars; Paul. Diac. *Hist. Lang.* ii 7, and cf. Mar. Avent. s.a. 569 (*relinquens atque incendens Pannoniam suam patriam*). They left Pannonia in April 568; *Origo Gent. Lang.* 5, *Hist. Lang. cod. Goth.* 5, Paul. Diac. *Hist. Lang.* ii 7. By 570 they had secured control of most of northern Italy (Alboin was 'dominus

Italiae'); *Origo Gent. Lang.* 5, *Hist. Lang. cod. Goth.* 5, cf. Paul. Diac. *Hist. Lang.* II 8 (they reach the frontier of Italy at Mons Regis), 9 (Alboin appoints **Gisulfus dux** at Forum Iulii), 12 (at the river Piave), 14 (most of Venetia subdued), 25 (Alboin enters Milan on Sept. 3, 569), 26 (the Lombards raid Tuscia and besiege Ticinum), 27 (Ticinum falls to Alboin in 572). The invading Lombards suffered greatly from disease and hunger and lost many in fighting; some of their number entered Gaul, where they were captured and sold as slaves; Mar. Avent. s.a. 569.

Alboin reigned in Italy for three years and six months and was then assassinated on June 28, 572, in his palace at Verona by his wife **Rosimunda**, his *spatharius* **Hilmegis** and his *cubicularius* **Peredeo**; Greg. Tur. *HF* IV 41, Agnellus, *Lib. Pont. Eccl. Rav.* 96 (June 28), Joh. Bicl. s.a. 573, Mar. Avent. s.a. 572, *Origo Gent. Lang.* 5, *Hist. Lang. cod. Goth.* 5, Paul. Diac. *Hist. Lang.* II 28.

Described by Paul the Deacon as 'vir bellis aptus et per omnia strenuus'; Paul. Diac. *Hist. Lang.* I 27.

Albsuinda Lombard princess; daughter of Alboin 572

Daughter of the Lombard king Alboin and his first wife, the Frankish princess **Chlodosinda**; taken to Ravenna by **Rosimunda** and **Hilmegis** in 572 after Alboin's murder, she was subsequently sent to Constantinople by **Longinus** 5; *Origo Gent. Lang.* 5, *Hist. Lang. cod. Goth.* 5, Paul. Diac. *Hist. Lang.* I 27, II 29-30, Agnellus, *Lib. Pont. Eccl. Rav.* 96.

Albucius (*AE* 1946, 34) L IV/VI: *PLRE* II.

Alciocus Bulgar leader M VII

A Bulgar leader; one of the Bulgars who escaped from the Avars in Pannonia and sought asylum with **Dagobert**, who sent them to Bavaria and then had them massacred by the Bavarians; only **Alciocus** with some seven hundred men and their families survived this and fled to the Wends among whom they lived for many years; *Fredegar.* IV 72.

Possibly identical with the Bulgar *dux* **Alzeco** who entered Italy peacefully with his followers under **Grimoald** (662-671) and was settled around **Saepinum** with the title 'gastaldus'; Paul. Diac. *Hist. Lang.* V 29 (their descendants were still there in Paul's day and still spoke their own tongue).

Aldio vir gloriosus, MVM (in Italy) 599

The name is Germanic; see **Förstemann**, p. 56.

Vir magnificus; in 592 he wrote informing **Gregory** of the movements of the Lombard *dux* of **Spoletium**, **Ariulfus**; *Greg. Ep.* II 32 (a. 592 July). In 599 'gloriosus **Aldio** magister militum' wrote asking **Gregory** for

priests and deacons to be ordained in his city (in civitate ipsius); **Gregory** instructed bishop **Venantius** of **Luna** to take the appropriate action; *Greg. Ep.* IX 102 (a. 599 Jan.).

The city where he was *magister militum* cannot be identified with certainty. It was not **Luna** itself, which already had bishop and clergy. It had apparently been deserted by its clergy, doubtless because it was either occupied or threatened by the Lombards. In 599 **Aldio** evidently felt securely enough established to restore the situation there to normal. It is unlikely, therefore, that he was already there as early as 592. He was then apparently in **Umbria**, and probably not yet *magister militum* since he was only *magnificus*. He may well have been a Lombard fighting on the Roman side who was made *magister militum* between 592 and 599 and in 599 had occupied and was holding a city somewhere not too far from **Luna**, perhaps **Fiesole** (**Richards**, *Consul of God*, p. 102) or **Perugia** (cf. **Brown**, *Gentlemen*, p. 73).

Alector (*MAMA* VIII 323) L V/VII: *PLRE* II.

Aletheus patricius (of Burgundy) 613

A descendant of the Burgundian kings (regio genere de Burgundionibus); *Fredegar.* IV 44.

PATRICIVS (of Burgundy) a. 613; *Fredegar.* IV 42, 43.

In 613 he was one of the Austrasians (cf. **Eudela**, **Rocco** and **Sigoaldus**) who supported **Warnacharius** 2 and joined **Chlotharius** II against **Brunichildis**; *Fredegar.* IV 42 (cited under **Rocco**). Nevertheless he conspired with bishop **Leudemund** and **Herpo** 3 to assassinate the new *dux* of the region east of the **Jura**, **Herpo** 2; *Fredegar.* IV 43. Later in the same year he sent **Leudemund** to queen **Bertethrudis** proposing to assassinate **Chlotharius**, marry the queen and assume the throne himself, but the plot was revealed and he was summoned to **Chlotharius**' court and executed; *Fredegar.* IV 44.

Alexander (*IGLS* III 730) ?V/VI: *PLRE* II.

Alexander: ?MVM vacans 528; *PLRE* II.

Alexander I comes 530; envoy to **Persia** and **Italy** 530, 531, 534.

Brother of **Athanasius** I; *Proc. BG* I 6.26. He was a member of the senate (ἀνήρ ἐκ βουλῆς); *Proc. BG* I 3.13. He was therefore a *vir illustris*; cf. **Areobindus** 2.

COMES a. 530: ὁ κόμης (in 530); *Joh. Mal.* 453, *Theoph. AM* 6022.

After the battle of **Dara** (June 530), **Alexander** accompanied **Rufinus** (*PLRE* II, p. 955) on an embassy to **Cavadēs**; *Joh. Mal.* 453, *Theoph. AM* 6022. The negotiations are described by **Procopius**, who names only

Rufinus, in *BP* I 16.1-10. The envoys returned from Persia in September 530 with terms acceptable to Cavades; Joh. Mal. 454 (gives the date), Theoph. AM 6023.

In late 531, soon after the accession of Chosroes, Alexander again went on an embassy to Persia, accompanied by Hermogenes, Rufinus and Thomas 4; Proc. *BP* I 22.1. The negotiations are described in Proc. *BP* I 22.1-6. While one envoy, Rufinus, returned to Constantinople to consult Justinian concerning the proposed cession to Persia of the forts in Lazica, the other envoys remained in the East; Proc. *BP* I 22.7. On his return bringing the emperor's consent to the cession, the envoys prepared to conclude the agreement and had already transferred to Nisibis the money due under it to Chosroes, when Justinian changed his mind about the forts and negotiations suddenly collapsed; it was only the personal intercession of Rufinus which persuaded Chosroes to return the money and not to resume the war; the envoys then returned to Dara with the money and the Persian army withdrew; Proc. *BP* I 22.8-14. The influence of Rufinus with Chosroes aroused the suspicions of his fellow-envoys and they tried to discredit him with the emperor, but without success; Proc. *BP* I 22.15-16.

In 534 Alexander was sent to Italy by Justinian as envoy to Athalaric and Amalasuētha; the ostensible purpose of his visit was to put forward a number of complaints, about the Gothic occupation of Lilybaeum, their welcome in Italy of Hunnic deserters from the Roman army in Africa, and their hostile actions during their war with the Gepids against Gratiana, a Roman city in Illyricum; the real object, according to Procopius, was to learn more about Amalasuētha's plans to leave Italy and live in Constantinople; Proc. *BG* I 3.13-16, 6.26 (envoy to Athalaric), cf. 2.23-4 (Amalasuētha's plans to leave Italy). Alexander joined the bishops Demetrius and Hypatius at Rome (they had already come in 533, whereas Alexander could not have sailed to Italy before spring 534; cf. Stein, *Bas-Emp.* II 337, n. 1) and then went on to Ravenna where he delivered his messages to Amalasuētha; Proc. *BG* I 3.13, 3.16. He then returned to Constantinople with Demetrius and Hypatius bearing the replies of Amalasuētha to both points; Proc. *BG* I 3.29.

Alexander 2 cavalry commander (in Italy) 537

In 537 Alexander, Marcentius and others sailed from Constantinople to Hydruntum with a thousand regular cavalry, accompanying Ioannes 46 to reinforce Belisarius in Italy; Proc. *BG* II 5.1 (καὶ σὺν αὐτοῖς ἕτεροι στρατιῶται ἐκ καταλόγου ἵππικοῦ χίλιοι ὧν ἄλλοι τε καὶ Ἀλέξανδρός τε καὶ Μαρκεντίος ἦρχον). They presumably accompanied Ioannes to Campania and then to Ostia with wagons laden with supplies for Rome

and then went to Rome after transporting the supplies there in mid December; Proc. *BG* II 5.2-3, 7.1-12, and cf. Ioannes 46.

Perhaps identical with Alexander 7 (father of Euty chius).

Alexander 3 iudex pedaneus 539

Advocate and *iudex pedaneus* at the court of the PPO Orientis on April 8, 539, when he was appointed one of the twelve new *iudices pedanei* at Constantinople by Justinian; Just. *Nov.* 82.1. See further Menas 2 and Anatolius 4.

Alexander 4 iudex pedaneus 539

Presumably an advocate at the court of the *magister officiorum*; he was a *iudex pedaneus* in the court of the *mag. off.* on April 8, 539, when he was appointed one of the new *iudices pedanei* (δικασταὶ or διαιτηταί) at Constantinople by Justinian; Just. *Nov.* 82.1 (Ἀλέξανδρός τε ἕτερος (καὶ διαιτητὴν δὲ εἶναι κάκεινον τοῦ δικαστηρίου τοῦ ἐνδοξοτάτου μαγίστρου τῶν θείων ὀφφικίων μεμαθήκαμεν); on *iudices pedanei* attached to particular courts, see further Menas 2). See also Anatolius 4.

Alexander 5 discussor 540-541

He acquired the nickname ὁ Ψαλίδιος from his skill with the instrument employed for trimming gold coins down in size; Proc. *BG* III 1.30-1, *Anecd.* 26.29.34.

DISCUSSOR a. 540-541: in 540 he was a senior financial official in Constantinople; Proc. *BG* III 1.28 (ἦν δὲ Ἀλέξανδρός τις ἐν Βυζαντίῳ τοῖς δημοσίοις ἐφεστῶς λογισμοῖς λογοθέτην τὴν τιμὴν ταύτην ἐλληνίζοντες καλοῦσι Ῥωμαῖοι), cf. *Anecd.* 24.9 (ὁ λογοθέτης). For λογοθέτης = *discussor*, see Jones, *LRE* III, p. 243, n. 106 and cf. also Fl. Ioannes 11, p. 627. Alexander was clearly employed on special missions, cf. below, but was presumably a financial official normally based in Constantinople, perhaps one of the *scriniarii* (if not a *numerarius*) in one of the financial sections of the praetorian prefecture, possibly that dealing with the military; cf. Jones, *LRE* II, p. 589.

He acquired great notoriety by saving large sums of money for the state and also enriching himself by accusing the army of defrauding the state; Proc. *BG* III 1.29, cf. *Anecd.* 24.1-11 (for this activity of λογοθέται). Consequently he was sent to Italy in 540 when Belisarius returned to Constantinople; Proc. *BG* III 1.31, *Anecd.* 24.9.

En route he reorganised the garrison at Thermopylae; he replaced the guard of local farmers with regular troops, and paid for them by diverting to the imperial treasury the civic and entertainment funds of all the cities of Greece, with Justinian's approval; Proc. *Anecd.* 26.31-4.

Once arrived in Ravenna he imposed very stringent financial demands on the Italians and reduced the money spent on the army, alienating both groups from the imperial cause; Proc. *BG* III 1.32-3, *Anecd.* 24.9. He deprived the poor who gathered at St Peter's in Rome of their public corn ration paid annually by the state, an action confirmed by Justinian; Proc. *Anecd.* 26.29-30. In a letter to the senate probably written in 543 he is cited by Totila as an example of imperial injustice and oppression; Proc. *BG* III 9.13.

In 541 he and Constantianus 2, with nine others, commanded the Roman army which marched against Verona and eventually met disaster at Faventia; Proc. *BG* III 3.4. For the campaign, see Constantianus.

Fl. Alexander 6 vir illustris; pagarch of Antaeopolis 550

Φλά(ουιος) Ἀλέξανδρος ἐνδοξότ(ατος) [ἰλλο]ύστρι[ος] καὶ π[άγαρ]-
χ[ος] Ἀντ[αίου μέρους] γδ (sic?); he leased land to a citizen of Aphrodito in 550; *PSI* 283,5 Aphrodito. The document is dated Dec. 20, 550. For Alexander's office, cf. Fl. Serenus 5.

Alexander 7 scholarius; father of Eutychius M VI

Husband of Synesia, father of the patriarch Eutychius of Constantinople, he was a *scholarius* and was a close associate of Belisarius 1 (his right hand man), probably in Italy (ὃς καὶ ἐν πολέμοις ἀήττητος, χεῖρ ἦν δεξιὰ τοῦ τηνικαῦτα στρατηγοῦ (Βελισάριος δὲ οὗτος ἦν...), τῆ τοῦ σχολαρίου τετιμημένος στρατιᾶ); brave in war (τὰς τοῦ ἀνδρός ἀριστείας καὶ ἀνδραγαθίας) and highly honoured by the emperor and highly placed persons (τίς ὡς Ἀλέξανδρος (τοῦτο γὰρ ὄνομα τῷ ἀνδρὶ) οὕτω γενναῖος, οὕτω τιμώμενος παρὰ βασιλεῖ τε καὶ ἄρχουσι;... πολλῆς οὖν δόξης παρὰ τε βασιλείως παρὰ τε τῶν ἐν ὑπεροχῇ γενόμενος ἐμπλεος); Eustrat., *V. Eutych.* 7 (*PG* 86.2, col. 2281).

Possibly identical with Alexander 2.

Alexander 8 (of Tralles) doctor and medical writer M/L VI

Native of Tralles; Agath. v 6.5. Son of Stephanus 1; Alex. Trall. *Ther.* IV 1. Brother of Anthemius 2, Dioscorus 3, Metrodorus and Olympius 2; Agath. v 6.4-5.

A famous doctor, who settled in Rome to practise after travelling widely; Agath. v 6.5 (he and Dioscorus were ἄμφω ἰατρικῆς δαημονεστάτω; Alexander ἐν τῇ πρεσβύτιδι Ῥώμῃ κατέκρηεν ἐντιμότητα μετακεκλημένος), cf. Alex. Trall. *Ther.* I 15 (ed. Puschmann, vol. 1, pp. 563, 565) for evidence of his travels, including Italy, Gaul and Spain. He was probably brought up to medicine by his father, cf. Alex. Trall. *Ther.* IV

1, but his principal teacher and long-time supporter was the (unnamed) father of the man to whom he was to dedicate one of his works, Cosmas (cf. below).

Author of a medical work in twelve books, the *Therapeutica*, written in old age (γέρον) when Alexander was too infirm to continue in practice and containing a lifetime's experience of medicine; part of the work (On Fevers) (and possibly the whole work) was dedicated to his friend Cosmas (Κοσμᾶ φίλτατε), son of his old teacher; ed. T. Puschmann, Vienna 1878-9, and cf. Puschmann, vol. 1, p. 289 (the dedication). Alexander also wrote a work *De Lumbricis* (Περὶ ἔλμίνθων) in the form of a letter (ed. Puschmann, vol. II, pp. 586-99) and another *De Oculis* (Περὶ ὀφθαλμῶν) (ed. Puschmann, *Berl. Stud. Class. Phil. Arch.* v 2 (1886), pp. 134-78).

See further Hunger, *Prof. Lit.* II, pp. 297-9.

ALEXANDER 9 ?v.c. (East) 590-597

Named in letters of pope Gregory to Narses 9 at Constantinople in 590 and 597, in which Gregory sends greetings to him; Greg. *Ep.* I 6, VII 27 (both call him 'domnum Alexandrum'). Possibly a son or son-in-law of Narses and Hesychia; see Narses and cf. Theodorus 41.

ALEXANDER 10 vir magnificus (in Sicily) 591-598

Vir magnificus, involved in a law suit in Sicily with the church; in 591 pope Gregory instructed the *rector Siciliae* Petrus to encourage him to settle it; Greg. *Ep.* I 42 (a. 591 May). Vir magnificus, involved in a dispute over various matters with his mother-in-law Thecla (abbess of the monastery of St Mary at Naples); he had frequently promised to settle the matter but still procrastinated; in 598, following a letter from Thecla, Gregory instructed the *defensor Siciliae* Romanus to bring the dispute to a conclusion; Greg. *Ep.* IX 54 (a. 598 Nov.).

Possibly two different men, but the circumstances suggest the same man.

ALEXANDER 11 ?dux (in Thrace) 593-594

Styled ὁ ταξίαρχος; Theoph. Sim. VI 8.12, 9.8. Serving in Thrace under Priscus 6 in 593, he led a scouting party, encountered some Slavs and returned to Priscus with prisoners and information; Theoph. Sim. VI 8.9-14, 9.2. As a result he led an advance force which cleared the way for an attack on the Slavs under Musocius; Theoph. Sim. VI 9.8-11. In 594 he served under Petrus 55 in Thrace and while commanding an advance party one thousand strong engaged and defeated a Slav force; Theoph. Sim. VII 2.5-10.

Probably not a MVM *vacans* (cf. Gentzon) but rather a *comes rei militaris* or a (new style) *dux*; cf. Theodorus 21.

Alexander 12 Gallo-Roman noble L VI

Vir clarissimus Alexander nomine; he indicated the burial place of the hermit Eparchius in the basilica at Angoulême; *Vita et Virtutes Eparchii* 23 (*MGH, Ser. Rer. Mer.* III, p. 560).

Alexander 13 scribo VI

Ἀλεξάνδρου σκρίβονος; Zacos 2775 = Dumbarton Oaks seal 55.1.78 (seal; dated VI/VII Zacos, VI Oikonomides; obv.: cruciform monogram (12) of Ἀλεξάνδρου; rev.: cruciform monogram (301) of σκρίβονος).

Alexander 14 Pillustris VI

Ἀλεξάνδρου ?(i)ll(ustris); Zacos 502 = Dumbarton Oaks seal 58.106.2753 (seal; obv.: + ΑΛ/ΕΞΑΝ/ΔΡΩ; rev.: a design of unknown meaning (index of monograms, 146), interpreted by Oikonomides as (i)ll(ustris) and by Zacos as Al(exandri), but this is very uncertain).

Alexander 15 imperialis chartularius VI/VII

Ἀλεξάνδρου βασιλικῶ (or ?κουβικουλαρίου καί) χαρτουλαρίου; Zacos 2774 (seal; obv.: cruciform monogram (13) of Ἀλεξάνδρου; rev.: cruciform monogram (368) of βασιλικῶ (or possibly κουβικουλαρίου καί) χαρτουλαρίου). Cf. also Stephanus 41 and Theodorus 105.

Alexander 16 MVM (East) ?VI/VII

Θ(ε)ἰ βοήθει Ἀλεξάνδρω στρατηγῶ Πρόκλου; *IGC* 43 Assus (Troad). He was a *magister militum* and son of Proclus.

ALEXANDER 17 praetor Siciliae 600

Addressee of a letter from pope Gregory commending to him the newly appointed rector of the patrimony of Ravenna in Sicily; *Greg. Ep.* XI 8 (a. 600 Oct.; addressed 'Alexandro praetori Siciliae').

Alexander 18 supporter of Phocas 602

In late 602 he and Lillis were apparently sent by Phocas and the rebellious army of Thrace as envoys to Maurice at Constantinople; *Joh. Ant. fr.* 218d (*FHG* V 36 = *Exc. de ins.*, fr. 108). A supporter and fellow-rebel of Phocas, he was sent by him to calm the squabbling factions but succeeded only in enraging the Blues, who reminded him that Maurice was not yet dead (whereupon Phocas arranged Maurice's murder);

Theoph. Sim. VIII 10.11–13, Theoph. AM 6094. Alexander subsequently executed Maurice's son Theodosius 13 and the former PPO Constantinus 33 (Lardys); a rumour, denied by Theophylact, alleged that Alexander had spared Theodosius for a bribe, and Phocas therefore had Alexander executed; Theoph. Sim. VIII 13.3, 15.8.

He may be the Alexander whose execution for conspiracy under Phocas is recorded in *Joh. Nik.* 103. 10–12 (p. 539 Zotenberg), though the story in John is actually a confused account of the death of Germanus 11.

Alexander 19 topoteretes of the governor of Galatia Prima E VII

Alexander, τοποτηρητής γενόμενος τοῦ φιλοχρίστου Ἰωάννου τοῦ ἄρχοντος τῆς Ἀγκυρανῶν μητροπόλεως, was punished for misdeeds against the peasantry; the date was probably under Phocas; *V. Theod. Syc.* 151. See Ioannes 257.

ALEXANDER 20 ?praetor plebis 610/641

The *commentariensis* Drosus served under him at Constantinople in the time of Heraclius; *Mir. Artem.* 18 (p. 22) (τότε κομνηταρησίου ὄντος (sc. Drosus) Ἀλεξάνδρου ἀπὸ Περάδων). Presumably native of a place called Perada (?Pera, the suburb of Constantinople). His office was probably *praetor plebis*; the PVC at the time was Theodorus 158, and the *praetor plebis* was the other main official at Constantinople charged with maintaining law and order; cf. Jones, *LRE* II, p. 692 and *Just. Nov.* 13.

Alexander 21 PPO ?615 (or 626)

Ὁ ἑπαρχος τῶν πραιτωρίων; during a bread shortage in Constantinople, dated in May 626, he mounted the pulpit in St Sophia and announced to the angry crowds that he himself was taking charge of the bread supply; the date was May 15; *Chron. Pasch.* s.a. 626. The correct year was possibly 615; cf. Leontius 32.

ALEXANDRIA 1 c.f. (in Spain) c. 520–545

Clarissima femina (sic); mother of Probus 1; she died on Dec. 23, 545, aged about twenty-five, and was buried near Seville; Vives, *Inscripciones cristianas* 131 = *ILCV* 187 Lebrija (Seville) (dated in year 583 of the provincial era).

ALEXANDRIA 2 (c.f.) (in Italy) L VI

Magnifica femina, widow of Vincomalus, living in Campania in 596 when Pope Gregory entrusted her to the protection (tuitio) of the *rector patrimonii* Anthemius; *Greg. Ep.* VI 35 (a. 596 June).

ALEXANDRIA 3 c.f. (in Italy) L VI

Clarissimae memoriae femina; dead by June 599; she had founded a monastery of SS Herasmus, Maximus and Juliana at Naples and named it as her heir; she had also received by way of legacy from Pompeius part of a Sicilian estate, the *massa Papyrianensis*, the remainder going to the *xenodochium* of St Theodore at Palermo; in June/July 599 the abbot of the monastery at Naples was claiming Alexandria's share of the *massa Papyrianensis*; Greg. *Ep.* IX 170.

Alichis Lombard; dux of Brixia 574

A Lombard; he was *dux* of Brixia during the interregnum after the death of Cleph (in 574); Paul. Diac. *Hist. Lang.* II 32 (cited under Gisulfus 1).

Aligernus Gothic leader 552-554

Son of Fredigernus, younger brother of king Theia; Agath. I 8.6, 20.1, cf. Proc. *BG* IV 34.19 (wrongly alluded to as brother of Totila). On the name, see Schönfeld, p. 13.

In 552 he was in command, jointly with Herodianus, of the Gothic garrison in Cumae, appointed by Totila to guard the greater portion of his treasures which were stored there; Proc. *BG* IV 34.19 (unnamed). The siege of Cumae by Narses 1 began probably in late July 552; Proc. *BG* IV 34.20 and see Narses. Aligernus remained there defiant even after the death of Theia (late 552) and the extinction of Gothic hopes, confident in the strength of the site and the abundance of supplies there; Agath. I 8.6. During an attack on Cumae he killed the Roman officer Palladius 2; Agath. I 9.2-4. Probably in late 553/early 554, as a result of the invasion of Italy by the Franks, he finally surrendered the city and its contents to Narses and submitted to Roman rule, visiting Narses at Classis to hand over the keys; Agath. I 20.1-7. He was then sent by Narses to Caesena, where he vainly tried to discourage the Franks from advancing against Cumae; Agath. I 20.9-11. In autumn 554 he fought on the Roman side against the Franks at Casilinum (cf. Narses); Agath. II 9.13.

Allamon ?vicarius (military) (Egypt) L VI

Allamon, son of Petrus, ἀπὸ βικ(... ? ...), was witness to a declaration of sale at Syene in 585; *P. Monac.* 9, line 111 Syene. The meaning of ἀπὸ βικ() is uncertain; ἀπὸ βικ(αρίων) and βικ(αριανῶν) are possible but perhaps ἀπὸ βικ(αρίου) in the sense of former *vicarius* of a *tribunus* suits the context best.

Alleja daughter of Naaman M/L VI

Daughter of Naaman 2 (ob. 531) and granddaughter of Alamundarus (the Lakhmid, *PLRE* II, p. 40); apparently founder of a convent at al-Ḥirah where Mar Aba the great was later buried; *Hist. Nest.* II 27. Presumably therefore a convert to Christianity.

Aloin ?Lombard mercenary (in Italy) 591

Probably a (?Lombard) mercenary with his own band of followers, serving with the Romans in Italy in 591; Greg. *Ep.* II 7, and see Adobin.

Alpinus comes Turonicae civitatis VI

Alpinus quoque comes Turonicae civitatis; cured of gout after a year in pain by St Martin in a dream; Greg. Tur. *Mir. S. Mart.* I 24. For the date (tempore nostro), see I 6 *ad fin.*

'Alqamah ibn 'Ulāthah Arab governor of the Ḥawrān 639/644

Appointed by 'Umar 'to the governorship of Ḥawrān' under Mu'āwiyah, a position which he held until his death; Balādhurī, pp. 128-9 = Hitti, p. 197. Mu'āwiyah was appointed to rule Syria in 639; 'Umar was assassinated in Nov. 644. The Ḥawrān (Auranitis) lay in the former Roman province of Arabia.

Althias commander of foederati (in Africa) 533-535

In 533 he was one of the nine commanders of the *foederati* (ἄρχοντες... φοιδεράτων) on the expedition led by Belisarius against the Vandals; Proc. *BV* I 11.5-6 (the others were Cyprianus, Cyrillus 2, Dorotheus 2, Ioannes 15, Marcellus 2, Martinus 2, Solomon 1 and Valerianus 1). At the battle of Tricamarum (Dec. 533) he was one of the ἄρχοντες φοιδεράτων who held the left wing of the Roman army; Proc. *BV* II 3.4. Earlier he was presumably one of the commanders of *foederati* who, while ahead of the main army at Ad Decimum (on Sept. 13, cf. Belisarius), first learnt of the death of Ammatas and were then routed by Gelimer, returning to inform Belisarius of what had occurred; Proc. *BV* I 19.13-24, 19.30.

Althias remained in Africa after Belisarius went back to Constantinople in 534. In 535 he was stationed at Centuriae in Numidia in charge of the local forts; Proc. *BV* II 13.2 (ἐτύγγανε δὲ Ἀλθίας ἐν Κεντουριάις τῶν ἐκεῖνη φρουρίων φυλακῆν ἔχων). The location of Centuriae is unknown but it was not far from Tigisis; cf. Proc. *BV* II 13.5. When the Moor Iaudas overran Numidia in 535 and took much booty and many captives, Althias became famous by his exploit in recovering them;

taking all the Huns under his command, about seventy in number, he seized the only abundant source of water in the area, the great spring at Tigisis; he and Iaudas met in single combat, Iaudas fighting for access to the water for his men, Althias for the Moorish booty; although a small lean man, he terrified Iaudas by his dexterity and killed his horse whereupon Iaudas fled followed by his army and Althias recovered all the booty and prisoners; Proc. *BV* II 13.1-17.

He is not mentioned again and is not recorded among the commanders in Numidia whom Stotzas killed in 536; Proc. *BV* II 15.50.

Aluith commander of Herul foederati 538-539

In summer 538 Aluith, Phanitheus and Visandus were in command of two thousand Heruli who accompanied Narses I to Italy to help Belisarius in the war with the Goths; Proc. *BG* II 13.18 (ὧν Οὐρίσανδός τε καὶ Ἀλουίθ καὶ Φανίθεος ἤρχον). After the recall of Narses in spring 539 he and Philemuth were in command of the Heruli who left Italy and returned to Constantinople; Proc. *BG* II 22.8.

For the Heruli as *foederati*, cf. Philemuth.

Alziola ?numerarius (in Thrace) M VI

He had a daughter, Bizantia, whose tombstone survives; Beshevliev, *Spätgr. und spätlat. Inschr. Bulg.*, no. 246 (from Thrace, provenance unknown): +sepulchr/us ic est Biz/antia filia/d(omi)no Alziola/n(u)m(erario) dom(ino) Iust(in)o/sepelita men(se)/octobrio/ind. sext(a).

If the 'dominus Iust(in)us' is an emperor, the date must be October 572, under Justin II (there was no sixth indiction when Justin I was on the throne). The interpretation of Alziola's title and the identity of Iust(in)us are both very uncertain. Alziola may have been the *numerarius* of an MVM Iustinus.

On the name Alziola, cf. Beshevliev, *op. cit.*, p. 173, note.

Amabilis MVM per Africam 571

Amabilis magister militiae Africae a Mauris occiditur; Joh. Bicl. s.a. 571.

Fl. Amala Amalafriada Theodenanda

Amalaberga: niece of Theoderic E/M VI; *PLRE* II.

Fl. Amala Amalafriada Theodenanda

Amalafridas ?MVM 552

Ἀμαλαφρίδας; Proc. Hamalafredus; Ven. Fort. For the name, see Schönfeld, p. 15.

A Goth, grandson of Amalafriada (*PLRE* II; sister of the Gothic king Theoderic), son of Herminifred (*PLRE* II; king of the Thuringians); Proc. *BG* IV 25.11. His mother was therefore Amalaberga (*PLRE* II). He also had a sister (name unknown), betrothed to the Lombard king Audoin; see Rodelinda. Son of Herminifred and cousin of Radegundis; Ven. Fort. *Carm.* VIII 1, *App. Carm.* I, v. 50, III, v. 33. See further below.

In 540 he was taken with Vitigis to Constantinople by Belisarius and was given a Roman (military) command (Ῥωμαίων ἄρχοντα) by the emperor; Proc. *BG* IV 25.12.

?MVM a. 552: in 552 he was one of the commanders of the army sent by Justinian to aid Audoin and the Lombards against the Gepids; of all the commanders only he, with his followers (σὺν τοῖς ἐπομείνοις), actually joined the Lombards, whom he helped defeat the Gepids; Proc. *BG* IV 25.13-15. His fellow-commanders, Iustinus 4, Iustinianus 3, Aratius and Suartuas, were all possibly *magistri militum*.

He is the addressee of Venantius Fortunatus' poem *De Excidio Thoringiae* (Ven. Fort. *App. Carm.* I), a lament put in the mouth of Radegundis. It recalls how close he was to her during her childhood; *vv.* 47-64. Now however he was living in the east, his whereabouts were completely unknown and no message had come from him; *vv.* 65-6, 73-80, 95-100 (the geographical allusions in these lines are all rhetorical). This poem was written after c. 567. Amalafridas seems subsequently to have visited Radegundis at Poitiers; Ven. Fort. *Carm.* VIII 1, *vv.* 23-4 (Radegundis, 'germine regali pia neptis Herminefredi, cui de fratre patris Hamalafredus adest'—the word 'adest' implies that he was at Poitiers with Radegundis when Venantius wrote these verses). A third poem, again put in the mouth of Radegundis and addressed to Artachis, laments his death; Ven. Fort. *App. Carm.* III, *vv.* 12-34.

Amalaricus: king of the Visigoths 511-531; *PLRE* II.

Amalasuintha: Ostrogothic queen 526-534; *PLRE* II.

Amalbertus Frankish notable; brother of Flaohad 642

Brother of Flaohadus; in May 642 he foiled an attempt by his brother to kill Willibadus at Chalons; however in Sept. 642 near Autun he joined in the plot to kill him; Fredegar. IV 90.

Amalgarius Frankish dux (under Dagobert and Clovis II) 629-642

A Frank; Fredegar. IV 78.

dux a. 629-642: under Dagobert, in 629, with Arnebertus and Willibadus he assassinated Prodhulfus on Dagobert's orders; Fredegar. IV 58. In 631 he accompanied Venerandus to Spain on an embassy to

Sisenandus for Dagobert; *Fredegar.* iv 73. In 635 he was one of ten *duces* under Chadoind who defeated the Wascones; *Fredegar.* iv 78. Under Clovis II (Chlodovechus), in 642 he plotted with Flaochadus and other *duces* to kill Willibadus, and in September took part in the battle near Autun in which Willibadus was killed; *Fredegar.* iv 90.

Amalo Frankish dux 589

Dux; owner of estates near Chalon-sur-Saône; killed by a girl whom he tried to rape on one of his estates during the absence of his wife; she sought and obtained the king's (Guntram's) protection against his relations; *Greg. Tur. HF* ix 27.

Amandinus vir gloriosus; domesticus (in Sicily) 598

He was associated with the mission of Leontius 11 in Sicily and corresponded with pope Gregory; *Greg. Ep.* ix 5 (a. 598 Sept./Oct.; addressed 'Amandino'; he had sent letters to Gregory via Paulus and Timarchus), 56 (a. 598 Nov.; addressed 'Amandino domestico'; the letter commends Gregorius 6, whom Amandinus had formerly met in Rome). In both letters he is styled 'gloria vestra'.

Amantius 1 bodyguard of Ioannes Troglita 546-547

Armiger, with Ioannes 36 Troglita in Africa in 546 and 547; *Coripp. Ioh.* ii 358, iv 304. Shortly before the battle in which Antalas was defeated in winter 546/547 Amantius was sent with Geisirith on a mission of reconnaissance; *Coripp. Ioh.* ii 188-91 (cf. 189 sapiens et Amantius una). Shortly afterwards he was sent to Antalas as envoy with Ioannes' terms, to submit or fight; *Coripp. Ioh.* ii 357-8 (mandata superbo tunc iubet armigerum celerem perferre tyranno), 414-16, iv 304-15 (his return; his name is given in 315). In summer 547 he took part in the battle of Marta; *Coripp. Ioh.* vi 598 (sapiens et Amantius una; sent with Paulus 12 by Ioannes to assist their Moorish allies).

Amantius 2 ?MVM per Orientem 555

He is described in *Joh. Mal. fr.* 48 as ὁ κατὰ Ζιμαρχον. For this use of κατὰ, cf. Alan Cameron, *Glotta* 56 (1978), pp. 87-94. The meaning here is uncertain; either Amantius was son of Zemarchus or possibly he had served under a Zemarchus (perhaps a member of his bodyguard) and owed his career to his patronage. If so, Zemarchus may be identifiable with Zemarchus 2 (the *curator* and PVC).

?MVM PER ORIENTEM a. 555: in office at the time of the Samaritan revolt at Caesarea in Palestine in July 555; *Joh. Mal.* 487 (τῷ ὄντι τότε ἄρχοντι τῆς Ἀνατολῆς), *Joh. Mal. fr.* 48 (τῷ στρατηλάτῃ ὄντι τότε ἐν

τῆ Ἀνατολῆς), *Theoph. AM* 6048 (τῷ στρατηλάτῃ), *Ps.-Dion. Chron.* ii, p. 128 ('Amyntios the stratelates who was in the East'), *Mich. Syr.* ix 31 ('stratelates'). The revolt is dated in July 556 (July of indiction 4) in *Joh. Mal.* and *Theoph.*, but the position of the event in the narrative clearly indicates that the year was 555 and the indiction should be the third; cf. Stein, *Bas-Emp.* ii 374, n. 2. In *Mich. Syr.* it is dated to Justinian's regnal year 28, = a. 554-555. Amantius was evidently a *magister militum* and, to judge by his activities in the east (cf. below), was perhaps MVM *per orientem*.

At the news that the Samaritans had revolted and killed the *proconsul* Stephanus 14, Amantius was ordered to Palestine by Justinian to restore order and investigate the murder; in Caesarea he seized those responsible and executed some, mutilated others, and confiscated their property; *Joh. Mal.* 487, *Joh. Mal. fr.* 48, *Theoph. AM* 6048, *Cedr.* i 675 (wrongly δι' Ἀδάμαντος), *Ps.-Dion. Chron.* ii, p. 128, *Mich. Syr.* ix 31 ('the emperor sent troops with the general, who captured and crucified several rebels and had others tortured and even burnt').

He is apparently identical with Amantius named in the *Vita Symeonis Iunioris* 161. Symeon claimed to have seen in a vision a man of authority receiving in the imperial palace in Constantinople the command of the east with extraordinary powers in order to go and punish the ungodly in those parts; *V. Sym. Iun.* 160 (καὶ ἰδοὺ ἀνὴρ τῆς δυναμῆος ἴστατο, ᾧ ἐδίδοτο ἐξουσία διὰ τοῦ πνεύματος τῆς ἀρχῆς τῆς Ἐφῶς μεγάλη καὶ δυνατὴ ὑπὲρ τοὺς ἔμπροσθεν αὐτοῦ ἄρξαντας). Some four months later, in fulfilment of the vision, Amantius came to Antioch (παραγέγονεν ὁ ἄρχων ἐκεῖνος, Ἀμάντιος ὄνομα αὐτῷ); he already had a fearsome reputation for his severity against wrongdoers throughout the east; in Antioch he now embarked on a severe persecution of pagans, Manichees, astrologers and various heresies, seeking out many who were leading citizens of Antioch; he imprisoned them, burnt their books, confiscated their property, and held up their idols to ridicule; *V. Sym. Iun.* 161. Although many were punished by him, he is said to have acquitted those prepared to repent; *V. Sym. Iun.* 164. He is alluded to in anecdotes in *V. Sym. Iun.* 163-5, where he is styled variously ὁ ἄρχων and ὁ δικαστής.

The events at Antioch perhaps occurred shortly after those at Caesarea; cf. Stein, *Bas-Emp.* ii 374, n. 2 and Van den Ven, *La Vie ancienne de St Syméon le jeune*, ii, p. 167, n. 1. The evidence of the historical sources is that Amantius was already in office in the east in July 555; this is apparently contradicted by the narrative in the *Vita*, especially by the vision, which implies that he was appointed and sent from Constantinople in order to suppress paganism at Antioch; however the *Vita* records the fact that before reaching Antioch he had already displayed

great severity against wrongdoing throughout the east (ἐν ὅλῃ τῇ ἀνατολῇ) and must have been in the area for some time. It is therefore possible that he visited Antioch after his vigorous suppression of the rising in Palestine.

Amatus patricius (in Burgundy) 569

Successor of Celsus 2 as *patricius* (in Burgundy) shortly before the Lombards invaded Gaul for the first time (in 569; Mar. Avent. s.a.); he was defeated and killed by them and succeeded by Eunius Mummolus; Greg. Tur. *HF* iv 42 (Amatus patricius, qui nuper Celsi successor extiterat), cf. Paul. Diac. *Hist. Lang.* iii 3 (wrongly called *patricius Provinciae*; cf. Buchner, p. 101).

AMAZASPES ?consularis Armeniae Magnae 531/536

For the name, cf. Hamazasp Mamikonian, and see Justi, p. 125, s.n. Hamazasp, no. 7.

A Persarmenian and nephew of Symeon 1; Proc. *BP* ii 3.3 (cited below).

?CONSVLARIS ARMENIAE MAGNAE a. 531/536; after his uncle's murder (in 530/531?) Amazaspes was given the Armenian villages which Symeon had received from Justinian and was also made governor of Armenia (τάς τε κόμας Ἀμαζάσπη παραδίδοσι τῷ Συμεώνου ἀδελφιδῶ καὶ ἄρχοντα κατεστήσατο Ἀρμενίοις αὐτόν); subsequently he was murdered by one of his close associates, Acacius 1, with Justinian's approval, after Acacius accused him to the emperor of misruling the Armenians and planning to surrender Theodosiopolis and other strongholds to the Persians; he was succeeded in office by Acacius (by 536); Proc. *BP* ii 3.3-5. See Acacius for identification of the office.

Ambrus ('Amr) 1 phylarch of the Arabs of Kinda and Ma'add 531

Brother of Qays (Caisus) and Yazīd (Iezidus); probably in 531 he and Yazīd succeeded to the phylarchy of the tribes of Kinda and Ma'add on the resignation of Qays; Nonnosus (= Phot. *Bibl.* 3 = *FHG* iv, p. 179). See further Caisus.

Ambros ('Amr) 2 son of Alamundarus M VI

Son of Alamundarus (the Lakhmid, *PLRE* ii, p. 40); Men. Prot. fr. 11, Theoph. AM 6056. Brother of Caboses; Men. Prot. fr. 17.

Ruler of the Arabs allied to Persia, in 561 he demanded gold payments from Justinian, similar to those formerly received by his father; his demand was presented to Petrus 6 on his behalf by the Persian negotiator Isdigousnas Zich, but rejected by Petrus; Men. Prot. fr. 11

(Ἀμβρου τοῦ Ἀλαμουνδάρου τοῦ τῶν Σαρακηνῶν ἡγουμένου). In 563 his activities were discussed on a visit to Constantinople by Arethas; Theoph. AM 6056 (he had apparently been encroaching on Arethas' territory). In late 567 he sent representatives to accompany the Persian envoy Mebodes 2 to Constantinople to raise again the question of payments of gold with Justin II; his demand was rejected again by the emperor, and Ambros, following the return of his envoys, instructed his brother Caboses to attack the territory of Alamundarus (son of Arethas); Men. Prot. fr. 17 (ὁ τῶν Σαρακηνῶν φύλαρχος Ἀμβρος). Warfare between Alamundarus and Caboses is recorded in 570; cf. Alamundarus.

See also Rothstein, *Die Dynastie der Lakhmiden in al-Hira*, pp. 94-102.

Ambrosius: quaestor palatii 526-527; deputy PPO (in Italy) 533; *PLRE* ii.

Amingus commander of Franks (in north Italy) ?c. 561

Amingus; Paul. Diac. Ἀμιγος; Men. Prot.

While in command of Frankish forces in north Italy (possibly since c. 553), he refused to allow Narses 1 to cross the Adige against the Goth Widin even though there was a truce between Franks and Romans; Men. Prot. fr. 8. He then joined forces with Widin and they met the Romans in battle, but were defeated and Amingus was killed; Paul. Diac. *Hist. Lang.* ii 2. For further details and the date, perhaps c. 561, see Narses, p. 924. Paul alludes to Amingus, Butilinus and Leutharis as *duces*; the word here probably means no more than commander of an army.

Ammatas Vandal; brother of Gelimer E/M VI

Brother of the Vandal king Gelimer; Proc. *BV* i 17.11.

In early September 533, on Gelimer's orders, he executed Ilderichus and his associates who were held captive in Carthage and then he prepared for battle with Belisarius; Proc. *BV* i 17.11-13 (= Zon. xiv 7). On Sept. 13 (cf. Belisarius, p. 189) he was surprised with too few men at Ad Decimum by Ioannes 14 and killed; Proc. *BV* i 18.1-7, 19.14, 25.15.

Ammon ?v.c. (in Egypt) V/VI

Named in a fragment of papyrus, possibly from Hermopolis; *Stud. Pal.* viii 1034, line 1 [?παρὰ Ἀμμωνος λαμπρο(τάτου), παρασχοῦ ὑπὲρ [...

AMMONIANVS vir magnificus; topoteretes (in Upper Egypt) 594

‘Ο μεγαλοπρεπέστατος τοποτηρητής, represented at Syene in 594 by the *vicarius* of Hermonthis, Callinicus 5; *P. Monac.* 14, line 18 Syene (cited under Callinicus).

Presumably *topoteretes* in Upper Thebais of either the *dux et augustalis Thebaidis* or the *praeses Thebaidis Superioris*, probably the former since he was himself represented at Syene by a military person; cf. Callinicus.

Ammonius (*Anth. Gr.* ix 674) V/VI: PLRE II.

Ammonius (Sev. Ant. *Ep.* 89) E/M VI: PLRE II.

Fl. Ammonius I vir gloriosissimus, comes sacri consistorii M VI

Son of Theodosius 6; *P. Ross.-Georg.* III 37 (cited below).

A *comes*, he is recorded in numerous sixth-century papyri from Aphrodito, where he was clearly a man of great wealth. ‘Ο μεγαλοπρεπέστατος κόμης, in c. 527; *P. Cairo Masp.* 67300, line 15, cf. *P. Cairo Masp.* 67062, line 3, 67140, line 1 and 67200 (unnamed). ‘Ο ένδοξότατος κόμης, in ?531; *P. Lond.* v 1695, line 16 (έξ μέτρ(ου) το(ῦ) ένδοξ(οτάτου) κόμ(ετος) ‘Αμμωνίου) (provenance unknown), cf. *P. Cairo Masp.* 67138, II recto 1, III verso 1, 67139, I verso 1, II verso 1, 13, III verso 3, IV recto 1, IV verso 1, 67323, 1 and 67347, I recto 1 and 17. He is styled simply ὁ κόμης in *P. Cairo Masp.* 67062, line 6, 67138, II verso 1, IV recto 2, 67139, II recto 1, II verso 15, V recto 1, V verso 1, VI recto 6, 67206 (all sixth-century).

COMES SACRI CONSISTORII, a. 538 Aug., *PSI* 933, line 3 τοῦ ένδοξ(οτάτου) κόμ(ιτος) ‘Αμμωνίου τοῦ θείου κονσιςτωρίου; a. 545 Oct./Nov., *P. Ross.-Georg.* III 37, lines 3-5 Φλ(αίω) ‘Αμμωνίω τ]ῷ μεγαλοπρεπ(εστάτω) κόμ(ετι) τοῦ θείου κονσιςτωρίου υἱῷ τοῦ τῆς λαμπρ(ᾶς) μνήμ(ης) Θεοδοσίου. He was possibly *comes sacri consistorii* before 538 but his full title happens not to be recorded earlier.

Among the documents several are lists of his accounts at Aphrodito, viz. *P. Cairo Masp.* 67138, 67139, 67347, and cf. 67140 (also a register of his herds). He had responsibilities for the management of a monastery (of Apa Agennius) in the Apollonopolite nome (just north of Aphrodito); *PSI* 933. One document (*P. Cairo Masp.* 67323) was a letter sent on his behalf by a *numerarius* to a *protocometes* of Aphrodito; from his titles (ὁ δεσπότης μου ὁ ένδοξότατος κόμης) and role, Maspero (note *ad loc.*) suggested that he was at the time governor of Thebais Inferior. There is no other evidence that he had any authority apart from that of a wealthy and powerful landowner who had acquired an imperial title.

Possibly a landowner also in the Hermopolite nome, if he is identical

with the man whose *procurator* is recorded in a papyrus from there; *P. Flor.* III 304 έξ ἀναφορᾶς ‘Αμμωνίωνος προκουράτορος τοῦ μεγαλοπρεπε[στάτου] καὶ ένδοξοτάτου κόμιτος ‘Αμμωνίου.

AMMONIVS 2 v.c., argentarius (at Ravenna) 552

V.c., argentarius; attested at Ravenna in Jan. 552; *P. Ital.* 4-5B.

Ammonius 3 pagarch (?at Hermopolis) VI

Mentioned in a papyrus, possibly from Hermopolis, *Stud. Pal.* VIII 1028, line 1 παγαρχ’ ‘Αμμωνίου πολ’ [..., perhaps παγάρχ(ου) ‘Αμμωνίου πολ(ιτευομένου).

Ammonius 4(PLRE II, Ammonius 7) scholasticus (in Egypt) V/VI

‘Αμμώνιος σχολ(αστικός); named in a list of tax payments from Aphrodito in the Antaeopolite nome; *P. Flor.* III 297, line 7.

Amm(onium?) 5 former tribunus (in Egypt) ?VI

Owner of property, named in financial accounts from, perhaps, the Hermopolite nome; *P. Lond.* v 1761, line 5 κτ(ῆμα) ‘Αμμ(ωνίου?) από τριβούν(ου).

Ammonius 6 octavarius (at Alexandria) L VI/E VII

A leading citizen (τῶν πρώτων) of Alexandria and a wealthy man; son of Iulianus 12 and brother of the patriarch Eulogius; he was an *octavarius* (the official in charge of the *octava*; ὁ δε (= Ammonius) τὴν τῆς ὀκτάβης ἀρχὴν (τέλος τοῦτο κατ’ ὄγδοάδα) καθέστηκεν, ἀδίκως μὲν συναγόμενον, εὔσεβῶς δὲ διοικούμενον); he fell ill and was taken by his father to be cured by SS Cyrus and John; later he consulted them again; Sophronius, *Mir. SS. Cyr. et Ioh.* I (PG 87.3, cols. 3424-8).

Amo Lombard dux 574

In 574 Amo, Rhodan and Zaban, tres Langobardorum duces, invaded Gaul; Amo, bypassing Embrun, plundered the districts around Avignon and Marseilles; he abandoned plans to besiege Aix in return for twenty-two pounds of silver; following the defeats of Rhodan and Zaban by Mummolus, he retreated over the Alps, losing his booty and most of his men in the snows; *Greg. Tur. HF* IV 44, *Paul. Diac. Hist. Lang.* III 8.

Ampelius (MAMA VIII 427) V/VI: PLRE II.

Ampelius I vir illustris (in Italy) 534

One of the ‘viri illustres et magnifici’ to whom pope John II wrote a letter in early 534, before March 24; *ACOec.* IV II, p. 206 (= Mansi VIII 803 = PL 66, 20). The others were Clementinus, Severinus, Silverius,

and (all in *PLRE* II) Avienus 2, Avitus 3, Fidelis, Liberius 3, Opilio 4 and Senator (= Cassiodorus 4).

AMPELIUS 2 vir magnificus (in Italy) 559

(This entry replaces that under Ampelius 3 in *PLRE* II, p. 74. Cf. below)

Called 'filius noster vir magnificus' in a letter of Pelagius I, written in Feb. 559, ordering him, Aemilianus 3 and Constantinus 8 to be informed that the deacon Anastasius had been consecrated as bishop of Luceria (in Apulia); Pelag. I, *Ep.* 29 (this letter was ascribed to Gelasius in Thiel, *Gelas. Ep. fr.* 3, wrongly; cf. Pelagius I, *Epistulae*, ed. Gasso, pp. 84-5 with notes).

Ampelius was perhaps a notable in Apulia.

'Amr: see Abros, Ambros.

'Amr ibn al-'Āṣ Arab general M VII

He was converted to Islam in 629/630, in middle age; see *Enc. of Islam*² I, p. 451 (A. J. Wensinck).

One of the generals sent by Abū Bakr to attack Syria and Palestine; Balādhurī, p. 107 = Hitti, p. 165, *Chron.* 1234, cvi, Eutychius, *Annales*, col. 1093. He was commander-in-chief until the arrival of Khālid; Balādhurī, p. 116 = Hitti, p. 178. Sent to Palestine, he subdued the coastal cities; Balādhurī, p. 108 = Hitti, pp. 166-7, p. 117 = Hitti, pp. 179-80. Present at the siege of Damascus; Balādhurī, pp. 120ff. = Hitti, pp. 186ff. He took a number of cities in Palestine (listed as Gaza, Sebastea, Neapolis, Lydda, Yubna, Emmaus, Eleutheropolis, Rafah and perhaps Jaffa) and also laid siege to Jerusalem (but cf. Abū 'Ubayda); Balādhurī, p. 138 = Hitti, p. 213. After the battle of the Yarmuk he besieged Caesarea; Balādhurī, p. 212 = Hitti, p. 335. On these campaigns and their chronology, see Donner, *Early Islamic Conquests*.

In Dec. 639 he led the Arab invasion of Egypt; Balādhurī, p. 212 = Hitti, p. 335. In 640 he captured the Fayum and began attacks on the Delta and Upper Egypt; Joh. Nik. 111-15 (pp. 553-63 Zotenberg). In 641 he captured the fortress of Babylon, took Nikiu and overran the Delta; Joh. Nik. 117-19 (pp. 566-73). Later in 641 he negotiated with Cyrus 17 the surrender of Egypt and Alexandria, which was abandoned by imperial troops and entered by 'Amr in autumn 642 (see Theodorus 166); Joh. Nik. 120-1 (pp. 573-85). Recorded as taking al-Fuṣṭāṭ (= Babylon) and Alexandria; Balādhurī, pp. 212-3 = Hitti, pp. 335-6, p. 220 = Hitti, p. 346. He went on to attack Pentapolis and Libya; Balādhurī, pp. 224-5 = Hitti, pp. 352-3, Joh. Nik. 120.35 (p. 578).

Described as the conqueror of Egypt; *Chron.* 1234, cxviii, Eutychius, *Annales*, col. 1102ff., cf. Nic. *Brev.* 24-5 (the Arab commander in Egypt, to whom Cyrus supposedly offered a Byzantine princess in marriage), Agapius, p. 47 (said to have received tribute from Cyrus not to attack Egypt).

He was subsequently relieved of the command of Egypt by the caliph Othman (a. 644/645) but sent back to recapture Alexandria after the Byzantine attempt at reconquest under Manuel in 645/646; Balādhurī, pp. 221-3 = Hitti, pp. 348, 350, Agapius, p. 473.

For his subsequent career and his death (in c. 663), see *Enc. of Islam*, loc. cit. On the conquest of Egypt, see also Butler, *Conquest of Egypt*, pp. 194-367, and pp. lxx-lxx.

An... honorary consul and commerciarus ?VI/VII
+ 'Av. ./|á]πὸ ὑπά/των (καὶ) κομ/μερκια/[ρ]ίου; Monceaux, *Rev. Arch.* 1903, II, p. 73, n. 11 lead seal found at Carthage.

Anagaecus ruler of the Utigurs 576

In 576 (cf. Valentinus 3) he ruled the Utigurs somewhere north of the Caucasus (ἐκράτει τοῦ φύλου τῶν Οὐτιγούρων); shortly afterwards, with a Turkish army, he went on campaign near the Bosphorus; Men. Prot. fr. 43.

Cf. Sandilchus, and see Bochanus.

Anagastes patricius (East) M VI

On the name, see Schönfeld, p. 19.

Possibly descendant of Anagastes (*PLRE* II) and of Gothic origin.

He was a *patricius* and the father of Romanus 4; Joh. Biel. s.a. 576.2.

Anancastes envoy to the Turks 571/576

Envoy to the Turks some time between 571 and 576; on his return he was accompanied by some Turks, who returned home in 576 with Valentinus 3; Men. Prot. fr. 43. His name is spelt Ἀναγκάστης, if this is a mistake for Ἀναγάστης, he could be identical with the *patricius* of that name. See also Stein, *Stud.*, p. 35, n. 20. Cf. Eutychius, Herodianus and Paulus 19.

Anasozadus (Anōshaghzādh) son of Chosroes 550

On the name, see Justi, p. 18, s.n. Anōš, no. 7c.

Eldest son of Chosroes, exiled after quarrelling with his father, he later rebelled on hearing that his father was ailing; the rebellion was crushed

in 550 by Phabrizus and Anasozadus was captured and disfigured; Proc. BG IV 10.8–10.17–22, cf. Noeldeke, *Tabari* 467–74. His rebellion found support among the Christians in Persia; see Christensen, *L'Iran sous les Sassanides*², p. 426.

Anastasia: consularis; mother of Georgia E/M VI: PLRE II.

Anastasia (V. Dan. Scet. 2A–C) E/M VI: PLRE II.

Anastasia I sister of Theodora E/M VI

Daughter of Acacius, younger sister of Comito and the empress Theodora; she presumably went on the stage like her sisters; Proc. Anecd. 9.3.8.

Aelia Anastasia (Ino) 2 Augusta 578–593

Her original name was Ino; Joh. Eph. HE III 3.8. The name Anastasia was given to her when she became empress in 578; Joh. Eph. HE III 3.9 (so acclaimed by the Blues; the Greens called her Helena). She was officially named Aelia Anastasia; P. Monac. 4, P. Lond. v 1724.

She came from Daphnudium ('ipsa e Daphnudio castris erat'); Joh. Eph. HE III 3.8. The place is tentatively identified with the island of Daphnusia, off the Black Sea coast of Bithynia; see Stein, *Stud.*, p. 77, n. 1.

Wife of Ioannes *optio* and mother of a daughter to whom (the future emperor) Tiberius was betrothed; her husband and daughter both died and she then married Tiberius herself; Joh. Eph. HE III 3.8. Wife of Tiberius; Joh. Eph. HE III 3.7–8, 6.45–9 (= Bar Hebr., *Chron.*, p. 89), Mich. Syr. x 21, Theoph. AM 6071, 6085, Cedr. I 688–9, 698, Zon. xiv 11, *Patr. Const.* III 46, 125. They had three children, two daughters, Charito and Constantina I, and a third child who apparently died before Tiberius became Caesar; Joh. Eph. HE III 3.7–8, Theoph. AM 6071, Cedr. I 688–9, Zon. xiv 11. She was later the mother-in-law of the emperor Maurice; Theoph. AM 6085, Cedr. I 698, *Patr. Const.* III 125.

While Tiberius was Caesar she and her two daughters were not admitted to the imperial palace through the opposition of the empress Sophia; they were concealed for a time in the palace of Hormisdas through fear of her displeasure before returning for a time home to Daphnudium; Joh. Eph. HE III 3.7–8.

AVGVSTA a. 578–593: summoned from there to the imperial palace and received with honour when Tiberius became Augustus in 578; Joh. Eph. HE III 3.9. She was proclaimed Augusta by her husband; Theoph. AM 6071, Cedr. I 688–9, Zon. xiv 11. Styled Augusta; P. Monac. 4.6–8,

P. Lond. v 1724. She was still apparently Augusta at her death, which was perhaps in 593 (the eleventh year of Maurice); she was buried beside Tiberius; Theoph. AM 6085 (calling her ἡ αὐγούστα), Cedr. I 698, and cf. Grierson, *Tombs and Obits*, p. 47.

(Ana?)stasia 3 ?illustris femina (in Egypt) 591/592

Mentioned in a fragmentary document from Heracleopolis; P. Erl. 87, lines 7–8 ([... 'Ανα]στασία τῆ ἐνδοξοτάτῃ ἔλλο.// [... θυγατρὶ τοῦ τῆ[5] ἐ[ν]δόξου μνήμης...). The date is 591/592. Possibly ἔλλο... represents ἔλλουστρία. She apparently was of high-ranking family. Cf. Anonymus 33.

Fl. Anastasia 4 illustria (in Egypt) L VI

A landowner at Oxyrhynchus in the late sixth century; SB 9368 (a. 577/578 or 592/593 – an eleventh indiction; 'Αναστασίας τῆς μεγαλοπρε(πεστούτης) ἰλλου(στρίας)), P. Oxy. 2020 (δ(ιὰ) τῆς μεγαλοπρε(πεστούτης) 'Αναστασίας), Arch. Pap. v (1913), p. 573 (= Giss. Bibl. Univ. Inv. 33, partly transcribed) (under Maurice; Φλαυία 'Αναστασία τῆ ἐνδοξοτάτῃ ἰλλουστρία). Cf. also J. van Haelst, *Chron. d'Egypte* 33 (1958), pp. 237ff. (on the unpublished archive of hers at Giessen). Cf. also Fl. Phocbammon 8.

Anastasia 5 daughter of the emperor Maurice L VI/E VII

Daughter of Maurice and Constantina; sister of Theoctiste 3 and Cleopatra; Chron. Pasch. s.a. 602, 605. For her fate and that of her mother and sisters after the revolt of Phocas (they were eventually executed in 605 and 607), see Constantina 1.

Anastasia: recorded in some late Byzantine sources (e.g. Cedr. I 753, Leo Grammaticus, pp. 155–6) as the wife of Heraclius Constantine (Constantinus III). She was in fact the wife of Constantinus IV (a. 668–685); see Grierson, *Tombs and Obits*, pp. 48–9, with n. 97.

Anastasius (CIL VI 8556) V/VI: PLRE II.

Anastasius (JHS 19 (1899), 68 n. 17) V/VI: PLRE II.

Anastasius I vir illustris (West) E/M VI

Father of pope Ioannes III; Lib. Pont. 63 (Ioannes was 'natione Romanus, ex patre Anastasio inlustrio').

Anastasius 2 bishop of Eleutheropolis E/M VI

Son of Maria I, brother of Marcianus I (bishop of Gaza), two other

brothers (Anonymus 49 and 63) and four sisters; the family were natives of Gaza; Chor. Or. 7 title, 7.7-8.

Fl. Anastasius 3 honorary consul and dux Arabiae 529

+ Ἐπὶ Φλ(αίου) Ἀναστασίου ὑπερφνεστ(άτου) κ(αί) πανε-
υφ(ήμου) ἀπὸ ὑπάτων κ(αί) δούξ (sic!) ἀνενεώθη τὰ κάστρα (sic!) ἐν
ἔτ(ε)ι κδ', χρ(όνοις) ζ' ἰνδ(ικτίωνος); *Princ. Exp. Syr.* III A, no. 18 Qaṣṣ
al-Ḥallabāt, S. Ḥawrān (province of Arabia). The year 424 of the
provincial era was a. 529, and the seventh indiction was Sept. 528/Aug.
529. Anastasius was honorary consul and *dux* of the province; he may be
identical with Anastasius 4, in which case he was *dux Arabiae* from 529
to 533 and *praeses Arabiae* from 532 to 533.

(Fl. Anas)tasius 4 comes et dux et praeses (Arabiae) 532-533

Ἐπὶ Φλ. Ἀνασ[τα]σίου τοῦ μεγαλοπ(ρεπεστάτου)/[κόμ(ητος) κ(αί)
δοικ(ός)] κ(αί) ἄρχ(οντος) τὸ β'; *SEG* VII 874 = *JRS* XVIII (1928),
170/1, no. 37 Gerasa (Arabia) (dated in May of an eleventh indiction,
χρόν(οις) ια' ἰνδ'). [Ἐπὶ Φλ. Ἀναστασίου τοῦ μεγαλοπ(ρεπεστάτου)
κ(αί) ἐνδοξ(οτάτου) κόμ(ητος) κ(αί) δ(ου)κός κ(αί) ἄρχ(οντος); *SEG* VII
873 = *Syria* VI (1925), 224-7 Gerasa (dated in year 595 of the era of
Pompey, in August, i.e. August 533). The two inscriptions are very
similar and close to one another in time (both record also Fl. Sergius 2)
and the *dux* is very probably the same man in each. Since *SEG* VII 873
is dated a. 533 August, the date of *SEG* VII 874 must be May 533; on that
date Anastasius was already in his second year as *praeses Arabiae* and had
therefore been appointed between May 531 and May 532.

He may be identical with Anastasius 3, and if so, became *praeses* of
Arabia after at least two years as *dux*; the status of the civil governor of
Arabia was by this date very low and his duties were regularly
performed by the *dux* (cf. Just. Nov. 102 praef., ὁ χρόνος ἦδη συχνός, ἐξ
οὗ καὶ ἐκλέλοιπε, καὶ τὰ τῆς πολιτικῆς ἀρχῆς ἢ στρατιωτικῆς πράττει).
Against the identification is the absence from *SEG* VII 873 (and probably
from *SEG* VII 874) of the honorary consulship, but this is not conclusive
since Anastasius had obtained the status of *gloriosissimus* (ἐνδοξότατος) in
533 by some means not recorded on *SEG* VII 873 or 874, such as an
honorary consulship.

ANASTASIVS 5

(?v.c.), cancellarius of Lucania et Bruttium 533/537

Instructed by the PPO Cassiodorus Senator (in 533/537; *PLRE* II,
p. 267) to send wine and cheese from Bruttium to the royal court, and
also told not to levy bacon and wheat from the district of Rhegium where

they were not local products; Cass. Var. XII 12, 14 (both addressed
'Anastasio cancellario Lucaniae et Bruttiorum'). For his status as *vir*
clarissimus, cf. Cass. Var. XII 3.2 and see Anatolicus.

Anastasius 6 envoy to Chosroes 539/540

A leading citizen of Dara, he participated in the overthrow of the rebel
Ioannes 24 (in 537); Proc. *BP* I 26.8, II 4.15. Later he visited
Constantinople, and was sent by Justinian as envoy to Chosroes (late
539/early 540) to try to avert war; detained in Persia by Chosroes, he
was released in spring 540 after the sack of Sura; Proc. *BP* II 4.15-16,
4.26, 5.27.

Fl. Anastasius 7

v.d., castrensis sacrae mensae and banker (in Constantinople) 541

Son of Ioannes; ὁ καθοσιωμένος καστρησιανὸς τῆς θείας τραπέζης καὶ
ἀργυροπράτης; on Jan. 7, 541, at Constantinople he loaned money to
inhabitants of Aphrodito; *P. Cairo Masp.* 67126, lines 9.45.61.69.76.

His title of *castrensis sacrae mensae* was perhaps honorific.

Anastasius 8 grandson of Theodora M VI

Grandson of the empress Theodora, his mother being Theodora's
daughter; betrothed to Ioannina, Belisarius' daughter, in c. 543, they
were married in 548; Proc. *Anecd.* 4.37, 5.18-24. Cf. Ioannina.

See also Athanasius 5.

ANASTASIVS 9 husband of Iuliana M VI

Husband of Iuliana 2, father of Arcobindus 5, Placidia and Proba 2;
Nic. Brev. 104. See *PLRE* II, stemma 3.

Anastasius 10 honorary consul 550

Involved in promoting building work at Qennesrin (Chalcis ad
Belum, in Syria) in 550 with Longinus 3 and Isidorus 5; *IGLS* II 348 =
Princ. Exp. Syr. III, p. 243, no. 305 (Qennesrin) (προνοία Λογγίνου... καὶ
Ἀναστασίου τοῦ ἐνδοξ(οτάτου) ἀπὸ ὑπάτων καὶ Ἰσιδώρου; dated in
Seleucid year 862, = a. 550, and indiction 14, = Sept. 550/Aug. 551),
cf. *IGLS* II 349 = *Princ. Exp. Syr., loc. cit.*, no. 306 (Qennesrin) (similar
text; his name is lost and of his titles only... ὑπάτ(ων) remains).

FL. ANASTASIVS 11

v.sp., comes (in Egypt); banker of the Apion house M VI

A native of Oxyrhynchus, he is attested as banker (τραπέζίτης) of the
house of Apion in 552, 554, 556 and 557; in 554 alone he is styled *vir*
spectabilis, comes (and is given the name 'Flavius'); *P. Oxy.* 145 = *Stud.*

and by surreptitiously employing every possible means to harass the (monophysite) Christians he aimed to prevent church unity; Joh. Eph. *HE* III 2.29.

Allegedly a pagan; Joh. Eph. *HE* III 1.19, 29. Perhaps he supported the Samaritan faith; cf. Stein, *Stud.*, p. 27. The charge could have been purely political, and his support for Chalcedon genuine; cf. Cameron, *Corippus*, p. 123. However he was the object of accusations in connection with the persecution of the Samaritans in the east by Photius, when he allegedly used bribery to have the charges dropped; Joh. Eph. *HE* III 2.29.

He had a seizure during a religious festival, 'the day of the adoration of the Holy Cross', possibly Good Friday in either 572 (April 15) or 573 (April 7), and died a year and a half later; Joh. Eph. *HE* III 2.29, Mich. Syr. x 9, and see Stein, *Stud.*, p. 28.

Fl. Anastasius 15 ?v.sp.; dioecetes (in Egypt) 568

Employed as financial agent by Fl. Euphemia 3, he was concerned with leasing out part of a house – διὰ σοῦ Φλ(αουίου) Ἀναστασίου τοῦ περιβλ(έπτου) αὐτῆς (sc. of Euphemia) διοικ(ητοῦ); *P. Oxy.* 1038, line 11 (a. 568 July 26). It is not clear whether he owed the title περιβλεπτος to actual imperial rank or to local flattery.

Possibly identical with the father of Zacharias (*oeconomus* of the church of the Holy Resurrection at Oxyrhynchus and υἱὸς τοῦ τῆς περιβλέπτου μνήμης Ἀναστασίου, and a native of Oxyrhynchus); *P. Oxy.* 2478 (a. 595 Nov. 26). If so, he was dead by late 595. In line 29 he is also alluded to as τοῦ μακαρίου Ἀναστασίου.

Anastasius 16 doctor (at Palermo) 594

Medicus; ordered to be prevented from entering convents at Palermo because of his misbehaviour; *Greg. Ep.* v 4 (a. 594 Sept.; to bishop Victor of Palermo).

ANASTASIVS 17 tribunus (of Corsica) 596

Tribunus; appointed to administer the province by the *exarchus* Gennadius 1; his administration proved so popular that the province sent an embassy, with Gregory's support, to ask Gennadius to reappoint him; *Greg. Ep.* VII 3 (a. 596 Oct.). Cf. Rufinus.

Anastasius 18 ?landowner (in Sicily) 598

In 598 he, Bonifatius 5 and Ingenius tried to expel Ianuaria from a property of hers; she obtained the protection of the *defensor ecclesiae*; *Greg. Ep.* IX 39 (598 Oct.). Possibly the three men were also landowners.

Anastasius 19 scriniarius (in Italy) VI

Σ[κρι]νιάριος; son of Sergius 16 and Marouse, husband of Agathe, father of Mamalus; *CIG* 9853 Orbetello (Etruria). Cf. Sergius.

ANASTASIVS 20 v.c., defensor (of Oxyrhynchus) VI

He delivered a letter in which a father broke off his daughter's engagement; *P. Oxy.* 129 (the letter was sent διὰ Ἀναστασίου τοῦ λαμπρο(τάτου) ἐκδίκου ταύτης τῆς Ὀξυρυγγιτῶν πόλε(ως)).

Anastasius 21 a secretis M/L VI

Ἀναστασίου a secretis; *Zacos* 2776 (seal; obv.: cruciform monogram (14) of Ἀναστασίου; rev.: +G SE/CRE/TIS).

Anastasius 22 honorary consul VI

Ἀναστασίου ἀπὸ ὑπάτων; Fogg Art Museum seal 1541 (seal; obv.: ANAC/TACI/OY*; rev.: ΑΠΟ/ΥΠΑ/ΤΩΝ).

Anastasius 23 patricius VI

Ἀναστασίου πατρικίου; Fogg Art Museum seal 337 (seal; obv.: +/ANACT/ACIOV/+; rev.: +/ΠΑΤΡ/ΙΚΙΟV/+).

Anastasius 24 protector M/L VI

Ἀναστασίου protectoros; *Zacos* 2780 (seal; obv.: cruciform monogram (15) of Ἀναστασίου; rev.: ΠΡΟΤΙ/CTY/Υ45).

Anastasius 25 v.h., ?excubitor or ex cubiculario (Italy) L VI

One of the witnesses to the donation of property to the church of Ravenna by Ioannes 228 (primicerius numeri) in c. 600; Marini, *P. Dip.* 90 = *P. Ital.* 16, line 50 (Anastasius excab(...) v.h. s(...) s(...)). On the text, see Tjäder, p. 452, n. 16. The meaning of 'excab' is obscure; if the text is correct, 'ex cab(allario)' seems the only possibility; otherwise both 'excub(itor)' and 'ex cub(iculario)' might be correct.

Anastasius 26 scholasticus (at Antioch) L VI

Α σχολαστικός at Antioch, he was an outspoken disbeliever in Symeon the Younger's ability to make divine cures; Symeon sent an envoy to him at Antioch, where he was seized by a demon and died; *V. Sym. Iun.* 224.

Anastasius 27 scholasticus; = Anastasius II, patriarch of Antioch 598/599-609/610

Ὁ ἀπὸ σχολαστικῶν and patriarch of Antioch, killed by soldiers in autumn 609 (news reached Constantinople in late September); *Chron. Pasch.* s.a. 610, cf. *Theoph.* AM 6101 and *Mich. Syr.* x 25 (killed by the Jews).

He became patriarch in 598/599, in succession to Anastasius I, and occupied the see for nine years; cf. *Greg. Ep.* ix 135 (a. 599 April), *Theoph.* AM 6092, 6093, and see Devreesse, *Le Patriarcat d'Antioche*, p. 119.

Anastasius 28 illustrius (in Phrygia) L VI/E VII

Owner of a *domus* on the outskirts of Amorium (in Phrygia Salutaris) in which was an oratory of the Theotokos; St Theodore of Syceon visited it and healed the son of Ioannes 225 there; *V. Theod. Syn.* 107 (οἶκος τοῦ φιλοχρίστου ἀνδρός Ἀναστασίου τοῦ ἰλλουστρίου).

Anastasius 29 chartularius M VI/M VII

Ἀναστασίου χαρτουλαρίου; *Zacos* 2778 (seal; obv.: cruciform monogram (15) of Ἀναστασίου; rev.: ΧΑΡ/ΤΔΛ/ΑΡΙΔ).

Anastasius (?) 30 draconarius M VI/M VII

Ἀναστασίου(?) δρακοναρίου; *Zacos* 587A (seal; obv.: eagle, with cruciform monogram (16) of (?) Ἀναστασίου; rev.: ΔΡΑ/ΚΟΝΑ/Ρ[Ι]Δ).

Anastasius 31 vir illustris M VI/M VII

Ἀναστασίου ἰλλουστρίου; *Zacos* 2779a (seal; obv.: cruciform monogram (15) of Ἀναστασίου; rev.: ΙΛΛ/ΔCTP/IOV). Possibly the same man owned *Zacos* 2779b (seal; obv.: as on 2779a; rev.: +ΙΛΛ/ΟVCTPI/...), but differences of style and alignment suggest a different owner.

Anastasius 32 MVM VI/VII

Ἀναστασίου στρατηλάτου; *Zacos* 738 = Dumbarton Oaks seal 55.1.1930 (seal, dated VII *Zacos*, VI/VII Oikonomides; obv.: +ΘΕΟ/ΤΟΚΕΒ/ΟΗΘΙ; rev.: ANAC/TACIΔ/[C]TPAT/ΗΛ).

Anastasius 33 MVM VI/VII

Ἀναστασίου στρατηλάτη; *Zacos* 739 = Dumbarton Oaks seal 58.106.3554 (seal, dated VII *Zacos*, VI/VII Oikonomides; obv.: +ΘΕ/ΟΤΟΚΕ/ΒΟΗΘΙ; rev.: +ANA/CTACIΩ/CTPATH/ΛATH). Possibly identical with Anastasius 32.

Anastasius 34

MVM VI/VII

Ἀναστασίου στρατηλάτου; Dumbarton Oaks seal 58.106.4668 (seal; obv.: eagle, with open wings, within them a star; rev.: ANA/CTACIO/VCTPA/THΛ).

Anastasius 35

scriniarius M VI/M VII

Ἀναστασίου σκρινιαρίου; *Zacos* 588 = Dumbarton Oaks seal 55.1.324 (seal; obv.: eagle with cruciform monogram (15) of Ἀναστασίου; rev.: cruciform monogram (309) of σκρινιαρίου). Cf. *Theodorus* 127.

Anastasius 36 priest of Hagia Sophia; envoy of Heraclius 615/616

Envoy of Heraclius to Chosroes in 615/16; *Chron. Pasch.* s.a. 615 (citing Heraclius' letter to Chosroes which mentions Ἀναστάσιον τὸν θεοφιλέστατον πρεσβύτερον καὶ σύγκελλον), *Nic. Brev.*, pp. 11–12 (οἰκονόμος of Hagia Sophia), 20. See further *Olympius* 6.

Anastasius 37 in office in Egypt 640–641

In spring 640 he and *Theodosius* 41 commanded Roman military forces near Nikiu, then at Babylon, and finally at the battle of Heliopolis (in July 640, when Amr overwhelmingly defeated the Romans); *Joh. Nik.* 111.13 (near Nikiu), 111.14–112.1 (at Babylon; alluded to as 'governors'; they quarrelled with *Theodorus* 166), 112.2 (they 'went forth to the city of Ὄν (i.e. Heliopolis), on horseback, together with a large body of foot soldiers, in order to attack Amr the son of al-Ās') (pp. 555–6 *Zotenberg*).

In spring 641 he remained in Egypt 'to guard the city of Alexandria and the cities on the coast', when the emperor Constantine summoned *Theodorus* 166 to Constantinople; *Joh. Nik.* 116.8 (pp. 564–5 *Zotenberg*) (and see *Butler, Conquest of Egypt*, p. 303, n. 3), cf. 120.11 (p. 574 *Zotenberg*) ('the governor Anastasius', said to have esteemed highly Georgius, who probably acted as bishop during the exile of Cyrus).

What official post he held is not clear. He may have been *dux et augustalis* of Alexandria, but this is not certain.

ANASTASIVS 38

comes VII

Ἀναστασίου κόμη[η]τος; Dumbarton Oaks seal 58.106.5093 (seal; obv.: cruciform monogram of Θεοτόκε βοήθει; rev.: [+]/ANA/CTAC/ΙΔΚΟΜ/[Η]ΤΟC+).

Anastasius 39 patricius VII

Ἀναστασίου πατρικίου; Zacos 736 = Dumbarton Oaks seal 55.1.1928 (seal; obv.: ANAC/TACI/OV; rev.: +ΠΑ/ΤΡΙΚ[Ι]/ΟV).

Anastasius (?) 40 patricius VII

Ἀναστασίου(?) πατρικίου; Zacos 1401 (seal; obv.: cruciform monogram of Θεοτόκε βοήθει; rev.: cruciform monogram (17) of Ἀναστασίου (or perhaps Ἰουστίνου) πατρικίου).

Anastasius 41 ex praefectis VII

Ἀναστασίω ἀπὸ ἐπάρχῳ(v); Zacos 1399 (seal; obv.: cruciform monogram of Θεοτόκε βοήθει; rev.: ANAC/TACIΩ/ΑΠΟΕ[Π]/ΑΡΧΩ).

Anastasius (CSL, Theoph. AM 6101); see Athanasius 9. It is not clear which name is the correct one.

Anastasius (Mich. Syr. x 23, Chron. 1234, lxxxii, Bar Hebr., Chron., p. 85); the name is an error for Narses; see Narses 10.

Fl. Marianus Michaelius Gabrielius Sergius Bacchus Narses Conon Anastasius Domninus Theodorus Callinicus

ANATOLICVS (?v.c.), cancellarius of Samnium 534

Instructed by the PPO Cassiodorus Senator (*PLRE* II) in 534 to pay to a retiring *cornicularius* of the praetorian prefecture (cf. Anthianus) the sum of seven hundred *solidi* due to him; the money was to come from the third instalment of the taxes of Samnium (de Samnii provincia ex illatione tertia); Cass. *Var.* XI 36 (addressed Ἀνατολικο cancellario provinciae Samnii'). The *cancellarius provinciae*, an official of the praetorian prefecture (cf. Cass. *Var.* XII 1, 10), was apparently a *vir clarissimus*; see Lucinus 1, Maximus 2 and Vitalianus 1, and cf. Cass. *Var.* XII 3.2. Cf. also Jones, *LRE* I, p. 451, with n. 98.

Anatolius (*P. Princ.* III 137) V/VI; *PLRE* II.

ANATOLIVS 1 comes (in Egypt) V/VI

Recorded in three papyri, of unknown provenance, all receipts for money and dated to an eighth indiction; *P. Lond.* V 1800-2 π(αρά) Ἀνατολίου κόμ(ιτος).

Anatolius 2 ?advocate (East) E/M VI

Scholasticus (perhaps an advocate), he posed theological questions to the bishop of Antioch, Ephraem (a. 527-545); the book which Ephraem

wrote in answer (not extant) was summarised by Photius; Phot. *Bibl.* 229 (ed. Bekker, pp. 249, 252-4).

Anatolius 3

teacher of law at Berytus 530-533; Mag. Off. (honorary) 533

Son of Leontius and grandson of Eudoxius (see *PLRE* II, Eudoxius 4 and Leontius 20), he came from a distinguished family of law teachers at Berytus; he was himself a teacher of law at Berytus in 530, whence he was summoned to Constantinople to serve on the commission which worked on the Digest (from Dec. 530 to Dec. 533); perhaps while engaged on this work he received the dignity of *magister (officiorum)* (either titular - *vacans* - or honorary); *CJ* I 17.2.9 = *Just. Const.* 'Tanta' (a. 533 Dec. 16; completion of the Digest; *Anatolium virum illustrem magistrum, qui et ipse apud Berytienses iuris interpres constitutus ad hoc opus adlectus est, vir ab antiqua stirpe legitima procedens, cum et pater eius Leontius et avus Eudoxius... optimam sui memoriam in legibus reliquerunt*; cf. the Greek version, *Const.* Δέδωκεν: καὶ Ἀνατολίου τε τοῦ μεγαλοπρεπεστάτου μαγίστρου, ὃς δὴ καὶ αὐτὸς παρὰ Βηρυτιῶν τὰ ἐκ νόμων παιδεύει καλῶς, ἀνὴρ ἐκ τριγωνίας σεμνῆς τῆς παρὰ Φοίνιξιν τῶν νόμων διδασκαλίας καταβαίνων). His title was neither actual nor *inter agentes* and so was titular (*vacans*) or honorary; cf. Constantinus 1 and Theophilus 1. See also Clauss, p. 146. He was one of the *viri illustres, antecessores* to whom was addressed the *Constitutio 'Omnem'* (a. 533 Dec. 16) regulating the course of legal studies; he is named in fifth place, cf. Theophilus 1.

ANATOLIVS 4

v.sp., iudex pedaneus 539

An advocate, presumably in the court of the PPO Orientis, he ended this part of his career as *advocatus fisci* with the rank of *spectabilis* (Ἀνατόλιός τε ὁ περιβλεπτός, ἤδη τοῦ συνηγορεῖν πρόφην πεπαμμένος καὶ ἐν τοῖς περιβλεπτοῖς τοῦ δημοσίου συνηγόροις ταχθεῖς); subsequently he was appointed one of the twelve new *iudices pedanei* (δικασταὶ or διατηταὶ) created in Constantinople by Justinian on April 8, 539; *Just. Nov.* 82.1. Cf. also Menas 2. Anatolius was the highest in rank of the eight advocates or former advocates appointed; the others were Flavianus 1, Alexander 3, Stephanus 5, Menas 2, Alexander 4, Victor 2 and Theodorus 11. Cf. Menas 2 and Victor 1.

Anatolius 5 grammaticus (at Alexandria) 546/551

Present at Alexandria when Hephæstus held office there; Olympiodorus, *In Alc.* 2, 80 (γραμματικός δὲ τις Ἀνατόλιος). For the date, see Hephæstus.

Probably identical with the *grammaticus* Anatolius at whose request Cosmas Indicopleustes wrote the seventh book of his *Christian Topography*; Cosm. Ind. *Top.* vii, 385c (τοῦ γραμματικοῦ αἰτησαμένου Ἀνατολίου), and cf. Alan Cameron, *Proc. Cam. Phil. Soc.* 195 (1969), pp. 11–12.

Anatolius 6 principalis (of Mopsuestia) 550

Native of Mopsuestia, born in c.a. 485; a *principalis*, he was one of the elderly laymen living in Mopsuestia called to testify before the synod there on June 17, 550; *ACOec.* iv i, p. 120 (Anatolius dixit: Anatolius dicor; principalis in hac civitate natus), p. 126 (principalis; aged about sixty-five in 550). Cf. Eumolpius.

Anatolius 7 honorary consul; curator domus divinae 557

HONORARY CONSVL and CVRATOR DOMVS DIVINAE a. 557 Dec. 14: he was an honorary consul, a member of the senate and in office as *curator divinae domus* when he lost his life in the great earthquake which struck Constantinople on Dec. 14, 557; he was the only high-ranking individual to perish in this disaster; Agath. v 3.10 (τῶν γε μὴν δυνατῶν καὶ ἐν τῇ συγκλήτῳ βουλῇ ἀναγεγραμμένων Ἀνατόλιον μόνον διαφθαρήναι συνέβη, ἄνδρα τῇ τε τῶν ὑπάτων ἀξίᾳ τετιμημένον καὶ πρὸς γε τὸ φροντίδα τίθεσθαι καὶ ἐπιμέλειαν τῶν βασιλέως οἰκῶν τε καὶ κτημάτων ἀρχὴν εἰληχότα. κουργάτωρας δὲ τούτους καλοῦσι Ῥωμαῖοι). On the date, see Joh. Mal. 488, Theoph. AM 6050. As an honorary consul he was a *vir illustris* and so a member of the senate. On his office, cf. Feissel, *Travaux et Mémoires* 9 (1985), p. 474 with n. 44.

Evidently a very rich man, since his house was furnished with expensive and showy marbles; Agath. v 3.11 (a falling piece killed him). Agathias reports that at his funeral many thought that he deserved to die because of his unjust conduct; under the pretext of claiming property due to the emperor he ignored the terms of wills and seized the goods of many wealthy houses for himself; Agath. v 4.2–3.

ANATOLIVS 8

?*vir illustris*; vicarius (loci servator, topoteretes) of the PPO and praeses (Osrhoenae) c. 579

Of humble origins (εἰς τῶν πολλῶν τε καὶ ἐπιδιφρίων καθεστῶς), he rose to hold office and become a man of affairs (ὑστερον δὲ ἀρχαῖς τε καὶ ἐπιτροῖς πράγμασιν οὐκ οἶδ' ὅπως ἐπεσφρήσας ἑαυτόν); he lived in Antioch and conducted his business there (ἀνὰ τὴν Θεουπολιτῶν τὴν διαίταν εἶχεν, ἔνθα καὶ διώκει τὰ ἐν χερσὶ πράγματα); acquainted with bishop Gregory of Antioch; Evagr. *HE* v 18 (= Nic. Call. *HE* xviii 4).

VICARIUS of the PPO and PRAESES (OSRHOENAE) c.a. 579: in office in c. 579 at Edessa, he apparently combined the provincial governorship with the position of deputy of the PPO; Joh. Eph. *HE* iii 3.27 (described as 'Anatolius ἀρχῶν and ἀντιύπαρχος, i.e. acting as deputy of the ὑπαρχος (= prefect)'), 3.28 ('ἀρχῶν and ἀντιύπαρχος Anatolius'), 3.33 (cited below). He was ὁ τοποτηρητῆς τῆς ἐπαρχότητος ὁ ἐν Ὀσρονηῖ καὶ Μεσοποταμίᾳ; see Just. *Nov.* 134.1. Cf. also Anonymus 47.

In c. 579 he was accused of paganism and magic practices; Evagr. *HE* v 18 (= Nic. Call. *HE* xviii 4). Cf. Theophilus 2. Alleged to have attended a festival in honour of Jupiter, he tried to create an alibi by calling on the bishop (of Edessa) as if just back from a journey, but was found out and had to give surety to appear in Antioch; Joh. Eph. *HE* iii 3.28. At Antioch he was tried and found guilty with his *notarius* Theodorus; he had protested his Christianity and pointed to an icon of Christ in his house, but when examined it was found to contain another image, said to be of Apollo; he then made a full confession; Joh. Eph. *HE* iii 3.29. He was sent to Constantinople to be judged by a special assembly of nobles (suggesting that he was in fact a *vir illustris* and a member of the senate) and was condemned to be put to the torture, thrown to the beasts in the amphitheatre and then crucified; Joh. Eph. *HE* iii 3.30 (to Constantinople), 33 (described as 'Anatolius, who had earlier been ἀρχῶν and ἀντιύπαρχος at Edessa') (= Mich. Syr. x 12), Evagr. *HE* v 18 (= Nic. Call. *HE* xviii 4) (he tried vainly to incriminate bishop Gregory of Antioch). His death was perhaps in or after 580; cf. Iulianus 20.

Anatolius 9 ?v.c. (in Egypt) VI

Named on a receipt, found at Hermopolis, referring to a fourth indiction; *BGU* XII 2194, line 1...]π(αρά) [Ἀ]νατολίου λαμπρο(τάτου).

ANATOLIVS 10 comes (et praeses) Arcadiae VI

Addressee of a petition on a civil matter; the document is of unknown provenance; *P. Lond.* iii, p. 251, no. 1073 τῷ τὰ πάντα μεγα[λοπ-(ρεπεστάτῳ)] δε(σπότῃ) Ἀνατολίῳ κόμ(ετι) Ἀρκα[δί]ας. On his office, see Maspero, *Org. Mil.*, p. 75, Rouillard, *Adm. Civ.*, p. 33 and cf. Menas 3.

ANATOLIVS 11 v.sp., comes (in Egypt) VI/VII

Addressee of a letter, possibly found at Hermopolis; *P. Grenf.* i 64, line 8 τῷ δεσπο(τῇ) μου τῷ πάντ(ων) μεγαλοπρε(πεστάτῳ) καὶ περιβλέ(πτῳ) Ἀνατολίῳ κόμ(ετι).

Anatolius 12

MVM (in Italy) 625/638

Addressee of a letter from pope Honorius (625/38) asking him to discharge a soldier from the garrison at Salernum (castrum Salernitani) and send him to the civil governor (iudici provinciae) to stand trial for murder and robbery; styled 'gloria vestra'; *Ep. Lang. Coll.* 5 (= *MGH, Epp.* III 696-7) (addressed 'Anatolio magistro militum'). Whether he was a *magister militum* stationed at Salerno or a *dux* at Naples with authority over the district is not clear; cf. Brown, *Gentlemen*, p. 54 with n. 31.

Anaulfus

Christian king of Persia! L VI

According to Fredegar. IV 9 Anaulfus was king of Persia; after his wife Caesara was baptised by the patriarch John of Constantinople during the reign of Maurice, he in turn received baptism together with thousands of his subjects and Persia was converted to Christianity. The story is perhaps a highly garbled recollection of Chosroes II and his Christian wife Shirin.

Andarchius

agent of Sigibert M VI

A slave of the 'senator' Felix 3, he joined his master in his studies and became highly proficient, excelling in his knowledge of Virgil, the laws of the Codex Theodosianus, and in arithmetic; seeking to improve his status he commended himself to the patronage of the *dux* Lupus, then at Marseilles, and was further commended by Lupus, after returning to court, to king Sigibert, whose service he entered; the king employed him on various missions in the public service (quem ille per loca diversa dirigens locum praebuit militandi); on a visit to Clermont-Ferrand, now appearing to be a man of rank (quasi honoratus habitus), he planned to marry through trickery the daughter of a wealthy man called Ursus but was finally burnt to death by Ursus' servants after deviously taking possession of his property; Greg. Tur. *HF* IV 46.

Andigan ('Ανδιγάν)

Persian envoy 581

On the name, cf. Justi, p. 16.

Envoy sent by Hormisdas to discuss peace with Zacharias 2 near Dara in 581; Men. Prot. fr. 60. Cf. Mauricius 4.

Andreas *qui et* Comitatus (*SEG* XIX 444) V/VI: *PLRE* II.

Andreas: ?PPO Illyrici E VI; *PLRE* II.

Andreas I

attendant of Buzes 530

A native of Constantinople, where he was a physical training

instructor and supervised a gymnasium; a servant of Buzes (ἐν τοῖς Βούζου οἰκείοις), he accompanied him as personal attendant on the eastern campaign of 530; although not a soldier, he twice engaged Persian champions in single combat just before the battle of Dara and was twice victorious; Proc. *BP* I 13.30-8.

ANDREAS 2 (?v.c.), primiserinius (of the PPO Italiae) 534-535

He served in the *officium* of the PPO Italiae and reached the post of *primiserinius* in 534 (cf. Anonymus 39, his predecessor); Cass. *Var.* XI 21 (title: de primiscrinio qui accedit) ideo Andreas, qui praetorianis fascibus inculpabiliter noscitur obsecutus, gradum feliciter primiscrinianus ascendat. Cf. Jones, *LRE* II 588-9 with n. 61. Probably identical with the unnamed *subadiuva* to whom Cassiodorus ordered an appropriate sum of *solidi* to be paid for the purchase of writing materials for the use of the *scrinium* in 534/535; Cass. *Var.* XI 38 (dated during indiction thirteen). For the identity of *primiserinius* and *subadiuva*, see Stein, *Untersuchungen*, p. 57, and Jones, *LRE* III, p. 172.

On retirement after one year he would have become *v.sp.*, *tribunus et notarius* (cf. Cass. *Var.* XI 20). He was probably therefore a *vir clarissimus*.

ANDREAS 3

comes ?538

Envoy from Justinian to Theodebert requesting military aid for Bregantinus (Bergantinus, *PLRE* II); he reached Theodebert late in the year (Andrea comite veniente), on September 22, and returned to Constantinople with a letter from Theodebert; *Ep. Austras.* 19 (*MGH, Epp.* III, p. 132). For the date and circumstances, see Theodebert.

Andreas 4

praepositus dromoniarum (Italy) E/M VI

Owner of an estate near Faventia; he died before 539; Marini, *P. Dip.* 114 = *P. Ital.* II 30 (a. 539), lines 15-16 fundum Kalegaricus iuris quond(am) Andreatis b(ona)e m(emoriae) praepositi dromoniarum. For *dromonarii*, cf. Cass. *Var.* II 31, IV 15.

Andreas 5

547

In 547 he and Ioannes 41 (*qui et* Dandax), convicted of the murder of the bishop of Cyzicus, had their right hands amputated; Joh. Mal. 483.

MELMINIVS ANDREAS 6 v.c., defensor (of Ravenna) 552

Recorded in a document from Jan. 552; Marini, *P. Dip.* 74 = *P. Ital.* 4-5B v 12 apud Melminium Andream v.c., def(ensorem) civ(itatis) Rav(ennatis), VI 3.

Andreas 7

PVC 563

Financial official (?*scriniarius* of the PPO and perhaps *discussor*) before 563: ὁ ἀπὸ λογοθετῶν, Theoph. AM 6055. For λογοθέτης = *discussor*, see *CJ* I 4.26, x 30.4; this however was not a post but a temporary commission to investigate the finances of a province, which seems to have been given to *scrinarii* of the financial bureaux of the praetorian prefecture. Cf. Alexander 5.

PVC a. 563 April: in April 563 he succeeded Procopius 3 as ἐπαρχὸς τῆς πόλεως; while in his official carriage going from the Chalce to his *praetorium* he was attacked by the Greens near the Palace of Lausus, and the Mese then filled with faction fights (cf. Iustinus 5); Theoph. AM 6055. His monogram occurs on a glass weight, probably from his prefecture; Monneret de Villard, *Catalogue H*, 20a and cf. Feissel, *Rev. Num.*⁶ 28 (1986), p. 128, with p. 129, fig. 1, no. 2.

Andreas 8

cubicularius and sacellarius (Augustae) 571

He is styled '*cubicularius* and *sacellarius* of the empress', '*sacellarius* of the empress' or simply '*sacellarius*'; Joh. Eph. *HE* III 2.9 (esp. the heading: 'de glorioso Andrea reginae cubiculario et sacellario'), 2.38 (cited below), and cf. Mich. Syr. x 7 ('cubicularius et σχολάριος (sic) de la reine'; σχολάριος is a misunderstanding of SKLRA, = *sacellarius*, cf. Stein, *Stud.*, p. 185).

He was a convinced monophysite, holding office under the empress (Sophia) when the persecution under Justin II began (in 571); a devout and upright person, he remained firm in spite of threats and the desertion of their faith by other court officials ('Andreas sacellarius zelo fidei acer et ardens erat, et morum praestantium a pueritia studiosus, et in ieiunio et oratione assiduus'); he resisted pressure from the imperial couple themselves who allegedly had no wish to lose his services ('et quoniam reges ambo propter ingenuitatem eius et praestantiam, itemque propter mentem eius et scientiam eum diligebant, eum subigere magis studebant et non palatio suo eum eicere'); when finally ordered to conform or leave, he threw his official cloak (paragaudes) at their feet and announced his intention to become a monk ('statim paragaudem suam exutam ante eos deiecit'); he was shut up for a time in the palace of Hormisdas and subjected to further threats by a *curator* (*divinae domus*) (see Anonymus 16), and then sent to the monastery of Dalmatius, the populace coming out to look at the '*sacellarius* of the empress' who had abandoned everything for his faith; he remained in the monastery for three years (?571–574), apparently undergoing torture, before he was set free, though not allowed to return to the palace ('tandem post

castigationem solutus est, et extra palatium relictus'); Joh. Eph. *HE* III 2.9, cf. 2.38 ('persecutionis initio, cum reginae sacellarius esset, palatio et ministerio suo relictis, propter veram fidem exiit, et spoliatus est, et in Dalmatii monasterio inclusus nec succubuit'), Mich. Syr. x 7 (repeating Joh. Eph. *HE* III 2.9).

He had a servant Probinus, a barbarian ('barbarus') whom he brought up and educated and appointed manager of his household ('cuique tota domus eius commissa erat') (presumably his *maior domus*); Joh. Eph. *HE* III 2.38.

ANDREAS 9

v.c., augustalis (in Italy) 572

He witnessed a deed of sale of land to Deusdedit 3 at Ravenna on June 3, 572; Marini, *P. Dip.* 120 = *P. Ital.* 35, line 77 Andreas v.c. augustalis, line 94 Andreas augustalis filius q(uon)d(am)...

Andreas 10

?scribo 578/582

An officer, sent by the emperor Tiberius to Alexandria to arrest Aristomachus 2 and take him to Constantinople; Joh. Nik. 95.8–11 (p. 524 Zotenberg). Possibly a *scribon*; the *scribones* were often, it seems, charged with such tasks.

Andreas 11

interpreter and military officer (East) 587

An interpreter with the Arab allies of the Romans, serving under Philippicus in the east in 587 (ἐρμηνεύς δ' ἄρα οὐτοσὶ τοῦ Σαρακηνικοῦ φύλου τοῦ ἐπικουροῦντος Ῥωμαίοις); he and Theodorus 32 (of Tur Abdin) were put in command of one third of the Roman troops (see Heraclius 3) and ordered to raid Persia; Theoph. Sim. II 10.6, cf. 18.7–8 (οἱ δ' ἀμφὶ τὸν Θεόδωρον καὶ τὸν Ἀνδρέαν repaired the fort of Matzaron, then marched to take Beïoudaes).

Andreas 12

?comes domesticorum 589

Sent by Maurice in spring 589 to persuade the mutinous troops in the east (cf. Germanus 6) to accept their former commanders back; they ignored him and the matter was entrusted to bishop Gregory of Antioch (and cf. Philippicus); Evagr. *HE* VI 10 (τὸν βασιλικῶν ὑπασπιστῶν πρῶτον γενόμενον), Nic. Call. *HE* XVIII 14. It is uncertain what title he held; possibly *comes excubitorum*, but perhaps more probably *comes domesticorum* (by now an honorific title rather than an actual military post).

ANDREAS 13

vir magnificus; envoy of Childebert II 590

Envoy sent by Childebert to the exarch (Romanus 7) in Ravenna in 590 to announce the despatch to Italy of Frankish troops to help the



Romans against the Lombards; *Ep. Austras.* 40 (*MGH, Epp.* III, p. 146) (Andrea viro magnifico). Cf. Henus.

Andreas 14 vir illustris (at Constantinople) L VI

Addressee of two letters from pope Gregory; *Greg. Ep.* I 29 (a. 591 Feb.), VII 23 (a. 597 June; jointly with Theoctista 2).

VIR ILLUSTRIS a. 591; *Greg. Ep.* I 29 (addressed 'Andreae illustri'; Gregory, who had previously known him in Constantinople, sends him a key of St Peter; cf. *MGH, Epp.* I, p. 39, n. 5).

In 597 he and Theoctista were both at court in daily contact with the empress and involved in the upbringing of the emperor's children; they jointly sent thirty pounds of gold to Italy for the ransom of prisoners of the Lombards and received a key of St Peter in return from Gregory; *Ep.* VII 23.

ANDREAS 15 scholasticus (of the exarch at Ravenna) 595-599

Addressee of three letters from pope Gregory; *Greg. Ep.* V 51 (a. 595 July; addressed 'Andreae scholastico'; Gregory reported to him the election of Marinianus as bishop of Ravenna and alludes to the interest of 'domnus patricius', i.e. the exarch, in the matter), *Ep.* IX 101 (a. 599 Jan.; addressed 'Andreae'; he had recently been ill and Gregory sympathises; the letter sends greetings also to his wife - filiam meam gloriosam coniugem vestram), IX 151 (a. 599 May; addressed 'Andreae scolastico'; the letter commends to him the papal *apocrisiarius* Castorius, sent to Ravenna on business). Mentioned in a letter to Castorius in 596 as wanting the use of the *pallium* restored in Ravenna; *Greg. Ep.* VI 31 (a. 596 April; vir magnificus domnus Andreas crebro mihi imminet de usu pallii secundum antiquam consuetudinem in Ravennati ecclesia restituendo) (This man is not certainly identical with the *scholasticus* but is probably so).

Andreas is styled 'gloria vestra' in all three letters addressed to him. He was presumably a legal adviser (*scholasticus*) of the exarch of Ravenna.

ANDREAS 16 vir magnificus (at Constantinople) L VI

In 597 he was in Constantinople, where the empress had shown him favour; following the death of Constantina 3, he took service with her fiancé (vos in militia sponsi eius intrasse dixistis), with the hope of attracting the emperor's attention and obtaining some office for himself (serenissimo domino imperatori commendari voluistis, ut vobis aliqua iniungat, ubi vos utiles esse existimat); Gregory wrote urging him instead to follow a religious life, perhaps in the seclusion of his own

estates (in suo proastio); *Greg. Ep.* VII 26 (a. 597 June; addressed 'Andreae'; he is styled 'magnitudo vestra' and addressed as 'magnifice fili').

The identity of Constantina's *sponsus* is unknown; the evidence does not reveal in what capacity Andreas intended to serve him or the emperor, or whether he heeded the promptings of Gregory.

ANDREAS 17

v.sp., scrinarius of the sacrae largitiones (in Egypt) ?VI

Mentioned in a papyrus of unknown provenance as delivering a letter for the writer (whose identity is unknown); *PSI* 481, line 13 'Ανδρέας ὁ περιβλεπτος σκρινιαριάριος (sic) τῶν θείων σακρῶν. The text is assigned to the fifth or sixth centuries by the editors but the use of the word πανεύφημος in it suggests the sixth century. See also Victor 11.

Andreas 18 of senatorial family (at Ephesus) L VI

The twenty-year old son of a senatorial lady from Ephesus; afflicted by dumbness, he was taken by her to Theodore of Syceon to be cured; *V. Theod. Syc.* 110 (two ladies from Ephesus, δύο γυναικες συγκλητικαί, took their children to Theodore; they were πάνυ ἐφανῶν καὶ τῶν πρώτων τῆς πόλεως 'Εφέσου).

Andreas 19 argentarius (Constantinople) ?L VI/E VII

A former *argentarius* (ἀπὸ ἀργυροπρατῶν), recorded as performing cures at Constantinople; *Joh. Mosch. Pratum. Auct.* 43, 44.

Andreas 20 cubicularius M VI/M VII

'Ανδρέου cubiculariu; *Zacos* 1375 (seal; obv.: horseman; rev.: cruciform monogram (18) of 'Ανδρέου with C4/b1/C4^a L^r in the angles). Another specimen occurs in *Zacos*' series.

Andreas 21 cubicularius M VI/M VII

'Ανδρέα κουβικουλαρίου; *Zacos* 2782 (seal; obv.: cruciform monogram (19) of 'Ανδρέα; rev.: cruciform monogram (192) of Κ8ΒΙΚ8ΛΑΡΙ8 or possibly ΒΙΚΑΡΙ8).

Andreas 22 illustrius 605 or 607

Nicknamed 'the Mackerel'; on June 7, 605 or 607, he was executed for plotting against Phocas; *Chron. Pasch.* s.a. 605 ('Ανδρέας ἰλλούστριος ὁ ἐπίκλην τοῦ Σκόμβρου), *Theoph. AM* 6099 ('Ανδρέαν τὸν Σκόμβρον). See further Theodorus 150.

Andreas (André) 23 envoy of Heraclius 626

Envoy sent by Heraclius 'in year 36 of Chosroes II' (June 625/June 626) to the Khazars to seek military assistance against Persia; he returned with cavalry and archers via Georgia and Egeria to rejoin Heraclius; Moses Dasxurançi π 12 ('one of his nobles named André, a capable and intelligent man').

Andreas 24 chartularius and xenodochus VII

'Ανδρέου χαρτουλαρίου καὶ ξενοδόχου; Zacos 741 (seal; obv.: +AN/ΔΡΕΟV/ΧΑΡΤΙ; rev.: +ΚΑΙ/ΞΕΝΟ/ΔΟΧΘ).

Andreas 25 honorary consul VII

'Ανδρέα ὑπάτω; Zacos 1408 = Dumbarton Oaks seal 58.106.1381 (seal; obv.: cruciform monogram of Θεοτόκε βοήθει; rev.: +/ΑΝΔΡ/ΕΑΥΠ/ΑΤΩ).

Andreas 26 cubicularius VII

'Ανδρέα κουβικουλαρίω; Dumbarton Oaks seal 58.106.5331 (seal; obv.: between two cypress trees, a vertical inscription, +/Θ/Ε/Ο/Τ-Ο/Κ/Ε/Β-Ο/Η/Θ/Ε/Ι; rev.: between two cypress trees, a vertical inscription, Α/Ν/Δ/Ρ/Ε/Α-Κ/Ο/Υ/Β/Ι/Κ/Ο-Υ/Λ/Α/Ρ/Ι/Ω).

Andreas 27 ex praefectis VII

'Ανδ[ρ]έου ἀπ[ὸ] ἐπάρχων; Dumbarton Oaks seal 58.106.3561 (seal; obv.: cruciform monogram of Θεοτόκε βοήθει; rev.: ΑΝΔ./ΕΟΥΑΠ/.ΕΠΙΡ/ΧΩΝ/+).

Ademunt qui et Andreas

Andronicus 1 chronographer M VI

Author of a chronicle in the reign of Justinian cited in late oriental sources; apparently his chronological system differed somewhat from that used by Eusebius; Elias, *Op. Chron.* II, p. 99 = p. 111 ('composit Andronicus chronographus chronicon quod congruit cum chronico Aniani (or Eusebii) in supputatione festorum, sed quoad numerum annorum patriarcharum neque cum chronico Aniani neque cum chronico Eusebii congruit'). His work was used as a source also by Bar Hebraeus in *Chron.*, *Chron. Eccl.* and *Hist. Dynast.*; cf. *P-W*, Suppl. 1 81, no. 26a.

Andronicus 2 chartularius M VI/M VII

'Ανδρονίκου χαρτουλαρίου; Zacos 2784 (seal; obv.: cruciform monogram (21) of 'Ανδρονίκου; rev.: cruciform monogram (360) of

χαρτουλαρίου). Possibly the same man owned the very similar seal, Zacos 2785 (obv.: cruciform monogram (22) of 'Ανδρονίκου; rev.: cruciform monogram 360).

Andronicus 3 MVM M VI/M VII

'Ανδρονίκου στρατηλάτου; Zacos 2786 = Dumbarton Oaks seal 55.1.41 (seal, dated VI Zacos, M VI/M VII Oikonomides; obv.: square monogram (20) of 'Ανδρονίκου; rev.: +CT/PATHΛ/ΑΤΘ).

ANDRONICVS 4 comes and landowner (in Egypt) VI/VII

A comes and landowner in the Oxyrhynchite nome, possibly associated with the Apion estates; *P. Oxy.* 1897, lines 1-2 (a letter τῷ (sic) ἐνδῶξου οἴκου τοῦ πανευφήμου πατρικείου διὰ σοῦ τοῦ μεγαλωπρεπεστάτου (sic) κόμιτος 'Αντρωνίκου ἀντιγεούχου).

Possibly identical with ὁ καθοσιώμενος 'Ανδρόνικος named in *P. Oxy.* 1868, line 5 (sixth century) (although this man ranked lower than a comes).

Andronicus 5 ?v.c. (Egypt) VI/VII

Mentioned with a Menas (cf. Menas 25) at Oxyrhynchus - 'Αντρωνίκω καὶ Μηνᾷ τοῖς λαμπρο(τάτοις) ὠσπριγίταις (sic, for ὀσπριγίταις, 'sellers of pulses', cf. *P. Oxy.* 2021, *Stud. Pal.* III 473); *P. Oxy.* 2000.

Andronicus 6 deacon and doctor (at Hermopolis) VI/VII

Α διάκονος καὶ ἰατρός, recorded in a papyrus from Hermopolis; *P. Lond.* v 1898.

Andronicus illustrius M VI/M VII

'Ανδρωνίου ἰλλουστρίου; Dumbarton Oaks seal 55.1.195 (seal; obv.: cruciform monogram (23) of 'Ανδρωνίου; rev.: +ΙΛ/Λ/ΟΥC/ΤΡΙ/ΟΥ).

Andvira(?) femina inlustris (in Spain) VI/VII

[Loc]us Anduies inl(ustr)is [femina]e; wife of an unnamed *vir inluster* (Anonymus 114); they were married for thirty-five years and had four sons; they built a church at Vildé, near Osma (in Carthaginensis), where Andvira was buried; Vives, *Inscripciones Cristianas*, no. 505 Vildé (Osma).

ANGILAS ('Αγγίλας) ?comes rei militaris (in Lazica) 556

In 556 he was a ταξίαρχος in Lazica and commanded a τάγμα of Moorish spearmen in the defence of Phasis; Agath. III 20.9 (ἔχων Μαυρουσίους πελταστὰς καὶ λογχοφόρους), 22.3 (he and Philomathius

καὶ τῶν ἀμφ' αὐτοὺς ταγματῶν ἄνδρες ἐς διακοσίους; cf. below), 26.3 (he and Theodorus 21, οἱ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ταξίαρχοι). During the siege of Phasis he and Philomathius with two hundred or so men, later followed by Theodorus, disobeyed orders and sallied forth against the Persians but were heavily outnumbered and with difficulty escaped back to the safety of the city; Agath. III 22.3-8. Later he and Theodorus made a successful sortie against the Dilimmitae; they routed them and started a more general flight of the Persian forces; Agath. III 26.3-8. Cf. also Martinus 2. See Theodorus 21 for his title.

ANGOVVLAS ?v.c., tribunus (?Crimea) M VI

Apparently in charge of building work in the Crimea under the reign of Justinian; Latyshev, *Christian Greek Inscriptions*, no. 98 (on the Taman peninsula) (ἡπράττωντος Ἀγγουλᾶ/[τοῦ λαμπροῦ?]ἄτου τριβού/[νου καὶ ἔργο?]λάβου). The inscription is dated to an eleventh indiction, i.e. 532/533, 547/548 or 562/563.

This rare name occurs also in the *V. Sym. Iun.* 123, 128, 168 and 240 (an Isaurian, one of the spiritual brothers of Symeon). The *tribunus* was perhaps also an Isaurian. Isaurians had a reputation for their skill as builders.

Aniabedes (Ἀνιαβέδης) Persian general 541

On the name, cf. Justi, p. 16.

Persian general sent by Chosroes to besiege Petra (in Lazica) in 541; outwitted by Ioannes 20 Tzibus, he was, according to some reports, executed by Chosroes; Proc. *BP* II 17.4-11.

Anianus Mag. Off. c. 635

In 624 he was *domesticus* of the *magister officiorum* and accompanied Heraclius and Martina when they travelled to the east for the campaign against Persia; *Chron. Pasch.* s.a. 624 (συνόντος αὐτοῖς καὶ Ἀνιανοῦ δομεστικοῦ τοῦ μαγίστρου). On his functions, cf. Haldon, *Byzantine Praetorians*, pp. 146-7.

MAG. OFF. c.a. 635: after pressure from the khan of the Avars he sent gifts to secure the release of hostages in Avar hands; Nic. *Brev.* 24 (Ἀνιανὸν τὸν μάγιστρον).

(Fl.) Anicius Faustus Albinus Basilus

ANILAS comes (?civitatis) (Italy) 559

The name is Germanic; cf. Förstemann 100.

Addressee of a request from pope Pelagius I to assist Petrus and Proiectus, respectively priest and *notarius* of the church at Rome, with

their mission; Pelag. I, *Ep.* 67 (a. 559 March/April; addressed 'Anilani comiti'). The affair may have taken place in Histria but more probably in Tuscia Annonaria; cf. Pelag. I, *Ep.* 65-6, with notes of Gasso and Battle on pp. 31, 171-2 and 174, and see Carellus 1. Anilas was probably therefore *comes* in Tuscia Annonaria, perhaps *comes* of one of the *civitates* there.

Animius (?) tribunus (in Gaul) M/L VI

His wife Mummola who was lame was miraculously cured by St Martin of Tours; Greg. Tur. *Mir. S. Mart.* II 11 (coniunx Animi (Animii, Aniani) tribuni). Perhaps *tribunus* at Tours.

Animodus vicarius (at Tours) 590

Vicarius at Tours in 590 (i.e. *vicarius* under the *comes civitatis*; cf. Dalton, I, p. 203); accused of aiding Cuppa to escape justice and sent for trial with him to the king's court, he was acquitted after bribing Flavianus 2; Greg. Tur. *HF* x 5.

Fl. Marianus Iacobus Marcellus Aninas Addaeus

ANIO comes at Aprutium (near Firmum) 598

His name is probably Germanic; cf. Förstemann, p. 99 s.n. Anni.

Comes castrī Aprutiensis Firmensis; in 598 he built an oratory in the *castrum* at Aprutium at his own expense and at his request pope Gregory instructed the bishop of Fermo to consecrate it in the name of the apostle Peter; Greg. *Ep.* IX 71 (a. 598 Nov./Dec.).

Anna 1 ?landowner in Constantinople M VI

Allegedly owner of land in Constantinople on which Justinian planned to build St Sophia; she refused to sell but gave the land on condition that she was buried there; the site was that subsequently occupied by the σκευοφυλάκιον; *Narr. de aed. S. Soph.* 3. The source is late and untrustworthy. Cf. Antiochus 1.

Anna 2 hypatissa VII

*Αννας ὑπατί(σ)σης; Zacos 744 = Dumbarton Oaks seal 58.106.4421 (seal; obv.: +AN/NAC; rev.: ΥΠ/ΑΤΙ/ΧΗC). Presumably she was wife of an honorary consul.

ANNIANVS comes VI

*Αννιανοῦ κόμι(τος); Zacos 745 (seal; obv.: ANNI/ANOV/KOMI; rev.: blank).

- Annon** honorary consul VII
 *Ανωωνι ὑπάτω; Zacos 1413 (seal; obv.: cruciform monogram of Θεοτόκε βοήθει; rev.: + ANN/ΩΝΙΥ/ΠΑΤΩ).
- Anoisius scholasticus (at Scythopolis) ?521/522
 By his gift a monastery was built at Scythopolis ([ἐκ] πρ(ο)σφ(ο)ρ(ᾶ)ς) Ἀνοισίου σχο(λαστικοῦ); *Quart. Dept. Ant. Pal.* 13 (1933), p. 49, no. 335 A Beisân (= Scythopolis, Palaestina Prima). The monastery was completed in Panemus 20/29, ind. 15, year of the local era 585, and consecrated in Sept. of the same year), presumably 521/522; cf. Schürer, *History of the Jewish People*, rev. and transl. Vermes, Millar, Black, II, p. 144 with n. 312.
- Fl. Anophius praepositus castri (in Egypt) E/M VI
 *Ἀπό πραιποσ(ίτων) κάστρο(υ) Π. . . (in the Antacopolite nome); in 535 he guaranteed workmen from Aphrodito to a *riparius*; *P. Cairo Masp.* III 67296, lines 3, 15, 17 Aphrodito (dated a. 535 July 23).
- Anoup tabellio (in Egypt) VII
 He and Ioannes 298 were νομικαῖοι καὶ πακταῖοι τοῦ ὁξέως δρόμου, at or near Oxyrhynchus; *P. Oxy.* 154. See further Ioannes.
- (Aur.) Anouthis deacon and doctor (in Egypt) VI
 [+Αὐρήλιος]/Ἀνούθις Ἰωσηφί(ο)υ διάκ(ονος) ἀπὸ Ἐρ(μουπόλεως) καὶ ἰατρός; wrote out a will for Aurelia Aphthonia; *P. Lond.* III, pp. 254-5, no. 1044 (provenance unknown).
- Ansemundus envoy of king Sisebut c. 615
 Envoy of the Visigothic king Sisebut to Caesarius 2 in c. 615; *Ep. Wisig.* 4 (*MGH, Epp.* III, pp. 665-6).
- Ansfriid** vir gloriosus, ?MVM or dux (in Italy) 600
 Gloriosus filius noster Ansfriid; in 600 he asked pope Gregory to ordain as bishop 'in castro Balneum Regis' a deacon chosen by himself and the local inhabitants (una cum habitatoribus loci ipsius); *Greg. Ep.* x 13 (a. 600 June). As a *gloriosus* he was either *magister militum* or *dux* (perhaps the former, cf. e.g. Aldio). Evidently he commanded the troops at Balneum Regis (Bagnoregio, in Tuscia Suburbicaria). He was perhaps a Goth, more probably a Lombard in the service of the empire; cf. Brown, *Gentlemen*, pp. 53, 73.

- ANSIMVTH** infantry commander (?dux) (in Thrace) 587
 In 587 he commanded infantry forces in Thrace; *Theoph. Sim.* II 12.7 (Ἀνσιμουθ δὲ τις ταξίαρχος (πεζικοῦ δὲ οὗτος στρατεύματος ἡγεμόνευε περὶ τὴν Θράκην ἐνδιατρίβωντος)). Possibly he was a new style *dux* (cf. *Theodorus* 21) or a *comes rei militaris*.
 He assembled his men and retreated towards the Long Walls when the Avars overran Thrace in 587, but was captured by them while at the rear of his men; *Theoph. Sim.* II 12.7-8, cf. 17.5 (rumours of his and Castus' capture agitated Constantinople).
- Ansoaldus 1 Frankish notable 576-585
 On the name, see Schönfeld, p. 23.
 He was one of Chilperic's leading followers (priors); *Greg. Tur. HF* VII 7. He served him from 576 to 584 and thereafter served Chlotharius II and Fredegundis.
 In 576 he was given the property of Siggo near Soissons; *Greg. Tur. HF* V 3. In 580 he was sent by Chilperic to Tours to allow the inhabitants to choose a new *comes* (Eunomius) in place of Leudastes; *Greg. Tur. HF* V 47. He and Domegisel visited Spain in 582 as envoys of Chilperic to arrange the dowry of Rigunthis; on his return he gave Gregory of Tours information about religious affairs there; *Greg. Tur. HF* VI 18. He was one of the *virī magnifici* who escorted Rigunthis in autumn 584 when she left Paris for Spain; *Greg. Tur. HF* VI 45. After Chilperic's death he visited cities formerly under Chilperic exacting oaths of loyalty to Guntram and Chlotharius; *Greg. Tur. HF* VII 7. In 585 he left Guntram's court abruptly, either suspecting trouble or himself under suspicion (not made clear by Gregory); *Greg. Tur. HF* VIII 11. Later in 585 he was present with Fredegundis in Rouen when the bishop Praetextatus was murdered; *Greg. Tur. HF* VIII 31.
- Ansoaldus 2 envoy of Chlothar II c. 628/629?
 Envoy of Chlothar II to the Lombard king Ariold, to protest over the exile of Gundoberga; said to have proposed that the accusations against her be tested by trial by combat; *Fredegar. IV* 51 (wrongly placed in 623, year forty of Chlothar II; cf. Gundoberga).
- Ansul Lombard; relation of Authari L VI
 Cognatus regis Authari; executed at Verona around the time of Authari's marriage to Theodelinda (c. 589); *Paul. Diac. Hist. Lang.* III 30 (quam ob causam incertum est, according to Paul).

Antalas

Moorish chief; ally of Rome 534-44; enemy of Rome 544-48

Son of Guenfan; Coripp. *Ioh.* iii 66, 107, cf. i 468, iii 77, v 8, vii 296, 522, viii 239 (Guenfēus). Brother of Guarizila; Coripp. *Ioh.* iv 365-6. His people were probably the tribe of the Frexenses in Byzacena; Coripp. *Ioh.* ii 42-3, and cf. Partsch, prooem., p. ix. He was ruler of the Moors of Byzacena; Proc. *BV* i 9.3, ii 12.30, 21.17, *BG* iv 17.21.

He was born in c. 500; cf. Partsch, prooem., p. vi with n. 2. His career as a brigand allegedly began with sheep stealing when he was seventeen, after which he collected followers and fought against the Vandals; Coripp. *Ioh.* iii 156ff., 179-81. He led the Moors in their great victory over the Vandals, after which Hildimer (= Hilderic) was replaced by Gelimer (in 530); Coripp. *Ioh.* iii 184-264, Proc. *BV* i 9.3. At the time Antalas was aged thirty; Coripp. *Ioh.* iii 73.

With the recovery of Africa by Belisarius, Antalas became an ally of the Romans and remained loyal for ten years, receiving regular payments decreed by Belisarius and approved by the emperor; Proc. *BV* ii 12.30 (τὴν ἐς Ῥωμαίους πίστιν φυλάξας, during the revolts of 534 and 535), 21.17 (τὰς σιτήσεις αἷς αὐτὸν βασιλεὺς ἐτετιμήκει), 22.8 (τῶν σιτησέων... ἄσπερ μοι πολλῶ πρότερον χρόνῳ Βελισσάριός τε διώρισε καὶ σὺ - sc. Justinian - δέδωκας), Coripp. *Ioh.* ii 29-30 (Romanis subditus olim principibus), 34-5 (fidelis ille - sc. Antalas - fuit plenosque decem perfecerat annos), 374-6, iii 290.

Probably in 543 Antalas' brother was executed by Solomon 1 following disturbances in Byzacena and Antalas himself was deprived of the supplies granted by the emperor; he allied himself with Moors from Tripolitana and revolted against the Romans in 544; Proc. *BV* ii 21.17-18, 22.8, Coripp. *Ioh.* ii 28, iii 383-4, 391-400, iv 364-6. He defeated and killed Solomon at the battle of Cillium; Coripp. *Ioh.* iii 417-41, iv 382, and see Solomon. He now joined forces with Stotzas against Sergius 4, writing to Justinian, in vain, requesting the dismissal of Sergius; he and Stotzas captured, and lost, Hadrumetum (cf. Himerius 1) and defeated and killed Ioannes 27 (son of Sisinniolus) (in 545); Proc. *BV* ii 22.5-11, 23 passim, 24.6, 24.12, Coripp. *Ioh.* iii 458-60, iv 8-63, 103-6, 136-200, 382.

In late 545, in collusion with Guntharis, he and the Moors of Byzacena, together with Cutzinas, Iaudas and the Moors of Numidia, marched against Carthage; Proc. *BV* ii 25.2. In secret negotiations he was promised by Guntharis the rule of Byzacena, half the possessions of Arcobindus and fifteen hundred Roman soldiers; Proc. *BV* ii 25.6-10. He was also kept informed by Guntharis of the secret plans of

Arcobindus and Cutzinas to betray him; Proc. *BV* ii 25.18-19. Later he turned against Guntharis when the latter withheld the promised money and troops and he withdrew from near Carthage into Byzacena; seeking to renew his alliance with the empire he joined the *dux* Marcentius (in early 546), but was attacked and put to flight by the army of Guntharis under Artabanes and Cutzinas; Proc. *BV* ii 27.1-6, 27.23-8, cf. Coripp. *Ioh.* iv 360-1, 367-9 (Antalas complains of the treachery of Artabanes whom, he claims, he had supported in the assassination of Guntharis).

According to Corippus, Antalas sent an envoy (Maccus) to Ioannes 36 Troglita, after his arrival in Africa in late 546, with a message of warning, and later received Amantius as envoy from Ioannes with uncompromising defiance; Coripp. *Ioh.* i 463-93, iv 315-92. He and his followers prepared for battle; Coripp. *Ioh.* iv 619-44 (the leaders named here are Alacanza, Autiliten, Bruten, Camalus, Carcasan, Catubar, Gantal, Guentan, Hisdreasen, Ialdas, Ierna, Iutungun, Melangus, Sidisan and Sinzira). The subsequent battle, in winter 546/547, ended in a heavy defeat for Antalas and the Moors; Coripp. *Ioh.* v passim, esp. 224-59, 369ff., Proc. *BV* ii 28.46, *BG* iv 17.21.

In summer 547 Antalas joined Moors from Tripolitana in defeating Ioannes and then in raiding as far as Carthage; Proc. *BI* ii 28.47-9. This refers to the battle of Marta, described by Corippus in book vi, who names Carcasan as the Moorish leader and does not mention Antalas. In spring 548 he again joined the Moors of Tripolitana, under Carcasan, and raided Byzacena; Coripp. *Ioh.* vii 286-7, viii 37. He initially advised against a pitched battle and in favour of a scorched earth policy, but later in the summer judged the time right to fight; Coripp. *Ioh.* vii 296-309, 521-8, viii 239-41, and cf. Carcasan and Ioannes 36 Troglita. His fate in the ensuing battle, a heavy defeat for the Moors on the Plains of Cato, is not recorded by Corippus, but according to Procopius he survived and once again became subject to the Romans; Proc. *BG* iv 17.21 (Ἀντάλαν τε καὶ Ἰαύδαν, οἱ Μαυρουσίων τῶν ἐν Βυζακίῳ τε καὶ Νουμιδίᾳ τὸ κράτος εἶχον, ὑποχειρίους πεποίηται - sc. Ioannes Troglita, εἶποντό τε αὐτῶ ἐν ἀνδραπόδων λόγῳ, i.e. he and Iaudas became slaves of Ioannes).

Antestius agent (?dux) of Guntram 587, 589

In 585 he accompanied Desiderius 2 when the latter visited king Guntram to make his peace after the overthrow of the pretender Gundovaldus; Greg. Tur. *HF* viii 27.

Sent by Guntram in 587 to Angers where he punished those responsible for the murder of Domnola, among them Bobolenus whose property he confiscated; Antestius then went to Nantes where he

accused the son of bishop Nonnichius of involvement in the same affair and exacted sureties from the bishop that he would appear before the king (Guntram); from there he went to Saintes, at Easter 587, and accused bishop Palladius of aiding and abetting secret envoys between Fredegundis and the Visigoths; he arrested the bishop and only allowed him to enter the city to celebrate Easter when he gave sureties to appear before the king and also made out a deed conveying to Antestius a *domus* in the Bourges area; subsequently Antestius failed to prove the allegations against Palladius, and Nonnichius was released after handing over many gifts; Greg. Tur. *HF* viii 43.

In 589 he accompanied Boso 2 on campaign against the Visigoths for Guntram; Greg. Tur. *HF* ix 31.

Possibly identical with Antestius, a *dux* in Burgundy whose daughter was cured by abbot Aredius of Limoges; *V. Aredii* 22 (*MGH, Scr. Rer. Mer.* iii).

Anthemius 1 doctor (at Edessa) V/VI

A doctor, husband of Sophia; buried at Edessa with his wife, Droseria and Eudoxia; Feissel, *Recueil*, no. 31 Edessa (Macedonia) (+ /Μημόριον Δροσερίας/κ(αί) Εύδοξίας κ(αί) 'Ανθε/μίου είατροῦ κ(αί) τῆς συμ/βίου αὐτοῦ Σοφίας +).

Anthemius 2 mathematician and architect E/M VI

Native of Tralles (in Lydia); Proc. *Aed.* i 1.24, Agath. v 6.3. Son of a doctor, Stephanus 1; Alex. Trall. iv 1. Brother of Alexander 8, Dioscorus 3, Metrodorus and Olympius 2; Agath. v 6.4-5.

A distinguished mathematician; Agath. v 6.4. Author of a work *Περὶ παραδόξων μηχανημάτων*, ed. Heiberg, *Mathematici Graeci Minores* (1927), pp. 71ff. The mathematician Eutocius (*PLRE* ii) addressed to him (ὦ φίλε ἑταῖρε 'Ανθέμει, or similar) his commentary on the *Conica* of Apollonius of Perge; Apoll. Perg., ed. Heiberg, vol. iii, p. 168.

He was even more famous and successful as an architect; Proc. *Aed.* i 1.24.50 (ὁ μηχανοποιός), ii 3.7, Agath. v 6.3 (τέχνη δὲ (sc. αὐτῶ ὑπήρχεν) τὰ τῶν μηχανοποιῶν εὐρήματα, οἳ δὲ τὴν γραμμικὴν θεωρίαν ἐπὶ τὴν ὕλην κατὰγοντες μιμήματα τινα καὶ οἷον εἶδωλα τῶν ὄντων δημιουργοῦσι), Paul. Silent. *Ecphrasis*, 267ff., 552ff. (πολυμήχανος). His fame grew and he was summoned to Constantinople (?by Justinian) where he lived the rest of his life; Agath. v 6.6. He was employed by Justinian, with Isidorus 4 as his colleague, on the rebuilding of Hagia Sophia in the 530s, after its destruction in the riots of 532; Proc. *Aed.* i 1.24.50.70, Agath. v 9.2, Paul. Silent. *Ecphrasis*, 552-5. He was responsible for marvellous buildings and other devices (θαυμάσια ἤλικα

δημιουργήματα) in Constantinople and in many other places; Agath. v 6.6. He and Isidorus were summoned to advise Justinian on how to prevent flooding at Dara (cf. Chryses); Proc. *Aed.* ii 3.7-14. His mechanical skills were acclaimed by Agathias who describes the various devices created by Anthemius to frighten and harass his neighbour, the rhetor Zeno 3, with whom he had a quarrel; Agath. v 6.7-8.6.

He died before the dome of Hagia Sophia fell in an earthquake on May 7, 558; Agath. v 9.4.

See also G. L. Huxley, *Anthemius of Tralles* (1959), and cf. *P-W* i 2368 (Hultsch).

Anthem(i)us 3 scribo 545

Scribo; sent by Theodora to Rome in 545 to arrest pope Vigilius and bring him to Constantinople; *Lib. Pont.* 61.4, Paul. Diac. *Hist. Rom.* xvi 21 (called 'Ant(h)imus').

Anthemius 4 ex praefectis VII

'Ανθεμίου ἀπὸ ἐπάρχων; Zacos 1414 (seal; obv.: cruciform monogram of Θεοτόκε βοήθει; rev.: ANΘ[ΕΜ]/ΙΟΝΑΠΟ/ΕΠΑΡ/ΧΩΝ). The style, according to Zacos, is 'provincial'.

ANTHIANVS v.sp., tribunus et notarius (in Italy) 534

He served in the *officium* of the PPO Italiae and ended his career as *cornicularius*; on retirement he was instructed by the PPO Cassiodorus Senator (*PLRE* ii) to present himself at court among the *tribuni et notarii* to make adoration and receive the *insignia* of the spectabilate; the date was 534; Cass. *Var.* xi 18 (title: de corniculario qui egreditur) ideo Anthianum (sic), qui praetorianis inculpabiliter paruisse perhibetur obsequiis, inter tribunos et notarios ad adorandos aspectus properet principales, ut iuxta consuetudinem praesentatus spectabilitatis deco-retur insignibus. See Jones, *LRE* ii, 592 with n. 67.

At his suggestion Cassiodorus drafted a standard reply to petitions coming to the *officium* of the prefecture; Cass. *Var.* xi 34 (Anthiano suggerente dictum est).

He is presumably identical with the (unnamed) retiring *cornicularius* to whom Cassiodorus ordered the payment of seven hundred *solidi* in 534 (cf. Anaticolicus); Cass. *Var.* xi 36.

Anthimus: comes et legatarius (west) 511/533; *PLRE* ii.

Anthimus 1 doctor (in Constantinople) ?E VII

'Αρχίατρος τις τοῦνομα Ἄνθιμος; at Constantinople, where his sick son was miraculously cured by Artemius; *Mir. Artem.* 1, p. 2.

Anthimus 2 candidatus and imperialis spatharius VII

Ἀνθίμου κανδιδάτου (καί) βασιλικοῦ σπαθαρίου; Zacos 2860 (seal; obv.: +AN/ΘΙΜΔΙΚ/ΑΝΔΙΔ/ΑΤΟΝ; rev.: ΣΒΑ/ΣΙΛΙΚΔ/ΣΠΑΘΑ/ΡΙΟΝ). A similar specimen is recorded in Schlumberger, *Sigill.*, p. 593, no. 17.

Anthusa daughter of Gibastes ?VI

Daughter of Gibastes; buried at Axiopolis; *AE* 1976, 630 Axiopolis (Scythia) (she is styled ἡ εὐγεν(εστάτη) θυγάτηρ of Gibastes).

Antiochus (*PSI* 891) V/VI: *PLRE* II.

Antiochus 1 eunuch ostiarius M VI

His house supposedly occupied part of the projected site of St Sophia (οἶκος Ἀντιόχου εὐνούχου ὀστιάριου) and was valued at thirty-eight pounds of gold; after refusing to sell he was barred from attending the circus, of which he was a fanatic, by Strategius until he changed his mind; *Narr. de act. S. Soph.* 4. The source is late and untrustworthy. Cf. *Anna* 1.

Antiochus 2 PPO Italiae 552-554

PPO ITALIAE a. 552-554: in late 552(?) he is said to have restored the city of Forum Corneli; Agnellus, *Lib. Pont. Eccl. Rav.* 79 (et restituta est civitas Foro Corneli ab Anthioeco praefecto). In 553 he was in charge of supplies for the Roman army in north Italy; the army retreated from Parma after the death of Fulcaris and refused to return until Stephanus 12, acting for Narses 1, brought Antiochus from Ravenna to accompany them; *Agath.* 1 18.1-2 (τὸν ὑπαρχον). Addressee with Narses in 554 of Justinian's Pragmatic Sanction regulating affairs in Italy; *Just. Nov. App.* VII (a. 554 Aug. 13; Antiocho v(iro) magnifico praef(ecto) per Italiam).

Antiochus 3 MVM VI

Ἀντιόχου stratilatu; Zacos 2788 = Fogg Art Museum seal 1150 (seal; obv.: cruciform monogram (24) of Ἀντιόχου; rev.: +ΡΤ/ΓΑΤΙ/ΛΑΤΥ).

Antiochus 4 chartularius M VI/M VII

Ἀντιόχου χαρτουλαρίου; Zacos 2787 (seal; obv.: cruciform monogram (25) of Ἀντιόχου; rev.: cruciform monogram (364) of χαρτουλαρίου).

ANTIOCHVS 5 comes VI/VII

Ἀντιόχου κόμητος; Zacos 746 = Dumbarton Oaks seal 58.106.2820 (seal; obv.: AN/TIO/XOV; rev.: KO/MHT/O + C).

Antiochus 6 cubicularius, imperialis chartularius and sacellarius VII

Ἀντιόχου κουβ(ικουλαρίου) (καί) β(ασιλικοῦ) χαρ(τουλαρίου) (καί) σακελλ(αρίου); Zacos 747a and b = Dumbarton Oaks seals 55.1.1932, 58.106.3153, 58.106.3171, 58.106.3314 (four identical seals; obv.: +AN/TIO/XOV; rev.: +ΚΟΒΣ/Β'ΧΑΡ,Σ/ΣΑΚΕΛΛ').

Antipater vindex of Antioch 532

Ὁ βίνδις Ἀντιοχείας τῆς Θεουπόλεως; killed in the hippodrome in Constantinople during the massacre which ended the Nika riot; *Chron. Pasch.* s.a. 532.

Antipatra ?patricia M/L VI

Mother of Georgia and mother-in-law of Ioannes 90 (honorary consul); she and Juliana 1, two high-ranking ladies of noble birth, were persecuted 'cum aliis multis patriciis' at Constantinople for their monophysite beliefs under Justin II; the two ladies stood firm and were exiled to a monastery at Chalcedon where they were made to do all the hardest and dirtiest jobs; eventually they pretended to communicate and were allowed home; *Joh. Eph. HE* III 2.12 (= *Mich. Syr.* x 7). The persecution began in 571.

Fl. Antius (*CIL* v 1655) V/VI: *PLRE* II.

Antonina 1 patricia; wife of Belisarius M VI

Her father and grandfather were charioteers at Constantinople and Thessalonica, her mother an actress; *Proc. Anecd.* 1.11. She was perhaps born c. 484; *Proc. Anec.* 4.41 (in 544 she was about sixty years old), but cf. Stein, *Bas-Emp.* II 285, n. 6. Wife of Belisarius; *Proc. BP* I 25.11.13. *BF* I 12.2, *BG* II 4.6, III 30.3.25, *Anecd.* 1.11, *Liberat. Brev.* 22, *Vict. Tonn.* s.a. 542, *Joh. Eph. HE* III 1.32, *Lib. Pont.* 60, *Patr. Const.* III 117. She bore him a daughter, Ioannina; *Proc. Anecd.* 5.19. According to Procopius in the *Anecdota* she had lived a dissolute life and borne many children before she married Belisarius; *Anecd.* 1.12. She had a son, Photius 2, by a previous marriage; *Proc. BG* I 5.5, 18.18, *Anecd.* 1.32, *Liberat. Brev.* 22, *Joh. Eph. HE* III 1.32. She also had a daughter who married Ildiger; *Proc. BV* II 8.24, *BG* II 7.15. In the mid 540s she had a granddaughter old enough to be wooed by Sergius 4; *Proc. Anecd.* 5.33.

Said by Procopius to have continued to live a shameless life even after

her marriage, restrained only by fear of the empress Theodora whose agent she was in various matters, including, so it is alleged, the overthrow of pope Silverius (in 537) and the downfall of John the Cappadocian (Ioannes II) (in 541); Proc. *Anecd.* 1.13, cf. *BP* 1 25.13ff., *Anecd.* 2.16, 3.7 (downfall of John), *Anecd.* 1.27, *Lib. Pont.* 60 (Silverius). Her affair with Theodosius 8, godson of Belisarius, is narrated at great length by Procopius, *Anecd.* 1.16–2.18, 3.1–20. She was allegedly to blame for the death of Constantinus 3 (in Rome in late 537); Proc. *Anecd.* 1.28.

She accompanied Belisarius on his campaigns; Proc. *Anecd.* 2.1–2 (supposedly in order to maintain her influence on him). She accompanied him to Africa in 533; Proc. *BI* 1 12.2, 13.24, 19.11, 20.1. She was with him in Rome during the siege of 537; Proc. *BG* 1 18.43. Late in the year he sent her for safety to Naples (cf. Martinus 2), where she assisted Procopius 2 to assemble a fleet and then returned with it to Ostia with supplies for the troops in Rome; Proc. *BG* II 4.6.14.20, 7.4. She presumably remained in Italy until 540, when she returned with Belisarius to Constantinople; Proc. *BP* 1 25.11, *Anecd.* 1.35.

In 541 she did not accompany him to the east but joined him there later, after the downfall of John the Cappadocian; relations between them were strained over Theodosius (cf. Belisarius, p. 222, he arrested her, and Photius) and continued so, in spite of a reconciliation on Theodora's order, during the period of Belisarius' eclipse (late 542–3) until his restoration to imperial favour, for which Antonina was given the credit; Proc. *BP* 1 25.23, *Anecd.* 2.1.14.17, 3.1–2.4.12, and see Belisarius, p. 211. She is said, however, to have prevented his reappointment as MVM *per Orientem* and his return to the eastern front because it was there (in 541) that she had been insultingly treated by him; Proc. *Anecd.* 4.38.

She was with him in Italy in the 540s and is attested at Portus in 546, Proc. *BG* III 19.7.30; at Croton in late 547, *BG* III 28.4; and at Hydruntum in 548, *BG* III 30.2. In 548 she returned to Constantinople to press for reinforcements for the war in Italy but found on arrival that Theodora had died and instead she urged Justinian to recall Belisarius; Proc. *BG* III 30.3.25.

In early 549 she broke up the marriage of Ioannina with Theodora's grandson Anastasius 8; Proc. *Anecd.* 5.23–4.

PATRICIA: she was a *patricia*, Proc. *Anecd.* 3.16, Liberat. *Brev.* 22, Vict. Tonn. s.a. 542, *Lib. Pont.* 60. A late (and unreliable) source describes her as ζωστή... Θεοδώρας τῆς γυναικὸς Ἰουστινιανοῦ; *Patr. Const.* III 117. Independent evidence for the title ζωστή πατρικία at this date is lacking, but it is accepted as genuine by Guillard, *Patricienne à Ceinture*, in

Byzantinostavica 32 (1971), pp. 272–3. Cf. also Oikonomides, *Listes*, p. 293 with n. 33.

According to the *Patria* she outlived Belisarius (who died in 565) and then lived with Vigilantia, whom she persuaded to build the church of St Procopius; *Patr. Const.* III 117.

Her influence over Belisarius was great and she was thought to dominate him; Proc. *Anecd.* 5.27, and see Stein, *Bas-Emp.* II 285–6.

Said to have made pope Vigilius, early in his papacy, send a monophysite statement of faith to leading monophysite bishops; Liberat. *Brev.* 22, Vict. Tonn. s.a. 542. See however Stein, *Bas-Emp.* II 399, n. 1.

Antonina 2

patricia (in Italy) 559

She and Decia received a letter from pope Pelagius I explaining his refusal to nominate the bearer, evidently a monk, to the post of *defensor (ecclesiae)*; they apparently maintained a monastic community (qui vel a vobis in isto habitu – sc. monachorum – nutriuntur); Pelag. I, *Ep.* 27 (a. 559 Feb.; addressed 'Antoninae patriciae et Deciae').

Evidently a wealthy lady, who apparently sought the post of *defensor ecclesiae* for one of her protégés.

ANTONINA 3

(c.f.); daughter of Venantius 599–601

Daughter of Venantius 2 and Italica and sister of Barbara; Greg. *Ep.* IX 232 (a. 599 Aug.), XI 18 (a. 601 Jan.), 23 and 25 (a. 601 Feb.). They lived in Sicily; see Venantius.

She and her sister jointly received two letters from pope Gregory; *Ep.* XI 23 (in reply to a letter from them), 59 (a. 601 Aug.). They are styled 'gloria vestra' in *Ep.* XI 23, and 'domnae' in *Ep.* IX 232, XI 18, and probably XI 25 (the word 'domna' has perhaps fallen out before Antonina's name).

In Feb. 601 Gregory was concerned to safeguard their interests in the event of their father's death; Greg. *Ep.* XI 25, and cf. Venantius. Later in 601 they sent Gregory a gift and proposed to visit Rome and St Peter's; Gregory replied with a letter of exhortation whose tone suggests that their father had died; Greg. *Ep.* XI 59.

Fl. Antoninus 1

rhetor (in Egypt) ?570

A rhetor of Panopolis, present in Antinoopolis where he witnessed a loan in ?570; *P. Lond.* v 1716, lines 14–15 Φλ[?A]ντόνινος/[...ῥ]ήτωρ ἀπὸ Πανὸς εὐρηθείς ἐν Ἀντι(νοπόλει) (from Antinoopolis, in ?570).

Antoninus 2

tribunus (in Venetia) VI/VII

Hic re[qu]iesce(nt) Antoninus tribun(u)s et Agnella con(iunx); *AE*

1972, 200 Iesolo (Venetia), on a sarcophagus. On *tribuni* in this area, see Brown, *Gentlemen*, pp. 56–8.

Antonius 1 scholasticus M VI/M VII

Ἀντωνίου σχολαστικοῦ; Zacos 750A (seal; obv.: AN/TΩNI/OV; rev.: CXO/ΛACTI/KOV).

Antonius (?) 2 diaconus or candidatus VII

Zacos 1418 (seal; obv.: cruciform monogram of Θεοτόκε βοήθει; rev.: cruciform monogram (26) which may be interpreted Ἀντωνίου διακόνου or Ἀντωνίου κανιδιάτου or possibly Ἰωάννου κανιδιάτου).

Anzalas bodyguard of Narses 1 552

On the name, see Justi, p. 18.

An Armenian, officer (δορυφόρος) of the bodyguard of Narses 1; on the eve of the battle of Busta Gallorum he killed in single combat a Roman deserter in Totila's army; Proc. *BG* IV 31.12–16.

Anzoy wife of Siroes E VII

A Roman, wife of Siroes and mother of Ardashir; Anon. Guidi, p. 29 = p. 25 ('filius eius, sc. of Siroes, et Anzoy romanae').

Aordus Herul leader 549

Brother of Datus, whom he accompanied from Thule (?Scandinavia) to Illyricum; Proc. *BG* II 15.29. In 549 he was killed with many followers in battle with the Romans; Proc. *BG* III 34.44–5. On the date, see Aratius.

Apa Besas ?v.c.; numerarius (Egypt) VI

Recorded in a sixth-century papyrus from Aphrodito; *P. Flor.* III 295, line 8 ἐπὶ τοῦ λαμπρ[οτάτου] Ἀπα Βησάτου τοῦ νομεραρ[ί]ου.

Apa Cyrus 1 ?vir gloriosissimus (in Egypt) ?VI

Recorded in a fragment of papyrus of unknown provenance; *Stud. Pal.* III 89, line 2 Ἀπα Κυροῦ τ(οῦ) ἐνδ[οξοτάτου]. Cf. also *Stud. Pal.* III 101 (VI/VII), lines 3–4 παρά σοῦ Ἀππα Κυροῦ [.../τοῦ προσεπαρε... (provenance unknown); 183 (VI), line 1 (ὑπέρ) φορ[οῦ] οὔσι(ας) τοῦ κυροῦ Ἀππα Κυροῦ (provenance unknown); 209 (VI) τῷ κυρ(ίῳ) Ἀππα Κυρ(ῶ) and similarly 234 and 235 (all from Arsinoe).

Appa Cyrus 2 ?v.c., ostiarius (in Egypt) 631

Recorded in a papyrus from Arsinoe dated Feb./March 631; *P. Ross.-Georg.* III 51, lines 9–10 τῷ λαμπρ[οτ]ῶ[ι] Ἀππα Κυρῶ ὀστιάριῳ

οῦ τοῦ μακαρίου Θεοδώρου, cf. line 31 εἰς] Ἀππα Κυρὸν ὀστιάριον. He was a native of Arsinoe. Perhaps identical with Apa Cyrus 1.

Apa Cyrus (Abakiri) 3 Egyptian ally of the Arabs 640

In summer 640 'Amr 'sent Abakiri of the city of Dalās requesting him to bring the ships of Rif in order to transport to the East bank of the river the Ishmaelites (i.e. the Arabs) who were upon the West'; Joh. Nik. 113.1 (p. 559 Zotenberg). For the name Abakiri = Apa Cyrus, see Butler, *Conquest of Egypt*, p. 235, n. 2. For Dalās = Nilopolis (in Arcadia), see Butler, *op. cit.*, p. 234, n. 1.

Apa Cyrus 4 ?vir gloriosissimus (in Egypt) E VII

Father of Fl. Christophorus 4 and Theodoracius 3; *SB* 9750 (cited under Christophorus), *SB* 9751.

He was pagarch of Heracleopolis in 642; *SB* 9749 (a. 642 Jan. 25–Feb. 24; μεγαλοπρεπέστατος πάγαρχος αὐτοῦ, sc. τοῦ βορρεῖνου σκέλου(ς) Ἡρακλέους), *SB* 9755 (a. 642 July 19; Φλ. [Ἀππα] Κύρω τῷ μεγαλοπρεπεστάτῃ (sic) παγάρχη τοῦ βορρῖνου σκέλους ταύτης τῆς Ἡρακλ(έου)ς π(όλεως)). He was probably recorded as pagarch on Feb. 25, 642, in *SB* 9750; see Christophorus.

Fl. Aparenta (*CIL* v 1652) V/V1; *PLRE* II.

Apa Sion ?v.c. (Egypt) VI

Recorded in a papyrus of unknown provenance; *Stud. Pal.* VIII 1227, line 2 τοῦ λαμπρ(οτάτου) Ἀπα Σίω[ν]ος[ι] ...

The name also occurs in two papyri from Heracleopolis, dated respectively Sept. 16, 590, and Aug./Sept. 596; *P. Erl.* 67, line 22 (among witnesses to a loan was Ἀπα Σίω[ν] σὺν Θεῶ βουκε(λλάριος) καὶ χαρτουλάρ(ιος)) and *SB* 9153 (the son of one Ἀπα Σίω[ν] was βοηθός of the *domus* of Siris).

APELLIO vir magnificus (at Apamea) 539/540

The *triclinium* of a basilica at Apamea was restored in 539 or 540 under him (ἐπὶ τοῦ μεγαλοπρεπεστάτου Ἀπελλίωνος); *IGLS* IV 1344 Apamea. He was perhaps the *pater civitatis*.

Aphraates Persian commander 586, 589

On the name, see Justi, p. 102, s.n. Frähāta, no. 24.

Nephew of Gardarigan 1; commanded the Persian left wing at the battle of Solachon (spring 586); Theoph. Sim. II 3.3. In 589 he commanded Persian forces on the Armenian front (ὁ κατὰ τῆς Ἀρμενίας τὰς στρατηγίδας λαχὼν τοῦ πολέμου ἡνίας) and was sent to

Martyropolis to help Mebodes 2 against Philippicus (spring/summer 589); Theoph. Sim. III 5.15. He was killed in the battle of Sisarbanon in autumn 589 by Heraclius 3; Theoph. Sim. III 6.3 (ὁ τῶν Πέρσων στρατηγός, ὃν Ἀφραάτην ὁ λόγος ἀπέδειξεν), Theoph. AM 6080.

Ap(h)t(h)onius 1 vir illustris (in Italy) L VI

Illustrissimus vir; father of Armenius; dead by April 593; Greg. Ep. III 28 (a. 593 April).

Ap(h)t(h)onius 2 vir illustris (in Italy) L VI

Illustrius vir; he told Gregory the story of a slave of his (unnamed) father cured by St Benedict; Greg. Dial. II 26. Apparently still living when the *Dialogi* were composed (late 593/594) and so not identical with Aphthonius 1.

Aphthonius 3 tribunus (in Egypt) ?VI

Addressee of a letter concerning delivery of stores, probably to somewhere in the Delta; he gave his reply which was to be forwarded to an unnamed *comes*; *P. Oxy.* 2732, line 2 τῷ τριβούνῳ Ἀφθονίῳ, cf. line 9 ὁ κύριος Ἀφθόνιος. Probably sixth-century. Possibly commander of troops at Oxyrhynchus.

Fl. Apion 1 ?palatinus V/VI

Named in a fragment of papyrus, of unknown provenance; *P. Lond.* v 1876, line 1 Φλ. Ἀπιῖ... The word παλατινός occurs in line 2, and perhaps indicates that Apion held some post or title associated with the imperial court.

APION 2 v.sp., advocatus fisci; assessor (of Marcellus) 539

A *vir spectabilis advocatus fisci*, employed as assessor by Marcellus 3 in 539 and highly regarded for his knowledge of law; Just. Nov. 82.1 (a. 539 April 8; παρέδρω τε χρώμενον ἐπαινουμένως διατιθέναι τὰ ἐκ τῶν νόμων δυναμένων, φαιμέν δὲ Ἀππίωνα τὸν περιβλεπτον, τῷ δημοσίῳ τε συνεπόντα καὶ ἄλλα μαρτυρίας ἀγαθῆς παρά τε τῶν ἄλλων παρά τε ἡμῶν αὐτῶν ἠξιωμένον).

Presumably a member of the Egyptian Apion family.

Fl. Strategius Apion Strategius Apion 3

consul 539; patricius M VI

Diptych = *CIL* II 2699 = XIII, p. 753.

Full name; *Diptych*. Fl. Apion or Apion; elsewhere.

Son of Strategius (CSL 535-c. 538; *PLRE* II, Strategius 9); *Chron. Pasch.* s.a. 539. Father of Strategius 3; *P. Oxy.* 130. His wife was a

ὑπατίσση; *P. Oxy.* 2480, lines 18-19, 242, 244. Probably husband of Flavia Praeiecta 2 and father also of Fl. Apion 4 and Fl. Georgius 10, all recorded as his heirs; cf. *P. Oxy.* 2196, 1989, 2243a, 1900. See stemma 9.

CONSUL ORDINARIUS a. 539: *Fasti, Diptych, Marcell. com. Addit.* ad a. 539, Vict. Tonn. s.a. 539, Mar. Avent. s.a. 539, *Chron. Pasch.* s.a. 539, *P. Cairo Masp.* 67106, 67255, *SB* 7340, *PSI* III 188, *P. Harris* II 238, *P. Lond.* III 1001 (p. 270), *Inscr. Cret.* IV 460, and cf. Bagnall and others, *Consuls*, pp. 612-13. Styled ἀπὸ ὑπάτων ὀρδιναρίων (or similar); *P. Oxy.* 1985 (a. 543), 2204, 2019, 3641, 133, *P. Lond.* III 776 (= *P. Oxy.* 197), *P. Oxy.* 1913, 1915, 1911 (line 148), *PSI* VI 709, *P. Princ.* II 96, *P. Lond.* III 775 (= *P. Oxy.* 195), *P. Lond.* III 778 (= *P. Oxy.* 199), *P. Oxy.* 134, *SB* XII 11079 = *P. Vars.* 30, *PSI* I 58, *P. Oxy.* 1896, 1917. All these documents date from his lifetime (in and before 577). Documents referring to him after his death do not mention him as consul but as *patricius*; see below.

COMES DOMESTICORVM a. 539: v(ir) inl(ustris), com(es) dev(otissimorum) dom(esticorum) et cons(ul) ord(inarius), *Diptych*. The title is further known only from two undated papyri, *P. Oxy.* 2019 (to Apion, τῷ πρ[ε]φ[ε]ρ[ε]τῷ καὶ ἐνδοξοτάτῳ κ[ό]μετ[ι] τῶν καθοσιωμ[ένων] [δομ[ε]στ[ικ]ῶν) ἀπὸ ὑπάτων ὀρδιναρ[ί]ων), 2204 (to Apion, τῷ πανευφήμῳ καὶ ὑ[π]ε[ρ]φ[ε]ρ[ε]στ[ι]κῷ κ[ό]μετ[ι] τῶν καθοσιωμ[ένων] [δομ[ε]στ[ικ]ῶν) καὶ ἀπὸ ὑπάτων ὀρδ[ι]ναρ[ί]ων καὶ πατρικ[ί]ων (cf. below)). This title, certainly honorific, was perhaps superseded after a few years by that of MVM; cf. below.

PATRICIUS: first attested as *patricius* in 547/548, *P. Oxy.* 130 (cited below). The title is not recorded for him in *P. Oxy.* 1985 (a. 543) nor in *P. Oxy.* 2019 (undated; cited above), but it is in *P. Oxy.* 2204 (undated; cited above), both of the latter perhaps antedating 547/548. Πατρικίος; *BGU* I 305 (a. 556; cited below), *BGU* III 191 (a. 566; unnamed *patricius*), *PSI* VI 709 (a. 566), *P. Lond.* III 775 (= *P. Oxy.* 195) (a. 567), *P. Lond.* III 778 (= *P. Oxy.* 199) (a. 568), *P. Oxy.* 134 (a. 569), *SB* XII 11079 = *P. Vars.* 30 (a. 571), *PSI* I 58 (a. 565/574, ?572/573), *P. Oxy.* 1896 (a. 577). Alluded to, after his death, as former *patricius* (γενόμενος πατρικίος), *P. Oxy.* 135 (a. 579), *P. Iand.* 48 (a. 582), *P. Oxy.* 1976 (a. 582), *P. Oxy.* 1989 (a. 590); and also as former *protopatricius* (γενόμενος πρωτοπατρικίος), *P. Oxy.* 136 (a. 583), *P. Oxy.* 137 (a. 584), *P. Oxy.* 996 (a. 584), *P. Oxy.* 1898 (a. 587). The latter title implies that by his death he was the senior member of the senate of Constantinople.

PATRICIUS ET DVX THEBAIDIS a. 548-550: addressee of a petition from a servant on one of his estates, *P. Oxy.* 130, lines 1-3 τῷ ἐμῷ ἀγαθῷ δεσπότη φιλοχρίστῳ φιλοπτόχῳ πανευφήμῳ ὑπερφουεστάτῳ πατρικίῳ καὶ δουκί τῆς Θηβαίων χώρας Ἀπίωνι (undated, but mentioning an eleventh indiction). This office is probably alluded to in *P. Lond.* v 1708

(from Antinoopolis, in the Thebaid, probably in late 567, see Athanasius 3), lines 79–80 (an event which occurred seventeen years previously is dated ἐπὶ τοῦ δευτέρου ἔτους τῆς ἀρχῆς Ἀπίωνος τοῦ ἐνδοξοτάτου πράττοντος). This suggests that Apion was in office in 550 and therefore, if the indiction mentioned in *P. Oxy.* 130 was 547/548, that he was in office from 548 to 550 (or possibly 549 to 551). Cf. also *P. Lond.* v, p. 121.

At this date it was common for *duces* of the Thebais to have the additional honorific titles of MVM and *patricius*. The former title is recorded for Apion only in a document from 556 (see below), but it is unlikely that he did not enjoy the same titles as other holders of the office.

MVM and PAGARCH of Arsinoe a. 556: Φλ. Ἀπίων ὁ ἐνδοξ(ότατος) στρατηλάτης καὶ πάγαρχος τῆς Ἀρσινοϊτῶν καὶ Θεοδοσιουπολιτῶν, *BGU* 1 305 (a. 556; he leased rooms to a *gymnachus*). His *domus* exercised the pagarchy of the Oxyrhynchite nome; cf. *P. Oxy.* 133 (a. 550; the village of Tacona in the Oxyrhynchite nome was παγαρχουμένη ὑπὸ τοῦ οἴκου τῆς ὑμῶν ἐνδοξότητος; the document, a receipt, is addressed to Apion) and cf. also Fl. Apion 4.

He was head of one of the great landowning families of Oxyrhynchus and the great majority of the above papyri describe him as γεουχῶν in the Oxyrhynchite nome and concern the business affairs of the family estates there; see further Hardy, *Large Estates*, passim and Gascou, *Travaux et Mémoires* 9 (1985).

He died between 577 (*P. Oxy.* 1896) and 579 (*P. Oxy.* 135, the first mention of his heirs, τοῖς ὑπερφυεστάτοις κληρονόμοις τοῦ τῆς ἐν εὐκλειῇ τῇ μνήμῃ Ἀπίωνος γενομένου πατρικίου – typical of the extravagant language used of him after his death). For a list of documents alluding to his heirs, see Apion 4.

He was a leading figure among the senators of Constantinople, where the family had an establishment of its own; cf. Joh. Mal. 490 (mention, in May 562, of persons τῆς οἰκίας τῆς λεγομένης τῶν Ἀππιωνος, who hurled insults at members of the Green faction).

Fl. Apion 4 honorary consul; patricius L VI/E VII

A leading member of the Apion family of Oxyrhynchus, he was a son of Flavia Praeiecta 2; *P. Oxy.* 1989, 1900. Brother of Fl. Georgius 10; *P. Oxy.* 2196. He is named as joint heir of Apion 3 with Praeiecta and Georgius; *P. Oxy.* 2196 (?a. 586), 1989 (a. 590), 2243a (a. 590), 1900 (a. 591). The heirs of Apion 3 are recorded but not named in *P. Oxy.* 135 (a. 579), *P. Lond.* III 774 (a. 582), 777 (a. 582), *P. Oxy.* 1976 (a. 582), *P. Iand.* III 48 (a. 582), *P. Oxy.* 136 (a. 583), 137 (a. 584), 996 (a. 584; cf. *P. Flor.* 7 (1980), pp. 25–30 (Bastianini), 67–77 (Fikhlman), 1898 (a. 587),

1987 (a. 587), 1993 (a. 587), 1988 (a. 587). He was probably a son of Apion and brother also of Strategius 3.

He is recorded in two letters of pope Gregory who asked Rusticiana 2 to give greetings to him and Eusebia 2 and their children in Constantinople; *Greg. Ep.* II 27 (a. 592 April; gloriosum domnum Appionem et domnam Eusebiam), IV 44 (a. 594 Aug.; domnum Appionem et domnam Eusebiam eorumque filias). Alluded to in June 603 as 'nobilissimus coniunx' of Eusebia; *Greg. Ep.* XIII 35. He was husband of Eusebia and father of daughters in 594. He was father also of Strategius 8; cf. *Greg. Ep.* VIII 22, XI 26, XIII 26, 35. See stemma 9.

He is recorded as HONORARY CONSUL (ὑπάτος or ἀπὸ ὑπάτων, with the epithets πανεύφημος and/or ὑπερφυεστάτος) and named as landowner (γεουχῶν) at Oxyrhynchus in many documents (all concerned with the management of his estates and with business affairs) from ?586 down to 619, possibly to 623; in 609 (*PSI* I 61) he is first attested also with the title of PATRICIUS; *P. Oxy.* 2196 (?a. 586), 2243a (a. 590), 2202 (a. 593), *P. Lond.* III 779 = *P. Oxy.* 201 (a. 593; description only), *PSI* I 607a. 595), *P. Oxy.* 2478 (a. 595), *PSI* I 59 (a. 596), *P. Wash. Un.* 26 (a. 596; his name is to be restored), *PSI* III 179 (?a. 602), *PSI* I 61 (a. 609), *P. Oxy.* 138 (a. 610/611), *P. Oxy.* 2420 (a. 611), *P. Oxy.* 1981 (a. 612), *P. Oxy.* 139 (a. 612), *PSI* I 62 (a. 613), *P. Oxy.* 1979 (a. 614), *P. Oxy.* 999 (a. 616/617), *P. Iand.* III 49 (this is the last document certainly to record him still alive, on July 5, 619). His *domus* is recorded in *Stud. Pal.* III 86, line 2 (recording a *riparius* τοῦ ἐνδόξ(ου) οἴκου Ἀπίωνος τοῦ πανεύφημου ὑπάτου). This does not prove that he was still alive. For the date, ?623, see West and Johnson, *Currency in Roman and Byzantine Egypt* (1944), p. 121. By 623 Egypt was under Persian rule and Apion may have retreated to Constantinople. He apparently became *patricius* under Phocas.

He is also recorded (without titles) in *ZPE* 16 (1975), 65–6 = *P. Giss. Inv.* 144 (undated; name and the epithets πανεύφημος καὶ ὑπερφυεστάτος only), and *CPR* VII 27 (undated, of unknown provenance; styled ὁ πανεύφημος).

In 612 he is recorded as pagarch in the Oxyrhynchite nome; *P. Oxy.* 139 (mentions a village in the Oxyrhynchite nome, παγαρχουμένη παρὰ τῆς ὑμετέρας ὑπερφ(υείας)). The pagarchy was apparently exercised by the *domus* of the Apions; cf. *P. Oxy.* 133 (a. 550).

Apion 5 vir gloriosissimus (Egypt) VI/VII

He and Menas 23 are styled οἱ ἐνδοξότατοι προστάται in a papyrus of unknown provenance; *P. Erl.* 120, lines 7–8. See Menas and cf. Hephacstus.

Apollinarius 1 ?governor of the Balearic Islands 534

A native of Italy, he went to live in Africa while still a boy; he received great wealth from Ilderichus, on whose overthrow he went to Constantinople to ask for Justinian's help; in 533 he accompanied the expedition of Belisarius and gave good service, especially at Tricamarum; in 534 he was given charge of the islands of Ibiza, Maiorca and Minorca by Belisarius (Βελισάριος τὰς νήσους οἱ τάσδε ἐπέτρεψε); Proc. *BV* II 5.7-9.

Apollinarius 2 patriarch of Alexandria 551-570

Brother of Agathon.

He was a military commander before becoming patriarch of Alexandria in July 551; Euty chius, *Annales*, col. 1069 (styled 'dux'), Severus of Ashmunain, *Réfut. d'Euty chius* (PO III 203) ('batriq', i.e. patricius). Whether he was a *magister militum* or a *dux* is not certain, but his military background was evidently an important factor in his selection as successor of the deposed Zoilus; as Justinian's nominee he faced considerable opposition in Alexandria and met it with the aid of troops who accompanied him there.

Patriarch of Alexandria a. 551 July-570: appointed when Zoilus was deposed in July 551; Liberat. *Brev.* 23, *Vigiliusbriefe* (ed. Schwartz), p. 13, lines 20-5, Euty chius (see above), Severus of Ashmunain, *Hist. Pat.* I 14 (= PO I 469) (and see above). For the date of his appointment, cf. Stein, *Bas-Emp.* II 647, n. 2. He reached Egypt probably early in 552; Stein, *Bas-Emp.* II 630 with n. 1. He died in 570; Stein, *Bas-Emp.* II 631, n. 2.

Apolenaris 3 cancellarius (of the PPO Italiae) 574/575

Apolenaris cancell(arius) pre(fecti) Longini; son of Florentius 3 and Dominica 1; he died at Ravenna aged about thirty-five and was buried on June 8 in 574 or 575 (indiction 8 = 575, but 'p.c. secundo d.n. Iustini p.p. Aug.' = 574); *CIL* XI 317 = *ILCV* 622 Ravenna.

Apollo (Rossi I 1013) E VI: *PLRE* II.

Apollonius MVM (in Italy) 598

Gloriosus filius noster Apollonius magister militum; in Oct. 598 he went to Sicily with letters of commendation from pope Gregory to Leontius 11 and bishop John of Syracuse; Greg. *Ep.* IX 16, 34 (both Oct. 598). Possibly he was under investigation by Leontius.

Apollos 1 protocometes (of Aphrodito) 553

Son of Ioannes; he was a πρωτοκομήτης of Aphrodito in 553 March 27-31 together with Fl. Dioscorus 5; *P. Cairo Masp.* 67094, line 5.

Apa Apollos 2 defensor (civitatis) (in Egypt) ?VI

Mentioned as party to a contract, in a fragmentary papyrus of unknown provenance; *P. Cairo Masp.* 67234, line 3 το(ῦ) εἰρημένο(υ) ἀπὰ Ἀπόλλωτ[ος] σ[υ]δίκου(υ) (?sixth century).

Appa daughter of Gisulfus E/M VII

She and Gaila were two of the four daughters of Gisulfus 2 and Romilda; carried off into captivity by the Avars in c. 610, the four sisters were sold as slaves, but two subsequently made fitting marriages, one to the king of the Alamanni, the other to the ruler of the Bavarians; Paul. Diac. *Hist. Lang.* IV 37. Possibly the two whose marriages Paul knew of were Appa and Gaila, the only two whose names he knew.

Apphouas ?v.c. (in Egypt); adiutor of a village M VI

Mentioned in a document concerning his deputy; *P. Oxy.* 125 (παρὰ τῷ λαμπροτάτῳ Ἀππουᾶ βοηθ(ῶ) τῆς κώμης Σέφθα) (dated a. 560).

This application of λαμπρότατος to a village official is striking evidence of the devaluation of the title.

Apronianus vir illustris ?VI

Apronianus vir in(ustris) pro voto suo fec(it); *AE* 1973, 248 = 1975, 422e Tergeste (Trieste), mosaic inscription on the floor of the basilica of the martyrs, Via Madonna del Mare.

Apscal ("Αψκαλ) Roman officer 531

He commanded troops from Phrygia under Belisarius in 531; after his death in the battle of Callinicum (April 19), his troops fled; Joh. Mal. 462, 464 (ἔξαρχος).

Apsich 1 Avar commander 601

As envoy of the Avars in 569/570, he negotiated with Tiberius an agreement to settle Avars on Roman soil, but it was rejected by the emperor Justin; Men. Prot. fr. 33.

In c. 581 he was one of the Avar leaders during the siege which led to the capture of Sirmium; Men. Prot. fr. 66.

In 601 he commanded the Avars in Dardania and took part in abortive negotiations with Petrus 55; Theoph. Sim. VIII 5.5-7 (τὸν Ἀψίχ τὸν ὑποστράτηγον τῆς Ἀβάρων δυνάμεως), Theoph. AM 6094. In

summer 602 the khan sent him with an army against the Antae allied to Rome, following Guduin's attack on the Slavs; Theoph. Sim. viii 5.13, Theoph. AM 6094.

Apsich 2 Roman commander (East) 585-586

Called a Hun; Theoph. Sim. i 14.5, ii 3.1. Presumably an Avar; cf. Theoph. Sim. i 3.1-2 and see Apsich 1.

In 585 he and Stephanus 26 were given command of the army in the east when Philippicus fell ill; Philippicus appointed Apsich ὑποστράτηγος (τόν τε Ἀψίχ τὸν Οὐννον τῶν ὅλων ὑποστράτηγον ἐχειροτόνησε ταξέων); Theoph. Sim. i 14.5, cf. Theoph. AM 6077 (χειροτονήσας τὸν Ἀνεψίχ (sic) ἐξηγεῖσθαι τῶν λαῶν), Cedr. i 693 (τὸν ἀνέψιον!). In 586 he and Eilifredas were given command of the Roman left wing at the battle of Solachon by Philippicus; Theoph. Sim. ii 3.1.

Aquila: honorary consul ?L V/VI; PLRE ii.

Aquila: comes (east) V/VI; PLRE ii.

Aquilinus bodyguard of Belisarius 537

One of Belisarius' bodyguard (εἰς τῶν Βελισσαρίου ὑπασπιστῶν, Ἀκυλίνος ὄνομα); an active soldier, he took part in an action in c. Nov. 537 near the Porta Flaminia during the siege of Rome, in which his horse was felled; Proc. BG ii 5.18-19. See Belisarius, p. 201, and cf. Traianus. Evidently a cavalryman.

Arabia daughter of Justin II M/L VI

Daughter of Iustinus 3 (Justin II) and Sophia, wife of Baduarius; *Enarr. Brev. Chron.* 35 (*Patr. Const.* i 38, (= Suid. M 1065), *Patr. Const.* ii 62, 184, iii 37, *V. Sym. Iun.* 207, Coripp. *Iust.* ii 72ff., 284-5, Joh. Biel. s.a. 576. Mother of Firmina; A. Déthier, *Nouvelles découvertes archéologiques faites à Constantinople*, 3ff., cf. C. Mango, *AJA* 55 (1951), 63ff.

Arabius scholasticus; poet M VI

Author of several poems included in the *Cycle* of Agathias; *Anth. Gr.* ix 667, xvi 39, 144, 148-9, 225, 314 (all Ἀραβίου σχολαστικοῦ). Two of his poems celebrate Longinus 2, viz. xvi 39 and 314.

Aracharius served at a royal court (in Gaul) M VI

He died aged thirty after serving with distinction in a royal court; an epitaph was composed by Venantius Fortunatus; *Ven. Fort. Carm.* iv 19, cf. lines 5-6 ipse palatina refulsit clarus in aula et placido meruit regis amore coli. The court was probably that of Sigibert.

Aratius military commander M VI

A native of Persian Armenia; Proc. *BP* i 15.31, *BG* ii 13.17. Brother of Narses 2; Proc. *BP* i 15.31, *BG* ii 13.17, 16.21, iii 13.20. Also brother of Isaacius 1; Proc. *BP* i 15.32, *BG* iii 13.20. Described as of good family and with distinguished brothers; Chor. *Or.* 3. 3ff. On his family (possibly the Kamsarakan), cf. Narses. On the name, see Justi, p. 102, s.n. Frähata, no. 22 (Hrahāt, 'of the house Kamkar').

In 527 Aratius and Narses, fighting for the Persians, defeated the Roman commanders Sittas and Belisarius in Persarmenia; Proc. *BP* i 12.21-2, 15.31.

In summer 530 both men deserted to the Romans; Proc. *BP* i 12.22, 15.31 (for the date), *BG* ii 13.17. They came accompanied by their mother and were welcomed and rewarded with a large sum of money by the eunuch Narses 1, the imperial *sacellarius* and a fellow-Persarmenian; Proc. *BP* i 15.31.

DVX PALAESTINAE a. 535/536: joint addressee with the governor of Palestine, Stephanus 7, of a panegyric by Choricus; Chor. *Or.* 3, title (εἰς Ἀράτιον δοῦκα καὶ Στέφανον ἄρχοντα). The date was 535/536, before Stephanus became *proconsul Palaestinae Primae* on July 1, 536; cf. *Just. Nov.* 103.2. Certain actions of Aratius are recorded by Choricus. He ended a revolt of religious dissidents near Caesarea without resort to force; Chor. *op. cit.* 10-18. He personally led the capture of a fortress, hitherto considered impregnable, from the βάρβαροι ἀλλόφυλοι (perhaps Arabs) who held it; Chor. *op. cit.* 20-7 (in 20 he is styled ὁ πολὺς ἡμῶν στρατηγός). With a small force of less than twenty men he opened up a pass closed by Arab attacks without the need to fight; Chor. *op. cit.* 28-33. He also recaptured the island of Iotabe (Tiran) and restored to the empire the revenue from the customs dues paid there; it had been occupied by neighbouring tribesmen, whose stronghold on the mainland Aratius attacked and captured; Chor. *op. cit.* 66-78, cf. Stein, *Bas-Emp.* ii 300 with n. 1. Described by Choricus as a man of ability, whose administration was marked by mercy in administering justice and honesty in financial matters; Chor. *op. cit.* 3, 7.

?MVM OR COMES REI MILITARIS in Italy a. 538-540: in spring/summer 538 he arrived in Italy with an army to join Belisarius; Proc. *BG* ii 13.17, cf. *BP* i 12.22 (served in Italy with Belisarius). Ordered by Belisarius (in 538) to camp near Auximum with 1,000 men and keep watch on the Goths there; Proc. *BP* ii 16.18-19. He spent the winter of 538/539 at Firmum with a large army still keeping watch on the Goths in Auximum; Proc. *BG* ii 20.3. During the siege of Auximum, he and his brother Narses had Armenians under their command (in mid/late 539);

Proc. *BG* II 27.16. In 540 Aratius, with Bessas, Ioannes 46 and Narses 2, was sent away from Ravenna by Belisarius, who distrusted them as supporters of the eunuch Narses 1; immediately afterwards Belisarius entered Ravenna (May 540); Proc. *BG* II 29.29-30. He was presumably one of the generals who remained in Italy when Belisarius was recalled in 540; Proc. *BG* II 30.2, III 1.1.

In spring 549 (on the date, see Stein, *Bas-Emp.* II 530 with 531, n. 1) Aratius was one of the commanders sent with ten thousand cavalry to aid the Lombards against the Gepids; Proc. *BG* III 34.40 (the other commanders were Constantianus 2, Buzes and Ioannes 46). The campaign ended suddenly when the Lombards and Gepids made peace; Proc. *BG* III 34.45.

Early in 551 (for the date, see Stein, *Bas-Emp.* II 524-5 with 524, n. 2) he was one of the commanders of the army sent against the Slavs who were plundering the Balkan peninsula; Proc. *BG* III 40.34 (his colleagues included Constantianus 2, Nazares 1, Iustinus 4, and Ioannes 64, while the eunuch Scholasticus 1 had overall command). They were badly defeated at Adrianople but later won a victory, after which the Slavs returned home; Proc. *BG* III 40.36-45.

Later in 551 (see Stein, *Bas-Emp.* II 532-3) when the Cutrigur Huns sent by the Gepids were plundering Roman territory, Aratius στρατηγός was sent by Justinian to inform Chinialon and the other Hun commanders of the attack on their homelands by the Utigur Huns and to offer them payment to withdraw peacefully from Roman territory; Proc. *BG* IV 19.3-5.

In 552 (see Stein, *Bas-Emp.* II 534) Aratius was one of the commanders sent by Justinian to aid the Lombards in their war against the Gepids; Proc. *BG* IV 25.11 (his fellow-commanders were Iustinus 4 and Iustinianus 3 (sons of Germanus), Suartuas and Amalafriadas). All except Amalafriadas stopped on Justinian's orders to restore order at Ulpiana in Illyricum, where religious strife had broken out, and proceeded no further; Proc. *BG* IV 25.13.

Later in 552 (see Stein, *Bas-Emp.* II 534-5, with 535, n. 1) Aratius was one of the commanders of an army gathered in Illyricum to oppose Ildigisal and Goar; Proc. *BG* IV 27.13 (the others included Rhecithangus, Leonianus and Arimuth). All the Roman commanders were ambushed and killed by Ildigisal and Goar while drinking at the river; Proc. *BG* IV 27.17-18.

Arator; comes domesticorum 526; CRP (West) 526; author; *PLRE* II.

Fl. Arbazagius (*CHL* VI 31978) V/VI; *PLRE* II.

ARBORIVS

v.c. (in Italy) 553

Arborius v.c.; one of the witnesses to the donation of Ranilo at Ravenna on April 4, 553; Marini, *P. Dip.* 86 = *P. Ital.* 13, line 68.

Arcadius of senatorial descent (in Gaul) M VI

Of senatorial descent, he died in boyhood; an epitaph was composed by Venantius Fortunatus; Ven. Fort. *Carm.* IV 17, cf. line 3 hic puer Arcadius, veniens de prole senatus. Cf. Stroheker, no. 30.

Arcesilas (*IGLS* IV 1787) V/VI; *PLRE* II.

Archelaus: PPO Illyrici; PPO Orientis 524-527; PPO Africae 534; patricius; *PLRE* II.

Archelaus I father of Acacius M VI

Father of Acacius 4; Joh. Epiph. fr. 4, Theoph. Sim. III 11.1, Joh. Eph. *HE* III 6.2. See Acacius.

Archelaus 2 (= *PLRE* II, Archelaus 4)
?governor of Lower Thebais (or perhaps a prominent local citizen)
?VI

The subject of a verse eulogy, found, in draft only, at Antinoe; *P. Ant.* III 115, cf. lines a) 10 στέψωμεν ὕμνοις [...] τὴν Ἀρχελαῖον?, 13 πάσας διέσωσε τὰς πόλεις, and b) 14 παρὰ τὸν βασιλέα τὸν μέγαν προσβέυεται. Allusions to justice at a) 4 and 19 and b) 13 imply that he was provincial governor, as perhaps does a) 13 (cited above) but the reference to an embassy to the emperor suggests rather that he was sent as envoy on behalf of the province to the emperor and had a successful mission. Possibly therefore he was a leading citizen of Antinoe, the metropolis of Thebais Inferior.

Archelaus 3 doctor (in Sicily) L VI

In a letter dated April 20, 595, pope Gregory asked the deacon Cyprianus (who was *rector* of Sicily) to protect the property of Archelaus (possessiones... Archelai medici) from people who were unjustly harassing him; Greg. *Ep.* v 32. In 598 Archelaus was involved in a case which also concerned the metropolitan Domitianus (bishop of Melitene) (quod in Archelai viri carissimi medici defensione fratris et coepiscopi nostri Domitiani metropolitae utilitas gravetur); Greg. *Ep.* IX 32 (a. 598 Oct.).

Vardan Arcruni (Artsruni)

Vasak Arcruni (Artsruni)

Ardagast Slav leader 585, 593

A leader of the Slavs, defeated by Comentiolus I near Ansinon in summer 585; Theoph. Sim. I 7.5-6, Theoph. AM 6076, Cedr. I 692, Zon. xiv 12. In 593 he and his Slavs were defeated north of the Danube by Priscus 6; Theoph. Sim. vi 7.1-4, Theoph. AM 6085. Cf. also Musocius.

Ardashir III king of Persia 628-630

Ἀρδασήρ; Theoph., Cedr. Ardashir; Thomas Artsruni, Mich. Syr., Chron. Iac. Edess., Chron. 724, Chron. 1234, Anon. Guidi, Bar Hebr., Hist. Nest., Agapius, Artashir; Moses Dasxurançi, Sebeos, Azdshir; Euty chius. Cf. Justi, p. 35, s.n. Artakhšathra, no. 27.

Son and successor (while still a child) of Cavades II; his reign lasted from c. Sept. 628 to April 630, when he was assassinated by Shahrbaraz; Theoph. AM 6121, Cedr. I 735, Moses Dasxurançi II 16, Sebeos xxviii, pp. 88-9, Thomas Artsruni II 3, Mich. Syr. xi 3, Chron. Iac. Edess., p. 327 = p. 251, Chron. 724, p. 147 = p. 114, Anon. Guidi, pp. 29-30 = p. 25, Chron. 1234, ciii, Bar Hebr., Chron., p. 90, Hist. Nest. II 93, 101, Euty chius, Annales, col. 1092, Agapius, pp. 452, 467. The evidence for the duration of his reign is conflicting, but see Noeldeke, Tabari, p. 388. He was allegedly aged seven when he became king; Noeldeke, Tabari, p. 386. On the date of his death, cf. Anon. Guidi, p. 30 = p. 25, and Capt. Hicros., II, no. xxiv, 6.

His mother's name is given as Bore in Hist. Nest. II 92, Anzoy in Anon. Guidi, p. 29 = p. 25.

See also Noeldeke, Tabari, pp. 386-8, Christensen, L'Iran sous les Sassanides², pp. 497-8, Stratos, I, p. 310.

Ardigun Roman general 636

Name (probably corrupt) of one of Heraclius' generals at Yarmuk; Chron. 1234, cxvi. See further Gregorius 18.

Aredius (St Yrieix) abbot at Limoges LVI

A native of Limoges, of well-to-do family; son of Iocundus and Pelagia; he served at court under Theodebert I (533-547) in his earlier years (hic Theodeberto regi traditus aulicis palatinis adiungitur); he then became a protégé of bishop Nicetius of Trier, left the palace (relicto regis palatio) and took up the religious life; he became a priest at Limoges; on the death of his father and a brother, he transferred the

management of their estates to his mother, reserving for himself the right to build churches; he built a number of churches and also founded the monastery at Limoges, supported from the family estates, of which he became abbot; he died in 591; Greg. Tur. HF VIII 14, 27, X 29, V. Patr. 17, Mir. S. Iul. 41, Mir. S. Mart. II 39, III 24, IV 6, Glor. Conf. 9, 104, Ven. Fort. Carm. v 19, V. Aridii 3 and passim (MGH, Scr. Rer. Mer. III, pp. 576ff.).

Aregisel Frankish follower of king Theoderic c. 524/533

One of Theoderic I's followers (quendam de suis Aregisilum nomine), sent to lure the rebel Munderic (PLRE II) to his death; he succeeded but was himself killed by Munderic; Greg. Tur. HF III 14.

Areobindus I ?curator of Theodora MVI

Of barbarian origins, he was one of the empress Theodora's servants and was made her steward (ταμίος, perhaps curator); young and handsome, he was rumoured to be the object of the empress' desires, whereupon she had him flogged and he mysteriously disappeared; Procopius implies that she had him killed; Proc. Anecd. 16.11.

Areobindus 2 patricius; MVM (in Africa) 545

The spelling of his name varies. Areobindas; Vigilius, Jord. Ariobindas; Vict. Tonn. Ariovindas and Arcovindas; Marcell. com. Addit. Ἀρεόβινδος; Proc.

He was of noble birth (εὖ γεγονότα); Proc. BV II 24.1. His name suggests kinship with the consuls of 434 and 506 (PLRE II, Areobindus I and 2); he was perhaps a son of Dagalaiphus (PLRE II, Dagalaiphus I) and grandson of the consul of 506; cf. PLRE II, p. 1310, stemma 4. He had a sister; Proc. BV II 24.3, 26.18. He married Praeiecta I, a niece of the emperor Justinian; Proc. BV II 24.3, Marcell. com. Addit. ad. a. 546, ad a. 547, Jord. Rom. 384.

He was a member of the senate (ἐκ βουλῆς); Proc. BV II 24.1. This implies that he was vir illustris, since by this date only illustres were senators; cf. Jones, LRE II, p. 529 with n. 16. His career before 545 is unknown, but he had no experience of actual warfare (ἐργων πολεμίων οὐδεαυτως ἔμπειρος); Proc. BV II 24.1.

PATRICIUS: he was patricius when sent to Africa (cf. below); Vict. Tonn. s.a. 546.

In 545, because of the disturbed state of affairs in Africa under Sergius 4, Areobindus was sent by Justinian to share the military command there (see below); Proc. BV II 24.1 (he took with him only a small force), Marcell. com. Addit. ad a. 546 (ibi iudex dirigitur), Vict. Tonn. s.a. 546,

Coripp. *Ioh.* iv 83-4. He was accompanied by Athanasius 1 as PPO and by Artabanes 2 and Ioannes 34 with Armenian troops; Proc. *BV* II 24.2. He probably arrived in spring 545; cf. Sergius. He was also accompanied by his wife and sister; Proc. *BV* II 24.3.

MAGISTER MILITVM a. 545; styled 'magister militum'; *Letter of the Milanese clergy* (= *Ep. Aevi Mer. Coll.* 4, *MGH, Epp.* III, p. 439, lines 40-1, and *Sitz. Akad. Bayer.* 1940, p. 20). Ὁ στρατηγός; Proc. *BV* II 24.1, 24.4, 25.22. He commanded the army in Africa; Vict. Tonn. s.a. 546 (cited below). He was presumably equal in rank to Sergius, who was an MVM *vacans*. The military command and the army in Africa were divided between Areobindus and Sergius; Proc. *BV* II 24.4 (cited under Sergius). Areobindus was given charge of the war in Byzacena, while Sergius went to Numidia; Proc. *BV* II 24.5.

On arriving with his small force in Carthage Areobindus undertook the war against Antalas and Stotzas; learning that they were encamped near Sicca Veneria, he sent Ioannes 27 (son of Sisiniolus) (who had been refusing to fight under Sergius; Proc. *Anecd.* 5.31) against them with the best troops available and wrote to Sergius with a request to join forces with him; Proc. *BV* II 24.6-7. Sergius ignored the request, with the result that Ioannes was heavily outnumbered and lost his life; Proc. *BV* II 24.8-14. For the disastrous effects of the division of command, cf. Sergius.

Justinian now recalled Sergius and gave Areobindus supreme authority in Africa; Proc. *BV* II 24.16 (Ἀρεοβίνδω δὲ ἅπαν τὸ Λιβύης παρέδωκε κράτος), cf. *Marcell. com. Addit.* ad a. 546 (successor to Sergius), Vict. Tonn. s.a. 546 (Ariobindam patricium principem Romanae apud Africam militiae). This was probably in autumn 545; cf. Stein, *Bas-Emp.* II 551-3, with 553. n. 1.

Two months later the Moors of Numidia and Byzacena joined forces and marched against Carthage, secretly encouraged by Guntharis and accompanied by Ioannes 35 and the rebels formerly under Stotzas; Proc. *BV* II 25.1-3. At the news Areobindus summoned Guntharis and other commanders to Carthage with their men and placed Guntharis in command of the combined forces; Proc. *BV* II 25.4-5. Guntharis, in secret negotiations with Antalas, undertook to murder Areobindus and divide his wealth equally with Antalas; Proc. *BV* II 25.9-10. Meanwhile Areobindus began secret negotiations with the leader of the Moors from Numidia, Cutzinas, who promised that when battle was joined he would turn on Antalas and the Moors from Byzacena; Proc. *BV* II 25.15. This was revealed by Areobindus to Guntharis, who, to gain time and frustrate the scheme, advised Areobindus to secure the children of

Cutzinas as hostages; Proc. *BV* II 25.16-17. While Areobindus and Cutzinas continued to exchange messages, Guntharis allegedly planned to have Areobindus killed in battle, to avert suspicion from himself, and therefore persuaded him to attack the Moors who were now near Carthage; Proc. *BV* II 25.18-23. The decision was made to march out and attack at dawn on the following day but when the time came Areobindus, who had no experience of such matters and was not enthusiastic (ἀπείρως τε λίαν ἐς τὸ πρᾶγμα τοῦτο καὶ ὀκνηρῶς ἔχων), delayed so long in arming himself and making other preparations that the encounter had to be postponed until the following day; Proc. *BV* II 25.24-7. On that day Guntharis seized one of the city gates and held it open, adopting a menacing tone and hoping, according to Procopius, to frighten Areobindus into flight; Areobindus is said to have been prevented from fleeing only by bad weather; Proc. *BV* II 26.1-5. He consulted Athanasius, Artabanes and other notables and was advised to attack Guntharis without delay; first however he sent an envoy, Phredas, to enquire what Guntharis intended and then on his return decided to attack; Proc. *BV* II 26.6-9. With Artabanes and his followers he joined battle with Guntharis near the gate which the latter had seized; the fighting was indecisive but Areobindus found unendurable the sight of men killing one another, something which he had never seen before, and he panicked and fled for safety to a large monastery in Carthage to which he had already sent his wife and sister; the rest of his troops also fled and Carthage fell to Guntharis; Proc. *BV* II 26.13-20. Areobindus was visited in the monastery by the bishop of Carthage, Reparatus, bringing guarantees of safety from Guntharis if he would voluntarily leave the sanctuary and go to the palace; after extracting pledges from Reparatus also, sworn on the baptismal rite, he left the monastery wearing the dress of a private individual and went to Guntharis who gave him further pledges of his safety and promised to send him on his way with his wife and possessions; Proc. *BV* II 26.23-30. He was then feasted and treated with great honour by Guntharis, but afterwards was made to sleep in his bedchamber alone; Ulitheus and other followers of Guntharis came to him during the night and, in spite of his entreaties, murdered him; Proc. *BV* II 26.31-3, cf. Coripp. *Ioh.* iv 225-6 (ductorem incautum crudelibus occupat armis oppressumque dolo rapuit iuransque fefellit), *Marcell. com. Addit.* ad a. 547. Jord. *Rom.* 384. *Letter of the Milanese clergy*, Vict. Tonn. s.a. 546.

Many of the guards in the palace when Guntharis was later killed had formerly served under Areobindus; Proc. *BV* II 28.36 (τῆς γὰρ Ἀρεοβίνδου οἰκίας οἱ πλεῖστοι ἦσαν).

Areobindus 3 envoy to Persia M VI

Envoy to the Persian king Chosroes; he was accompanied by Vranius; Agath. II 29.9. The date was after 532; cf. Agath. II 30.3 (the visit of the seven Athenian philosophers in 531/532, cf. Diogenes I, had taken place previously). In Suid. II 2251 Areobindus is wrongly associated with the visit of the philosophers; the evidence of Agathias proves that his embassy was later.

Perhaps identical with Areobindus 4.

Areobindus 4 PPO Orientis 553; ?PPO 563

PPO (ORIENTIS), EX PRAEFECTIS VRBIS ET MVM a. 553 Feb. 8–April 15: a. 553 Feb. 8, Just. Nov. 145 (addressed 'Ἀρεοβίνδω ἐπάρχῳ πραιτωρίων καὶ ἀπὸ ἐπάρχων τῆς εὐδαίμονος πόλεως καὶ στρατηλάτῃ; the *Authenticum* calls him 'gloriosissimo pp.'). Nov. 146 ('Ἀρεοβίνδω τῷ ἐνδοξοτάτῳ ἐπάρχῳ πραιτωρίων; *Auth.* 'pp.'). a. 553 April 15, Nov. 147 ('Ἀρεοβίνδω τῷ ἐνδοξοτάτῳ ἐπάρχῳ τῶν ἱερῶν πραιτωρίων τῆς ἕω καὶ ἀπὸ ἐπάρχων τῆς εὐδαίμονος ταύτης πόλεως καὶ στρατηλάτῃ; *Auth.* 'pp.'). Author of a prefectorial *forma* (τύπος Ἀρεοβίνδου); Zachariae von Lingenthal, 'Anekdoten', pp. 259ff., no. 38, pp. 265ff., no. 5.

He was probably an honorific MVM, city prefect of Constantinople before 553, and PPO Orientis in 553.

His monogram occurs on a glass weight, probably from his city prefecture; Monneret de Villard, Catalogue H, no. 42a, and cf. Feissel, *Rev. Num.*⁶ 28 (1986), p. 128, with p. 129, fig. 1, no. 1.

He was in office, probably again as PPO, in 563 when he received a copy of Just. Nov. 143 (a. 563 May 21, addressed 'Arcobindo'). Another copy was addressed to Leo 4, possibly PPO Orientis (Just. Nov. 150); Areobindus will therefore have held one of the other prefectures. Both copies of this law (on rape) are in Latin. On the date, cf. Kroll, in Just. Nov., p. 708 app. crit.

Perhaps identical with Areobindus whose nephew (Anonymus 76), a *commerciarius*, was buried at Jerusalem; *Rev. Bibl.* 1, p. 581, no. 40 Jerusalem (... κωμερκίαριος, ἀνέψιος Ἀρεοβί[νδου.../...?τ]ῶν ὑπ[άρχ?]ῶν) (dated in December of a first indiction in the year 104; the era is not certain; the date could be 462/3 A.D., from the division of the province in 358, and therefore too early for this to be the same Areobindus, but a sixth-century date is not excluded by the character of the inscription; for the date 552, see Stein, *Bas-Emp.* II 215, n. 1 from 214).

AREOBINDVS 5 son of Anastasius L VI

Son of Anastasius 9 and Iuliana 2, brother of Placidia and Proba 2; Nic. *Brev.*, p. 104. See *PLRE* II, stemma 3.

Areobindus 6 commerciarus at Tyre M VI/E VII

Μιχαήλ, Μαρίνου (?), Ἀρεοβίνδου (sic) κωμερκίαριῶν Τύρου; Zacos I 130 bis, note, no. 5 = Seyrig, *Magnus le Syrien*, p. 40, note 3 (a lead seal naming the three *commerciarii*).

Aristaenetus: author ?V/VI; *PLRE* II.

Arethas (king of the Ethiopians, Theoph. AM 6064, Zon. XIV 10): the story is wrongly dated in Theophanes (source of Zonaras) and the name of Arethas has replaced that of Elesboas (*PLRE* II, p. 388). See I. Kawar, *BZ* 53 (1960), p. 63, n. 12.

Arethas: ruler of the Kindite Arabs c. 498–528; *PLRE* II.

Arethas (al-Hārith ibn Jabalah)

ruler of the Ghassānids c. 528–569; *patricius*

Son of Jabalah (Gabalā; *PLRE* II); Proc. *BP* I 17.47, Joh. Eph. *V. SS. Or.* 50, Joh. Eph. *HE* III 4.22, Mich. Syr. IX 29, 33, X 1, 14, *Chron.* 1234, lxii, Bar Hebr., *Chron.*, p. 76, *Chron. Eccl.* 146, 47, Agapius, p. 171 = 431. Brother of Abū Karib (Abocharabus); Glaser, *Zwei Inschriften*, p. 50, lines 90–2 (cited under Abocharabus). He was a Ghassānid. Father of Alamundarus; Joh. Eph. *HE* III 2.8, 3.40, 4.21, 4.22, 4.36, 4.39, 6.3, 6.16, *Chron.* 1234, lxvii, lxxiv, Bar Hebr., *Chron. Eccl.* 147, *Chron.*, p. 79. He also had a son called Gabalās, killed in the battle of Qennesrin in 554; Mich. Syr. IX 33, *Chron.* 1234, lxii, Bar Hebr., *Chron.*, p. 76.

RULER of the Ghassānids, PHYLARCH of the Saracen (Arab) allies of Rome on the frontier with Persia, c.a. 528–569, and PATRICIUS: ruler of the (Ghassānid) Arabs, he was placed in command of many other tribes by Justinian and given the title of king; his mission was to counter the power of Alamundarus (the Lakhmid; *PLRE* II); Proc. *BP* I 17.46–7 (διὸ δὴ βασιλεὺς Ἰουστινιανὸς φυλαῖς ὅτι πλείσταις Ἀρέθαν τὸν Γαβαλά παῖδα ἐπέστησεν, ὃς τῶν ἐν Ἀραβίοις Σαρακηνῶν ἦρχεν, ἀξίωμα βασιλείως αὐτῷ περιθέμενος, οὐ πρότερον τοῦτο ἐν γε Ῥωμαίοις γεγονὸς πώποτε). Styled ὁ φύλαρχος; Joh. Mal. 435 (in 528), 461 (in 531), Cyr. Scyth. *V. Euth.* 51 (in 544/555), Theoph. AM 6056 (in 563; cited below), cf. *IGLS* V 2553 B (an inscription from Seleucia Pieria, dated ἐπὶ... τῆς φυλαρχίας τοῦ ἐνδοξοτάτου Ἀρέθα). *Patricius*; Theoph. AM 6056 (ὁ πατρίκιος καὶ φύλαρχος τῶν Σαρακηνῶν), *IGLS* V 2553 D (an acclamation, recorded at Seleucia Pieria; [+ΦΛ.] Ἀρέθα πατρίκιος [πολλ]ᾶ τὰ ἔτη). No Greek source other than Procopius calls him βασιλεὺς, but the oriental sources call him ruler or king; Joh. Eph. *V. SS. Or.* 50, *HE* III 6.3, Mich. Syr. IX 29, Bar Hebr., *Chron. Eccl.* 146–7. He

was evidently ruler of his own tribe in 528 and a phylarch allied to Rome (cf. below), but the date of his appointment as overall commander is not certain (from Proc. *BP* I 17.46 it is clear that several phylarchs existed at once). It was after the death of Arethas the Kindite in 528 (*PLRE* II, p. 139) and certainly before 531 (from Procopius' narrative); his brother Abū Karib was phylarch (of the Arabs adjoining Palaestina Tertia) in 529 and it is probable that Arethas received his honours and titles at the same time, i.e. late 528/early 529. His father Jabalah was possibly still alive in 528 and only perished in the battle of Tanurin (cf. Belisarius, p. 183); if so Arethas became ruler of his own tribe in that year. See Shahid, *The Martyrs of Najran*, pp. 272-6, and cf. Tapharas.

For the date of his death, c. 569, see below, and for a reconstruction of his career, see I. Kawar (Shahīd), *The Patriciate of Arethas*, in *BZ* 52 (1959), pp. 321-43.

In 528 he was one of the commanders sent to pursue Alamundarus the Lakhmid after the death of Arethas the Kindite; Joh. Mal. 435, cf. Theoph. AM 6021 (unnamed φύλαρχος). See further Dionysius I and Gnouphas.

In 531 he served under Belisarius against the Persians; Joh. Mal. 461, Proc. *BP* I 18.7. He fought in the battle of Callinicum; the Arabs, stationed on the Roman right, allegedly broke before a Persian assault and were accused of losing the battle for the Romans; Proc. *BP* I 18.26.35-6, but cf. Joh. Mal. 463-4 (where Arethas is said to have stood firm).

In 537/538 he and Alamundarus the Lakhmid clashed in a dispute over grazing land south of Palmyra; Proc. *BP* II 1.3-8, and cf. Strategius and Summus (both in *PLRE* II).

In c. 540 he was one of several rulers who sent envoys to Abraha in the Yemen; Glaser, *loc. cit.*

He joined forces with Belisarius against Persia again in 541; Proc. *BP* II 16.5. Sent on a raiding expedition into Assyria with Traianus and Ioannes 64 (the Glutton), he secured rich plunder and, in order to keep it all for himself, returned to Roman territory by a different route so as to avoid rejoining Belisarius (cf. p. 209); Proc. *BP* II 19.11.15-18.26-9.46, *Anecd.* 2.23.28, cf. Agapius, p. 171 = 431 (perhaps alluding to the same events).

Subsequently he was involved in a quarrel with Asouades, another Arab ally of the Romans; Cyr. Scyth. *V. Euth.* 51. For the date, 544/555: see Asouades.

In c. 546 war broke out between Arethas and Alamundarus the Lakhmid and one of his sons (unnamed) was captured and killed (thus demonstrating, according to Procopius, Arethas' loyalty to Rome);

shortly afterwards he defeated Alamundarus heavily in a pitched battle, Proc. *BP* II 28.12-14. In 550 he was accused by the Persian envoy to the Romans, Isdigousnas, of making war on Alamundarus in time of peace; Proc. *BG* IV 11.10. In June 554 he defeated and killed Alamundarus in battle near Qennesrin (Chalcis); *V. Sym. Iun.* 187, *Chron.* 724, s.a. 865, Mich. Syr. IX 33, *Chron.* 1234, lxii, Bar Hebr., *Chron.*, pp. 76, 78ff.

In Nov. 563 he visited Constantinople to discuss the future of his phylarchy after his death and the doings of 'Amr (Ambros) son of Alamundarus the Lakhmid; Theoph. AM 6056.

He was a monophysite; in 542 he asked Theodora for the installation of monophysite bishops in Syria, and secured the appointment of bishop Theodorus for his own people; perhaps also it was his intervention that led to the consecration of Jacob Baradaeus as bishop of Edessa; Joh. Eph. *V. SS. Or.* 50, Bar Hebr., *Chron. Eccl.* I 46, cf. Mich. Syr. IX 29 and Stein, *Bas-Emp.* II 624-5. In c. 567 he gave refuge to the monophysite Paul of Antioch; Joh. Eph. *HE* III 4.36, Mich. Syr. X 1, Bar Hebr., *Chron. Eccl.* I 47, and cf. Maspero, *Hist. des patr. d'Alex.*, pp. 226-9 (for the date).

He was succeeded at his death by his son Alamundarus, when the Persians resumed attacks on his people; Joh. Eph. *HE* III 6.3, and see Alamundarus. The warfare had resumed in 570 and presumably Arethas had died recently. See Nöldeke, *Die Ghassânischen Fürsten*, p. 23.

ARETHVSA

c.f. (in Italy) L VI

Clarissima femina; in 600 she had a longstanding dispute with the church of Milan over a bequest by the late bishop Laurentius of Milan to her, her husband and children; Gregory ordered the clergy of Milan to settle the matter; Greg. *Ep.* XI 11 (a. 600 Oct.) (she returned with the letter from Rome, evidently to Genoa where the clergy of Milan had transferred; cf. Richards, *Consul of God*, pp. 176-7).

Argentea

mother of Boethius 2 M/L VI

Daughter of Micinius, apparently wife of Eugenius 2, mother of Boethius 2; she died aged thirty-six years, two months, twelve days on 19 Nov., probably in 577, within thirty days of the death of her son (ter denos primum quam luna resumeret ignes, coniunxit membris membra sepulta tuis - although this could mean thirteen months, i.e. 19 Nov. 578); she was buried in the same tomb as her son, on the Vatican; *CIL* VI 8401 = Rossi I 1122 = *ILCV* 3778. She was presumably born on Sept. 7, 541 (or 542).

The inscription begins with a reference to Eugenius, but continues with verses of Argentea mourning her son, then a record of the deaths of Boethius and Argentea, and finally a passage from Argentea's will

donating revenues from her estates 'ad oblatione(m) vel luminaria nostra'. Eugenius was evidently buried in the same tomb, apparently after his wife.

Argimundus dux provinciae (Spain) 589/590

A member of Reccared's court and *dux* of a province (*quidam ex cubiculo eius, etiam provinciae dux*), Argimundus conspired to overthrow Reccared and seize the throne; the plan was discovered, his fellow conspirators were executed and Argimundus was tortured, mutilated and put on public display in Toledo as a warning to others; Joh. Biel. s.a. 590. Cf. Thompson, *Goths in Spain*, pp. 103-4, Garcia Moreno, p. 34, n. 19.

Ariamir king of the Sueves 558/559-561-?

On May 1, 561, in the third year of his reign, the First Council of Braga met in accordance with his instructions (*ex praecepto praefati gloriosissimi Ariamiri regis*); in the opening speech he is alluded to as 'gloriosissimus atque piissimus filius noster'; Barlow, *Martini... Opera Omnia*, p. 105 (= Mansi ix 773) (the Council met in the year of the province 599, anno tertio Ariamiri regis).

Ariamir became king not before May 2, 558, and not after May 1, 559. He was evidently a Catholic and probably the first king of the Sueves to abandon Arianism for the Catholic faith. See further Thompson, *Conversion*, pp. 84-8.

His successor was probably Theodemir, between 561 and 566.

Ariarith bodyguard of Ioannes Troglita 546-547

One of the *armigeri* of Ioannes 36 Troglita in Africa in 546 and 547; Coripp. *Ioh.* v 279-80, vi 534-5, 670. In winter 546/547 he fought at the defeat of Antalas; *Ioh.* v 284-90. In summer 547 he and Ziper encouraged Ioannes to join battle at Marta; *Ioh.* vi 533-7, 542-4. He fought at Marta with Ioannes' other bodyguards, Bulmitzis, Dorotis and Ioannes 38; *Ioh.* vi 649-55. He was killed in the battle; *Ioh.* vi 670-1 (*armigeri cecidere duo: cedit Ariarith ingens missile non uno et... Ziper*), cf. 537 (he and Ziper were 'et virtute pares et fatis compar uterque').

Arias ?v.c. (at Beroca) V/VI

Apparently a *vir clarissimus* who had served in a regiment of *sagittarii* for thirty-six years, six months, fifteen days; his age at death was unknown; he was buried at Beroca; Feissel, *Recueil*, no. 63 Beroca (Macedonia) (lines 1-5 + 'Εν Χριστῷ κυμ(ητήριον)/'Αρία λαμ(πρότατου) στρατευ/σαμένου ἐν τῷ γεν/νεστάτου ἀριθ {σοιωμ}/μοῦ

τῶν καθ(οσιωμ)(ένων)/σαγιπταρίων). The use of λαμπρότατος by a στρατιώτης is difficult; if correct, it implies a late date, probably sixth century, when λαμπρότατος had been greatly devalued. Possibly however he became λαμπρότατος after retirement, or, alternatively, the expansion of λαμ could be λαμ(πρῶς).

Arichis Lombard dux of Beneventum 591-641

Arigis, Aregis, Arichis; Paul. Diac. Aregis, Arogis; Greg.

He formerly lived in Friuli and was a relative of Gisulfus 2; Paul. Diac. *Hist. Lang.* iv 18. Father of Aio (see below).

dux of Beneventum a. 591-641: sent by king Agilulf to succeed Zotto in 591; Paul. Diac. *Hist. Lang.* iv 18 (*mortuo igitur Zottone Beneventanorum duce, Arigis in loco ipsius a rege Agilulfo missus successit*), cf. Greg. *Ep.* ii 45 for the date (see below). He held the *ducatus* for fifty years; Paul. Diac. *Hist. Lang.* iv 44 (cited below). Dux Beneventanorum; Paul. Diac. *Hist. Lang.* iv 39, cf. *Epp. Lang. Coll.* 4 (a letter of pope Honorius, a. 625/638, addressed 'Arogi duci Beneventano'). Dux Beneventi; Paul. Diac. *Hist. Lang.* iv 42. Dux; Greg. *Ep.* ix 126 (addressed 'Arogi duci'), Paul. Diac. *Hist. Lang.* iv 43.

In July 592 he was in alliance with Ariulfus, *dux* of Spolegium, against the Romans and laid siege to Naples; Greg. *Ep.* ii 45 (Aregis, ut cognovimus, cum Ariulfo se fecit et reipublicae contra fidem venit et valde insidiatur eidem civitati). In October 598 Ariulfus refused to make peace except on condition that no moves were made against him or Arigis; Greg. *Ep.* ix 44. In spring 599 (when peace had been made) Arigis was asked by Gregory to help the subdeacon Savinus with the transport of wood from Bruttium to Rome; Greg. *Ep.* ix 126 (he is styled 'gloria vestra'), cf. 124-5.

After Grasulfus 2 became *dux* of Friuli, Arigis was joined in Beneventum by Radoald and Grimoald, whose education he had once supervised; he welcomed them warmly and treated them as his own sons; Paul. Diac. *Hist. Lang.* iv 39, cf. 18 (Gisulfi Foroiulani ducis filios educarat - this alludes to before 591 and apparently to Gisulfus 1, but this poses severe problems of chronology; if he in fact supervised the sons of Gisulfus 2, there is no difficulty).

In the reign of Rothari (636-652) he sent his own son Aio via Ravenna to visit the king at Ticinum; subsequently, as his own death approached, he advised that his successors should be Radoald and Grimoald instead of Aio, whose wits were deranged; Paul. Diac. *Hist. Lang.* iv 42-3.

He died after fifty years as *dux* and was succeeded by Aio; Paul. Diac. *Hist. Lang.* iv 44 (*defuncto ergo Arechis, qui ducatum quinquaginta tenuerat annis, Aio, eius filius, Samnitum ductor effectus est*).

Arigius patricius (et rector Provinciae) 595-596

A native of Gaul; Greg. *Ep.* ix 211 (addressed 'Vantilonus et Arigio Gallis').

PATRICIUS (ET RECTOR PROVINCIÆ) a. 595 April-596 July: recently appointed when pope Gregory wrote on April 15, 595, instructing *conductores* of the patrimonial estates in Gaul to obey him until the newly appointed *rector patrimonii* (Candidus, a priest from Rome) should arrive, but not to pay their rents to him, only certain customary dues (*consuetudinaria excepta*); Greg. *Ep.* v 31 (*viro glorioso Arigio patricio vos praevidimus commendandos*). His predecessor Dynamius 1 had combined the governorship of Provence with the administration of the papal patrimony in Gaul, but in 595 Gregory did not continue the arrangement with Arigius. Arigius was still in office in July 596 when Gregory wrote to him commending Augustine and the monks travelling as missionaries to England; his qualities had been praised to the pope by Augustine; Greg. *Ep.* vi 56 (addressed 'Arigio patricio de Gallia').

Addressee jointly with Vantilonus of a letter from Gregory commending Hilarius 3; Greg. *Ep.* ix 211 (a. 599, July). There is no evidence that he was still in office in 599.

He is styled 'gloria vestra'; Greg. *Ep.* vi 56, ix 211, and cf. *Ep.* v 31 (cited above).

Cf. Buchner, p. 96.

Arimuth military commander (in Illyricum) 552

In 552 Arimuth was one of the commanders of a Roman army assembled in Illyricum to oppose Goar and Ildigisal; he and his colleagues, who included Aratius, Leonianus and Rhecithangus were surprised by the enemy while drinking at a river and killed, leaving the Roman army leaderless; Proc. *BG* iv 27.13-18.

Arinbertus Frankish dux (under Dagobert) 635

A Frank, in 635 he was one of ten *duces* on the expedition under Chadoin which subdued the Wascones; he was killed with high-ranking persons of his army (*cum senioribus et nobilioribus exercitus sui*), falling carelessly into a Wascon ambush in the valley of the Soule; Fredegar. iv 78. His name is also spelt 'Arnebertus', and he may be identical with Arnebertus.

Arioaldus king of the Lombards 626-636

The name appears as 'Charoaldus' in Fredegarus.

He was a Lombard of noble family; Ionas, *V. Columb.* ii 24a (*MGH, Scr. Rer. Mer.* iv, p. 145).

dux of Turin a. ?-626: dux Taurinensis, Fredegar. iv 50 (when he became king); dux Langobardorum, Ionas, *V. Columb.*, *loc. cit.*

He was married to Gundoberga (daughter of Agilulf and Theodelinda and sister of Adaloald); Fredegar. iv 50, 51, Ionas, *V. Columb.*, *loc. cit.*, cf. Paul. Diac. *Hist. Lang.* iv 47 (see Gundoberga).

KING of the Lombards a. 626-636: in 626 he was the choice of the Lombard nobility to succeed Adaloald, whose pro-Byzantine policy was unacceptable to them; after a struggle, in which Adaloald was supported by the *exarchus* Isaac and the pope Honorius, Arioald became king; Fredegar. iv 50, Hon. *Ep.* (*MGH, Epp.* iii, *Ep. Lang. Coll.* 2), Paul. Diac. *Hist. Lang.* iv 41, Ionas, *V. Columb.*, *loc. cit.* His reign lasted for ten years, until Rothari succeeded him in 636; *Hist. Lang. cod. Goth.* 6, cf. *Origo Gentis Lang.* 6, Paul. Diac. *Hist. Lang.* iv 42 (both give twelve years), Fredegar. iv 69 (his death).

Unlike Adaloald, he was an Arian; Ionas, *V. Columb.*, *loc. cit.*

Aristarchus doctor (in Egypt) VI/VII

The sum of five *solidi*, four carats was paid ὀνόματι Ἀριστάρχου ἰατρῖ(ου) for the second instalment of a second indiction; *Stud. Pal.* xx 279 provenance unknown.

Aristobulus 1 curator domus divinae rerum Antiochi 588

Envoy of Maurice to the rebellious army of the east in summer 588; he mollified them by a combination of gifts and soothing words; Theoph. Sim. iii 3.11 (ἦν δ' ἄρα οὗτος τῆς βασιλικῆς οἰκίας προεστὼς τοῦ βασιλέως, τῆς Ἀντιόχου προσαγορευομένης), Theoph. AM 6079 (τὸν κουράτορα τῶν βασιλικῶν οἰκῶν).

Aristobulus 2 ex praefecto and magister scrinii (East) 591

In Constantinople in 591 he received from pope Gregory a letter of instructions on translating letters from the pope from Latin into Greek; Greg. *Ep.* i 28 (a. 591 Feb.; addressed 'Aristobulo ex praefecto et antigrafo'). On *antigrafus* (ἀντιγραφεύς) = *magister scrinii*, see Constantinus 1.

Aristocrates pater civitatis (at Aphrodisias) M VI

Ὁ ἐλλογιμώτατος πατὴρ τῆς Ἀφροδισιέων πόλεως; he petitioned Justinian on matters concerning Aphrodisias; Just. *Nov.* 160 (undated). The epithet indicates a man of learning (e.g. *scholasticus*) rather than a man of rank.

ARISTOMACHVS 1 dux (Aegypti) 535

Dux (Aegypti), present in Alexandria when the patriarch Timothy IV died (on Feb. 7, 535; see Maspero, *Hist. des patr. d'Alex.*, pp. 101, 347-8); in concert with Calotychius and Dioscorus 2 he helped to install Theodora's candidate, the monophysite Theodosius, probably on Feb. 10 (see Maspero, p. 113, n. 1), but when the people of Alexandria protested and put forward Gaianus he apparently co-operated with them, supporting Gaianus and expelling Theodosius; later he helped to expel Gaianus and reinstate Theodosius (perhaps on May 24, see Maspero, p. 117); *Liberat. Brev.* 20 (dux), *Joh. Nik.* 92.4-5 ('commander of the troops'), Severus, *Hist. Pat.* 1 13 (= *PO* 1, pp. 457-64) ('commander of the forces').

At some date unknown he is recorded to have granted a request from an inhabitant of Sakha in Egypt with whom Severus of Antioch was staying to allow desert monks to build 'churches and towers'; Severus, *Hist. Pat.* 1 13 (= *PO* 1, p. 458) (here styled 'governor of Egypt').

Aristomachus 2 PVC and curator domus Augustae L VI

Son of Theodosius 15, he was a citizen of Nikiu; *Joh. Nik.* 95.3 (p. 523 Zotenberg), but cf. *Joh. Nik. index* 94(95) (p. 355 Zotenberg) ('son of Theodosius, of the town of Absāy').

Although supposedly advised by his father to rest content with the wealth and rank he already had, he grew in ambition and power and equipped himself with an armed following ('créa une nombreuse suite de gens armés'; Zotenberg: i.e. *bucellarii*); *Joh. Nik.* 95.3-4 (p. 523).

?*DVX ET AVGVSTALIS THEBAIDIS* a. 578/582: under Tiberius he held a military command in Egypt; *Joh. Nik.* 95.5 (p. 523) (he built boats for travelling through Egypt and enforced the imperial authority - 'il fit respecter par tous les chefs l'autorité de l'empereur; car sous le règne de l'empereur Tibère, il avait obtenu le commandement'), 95.6 (p. 523) ('il tenait toutes les troupes sous ses ordres, ne craignant personne; il plaça des cavaliers dans la ville de Nikiou, sans autorisation de l'empereur'), 95.13 (p. 524) (he defeated Nubians and Moors), 97.15 (p. 531) (see Theodoros 59). Since he was active in Upper Egypt, he was perhaps *dux et augustalis* of Thebais. Nikiu was outside his jurisdiction and this perhaps was what made his action there irregular. He is said to have behaved with increasing arrogance in office, to have kept imperial messengers waiting and to have illegally seized property from the well-to-do; complaints about him reached Tiberius, who sent Andreas 10 to arrest him; he was called to Alexandria and carried off to Constan-

tinople, but on investigation Tiberius found no fault with his conduct, sent him back to Alexandria and restored him to his office; *Joh. Nik.* 95.7-12 (pp. 523-4).

PVC and CURATOR DOMVS AVGVSTAE after a. 582: under Maurice he visited Constantinople to meet the emperor and dispel accusations against him; he took many gifts and was well received by Maurice who made him city prefect of Constantinople ('prefect of the imperial city'); in addition the empress Constantina made him *curator* of her household ('intendant de toute sa maison'; Zotenberg: i.e. *curator domus Augustae*) and loaded him with honours, until he was second only in rank to the emperor, and he became a very great personage in the city of Byzantium'; *Joh. Nik.* 95.14-15 (p. 525). He apparently combined the posts of PVC and *curator domus Augustae*, though possibly the title of PVC was honorific only. However he is recorded as building aqueducts and a bronze reservoir at Constantinople, as well as other (unspecified) building projects, and to have become very popular with the people; *Joh. Nik.* 95.16-18 (p. 525).

Accused of plotting by Leo 11, he was dismissed in disgrace and exiled 'to the island of Gaul', where he had to remain until his death; *Joh. Nik.* 95.18-20 (pp. 525-6).

Aristomachus 3 wealthy supporter of Phocas (Egypt) 609

In 609, when Bonakis first seized Egypt for Heraclius, the property of Aristomachus, 'the friend of the emperor (i.e. Phocas)', and that of all the leading citizens in Manūf was confiscated by members of the Blue faction, impoverishing the owners; *Joh. Nik.* 107.25 (p. 544 Zotenberg).

Ariulfus Lombard dux of Spolegium 591-601

dvx of Spolegium before a. 591-601: in office by Sept. 27, 591; *Greg. Ep.* II 7. He succeeded Faroald as *dux* and after his death, probably in 601, the title was contested by the two sons of Faroald, of whom Theudelapius was the winner; *Paul. Diac. Hist. Lang.* IV 16 (sequenti anno Ariulfus dux, qui Farualdo apud Spolegium successerat, moritur). For the date of his death, see *Paul. Diac. Hist. Lang.* IV 15 (the preceding year was marked by celestial lights and the defeat of Chlotharius by Theodebert) and *Fredegar.* IV 20 (where these events are recorded under year five of Theoderic, i.e. 600).

In 591 and 592 Ariulf was actively engaged in hostilities against the Romans; *Greg. Ep.* II 7 (a. 591 Sept. 27), II 32, 33, 45 (all in July 592). By 595 he was engaged in peace negotiations with pope Gregory; *Greg.*

Ep. v 36 (595 June). In October 598 he had accepted peace terms subject to the condition that no moves be made against him or his ally Arichis; *Greg. Ep.* ix 44. At some stage during the fighting he defeated the Romans near Camerinum, subsequently attributing his victory to the miraculous intervention of the martyred bishop Sabinus whose tomb and basilica were at Spoletium; Ariulf himself was a pagan (gentilis); *Paul. Diac. Hist. Lang.* iv 16.

Ariulph (Ἀριούλφ) army commander (East) (?MVM) 582

At the battle of the river Nymphius in late 582, Ariulph commanded the left flank of the Roman army; the right was under Cours and the centre under Ioannes 101; *Theoph. Sim.* i 9.7–8.

Possibly an MVM (*vacans*); both Cours and Ioannes were *magistri militum* and Ariulph as their fellow-commander could have held the same rank.

Armatus 1 tribunus (?of the lanciarum) 565

At the accession of Justin II, Armatus three times placed a golden circlet over his head and proclaimed him emperor; he was immediately promoted to *tribunus* by Justin; *Coripp. Iust.* ii 130–6 (*Armati manibus sacrati circulus auri inpositi in collo imperium sublimis dicavit, quod faciens ter, ter dextram cum munere tendens 'Augusti, Iustine, locum tibi confero' dixit. 'Ast ego te iubeo' princeps ait 'esse tribunum'.* Felix Armatus, *primus qui verba loquentis audiit et primus sollemnia dona recepit*). For the ceremony of crowning by torques, normally performed by the *campiductor* of the *lanciarum*, see Ensslin, *Klio* 35 (1942), 272, 285, and Cameron, *Iust.*, pp. 159–60. Armatus was probably *campiductor* of the *lanciarum* and then *tribunus*. The ceremony was performed on Nov. 14, 565; cf. *Iustinus* 5.

He was presumably a soldier and so unlikely to be identical with Armatus 2.

ARMATVS 2 vicarius Thraciae 575/576

An inscription from Thrace dated 575/576 records work done ἐπι Ἀρμάτου βικαρίου Θράκης; Kalinka, *Antike Denkmäler in Bulgarien*, p. 73, n. 81 = Beshevliev, *Spätgr. u. spätlat. Inschr. Bulg.*, no. 198 Arabadziero, south of Stara Zagora (dated year 11 of Justin, year 2 of Tiberius, indiction 9).

Armatus 3 v.d., schola(rius) (in Italy) c. 600

Witness of a donation by Sisivera at Ravenna; *Marini, P. Dip.* 93 = *P. Ital.* 20, line 67 Armatus v.d. scola(rius), 121 Armatus v.d. schola(rius)

et collectarius) a s(an)c(t)a eccl(esia) ad signum. He was a *scholarius* and a money changer, apparently stationed near the church at Ravenna. Cf. Brown, *Gentlemen*, p. 77.

ARMENIVS (v.c.) (in Italy) 593

Armenius itaque magnificus, filius quondam Aptonii illustrissimi viri; commended by pope Gregory to the PPO Italiae Georgius 11 as an orphan and in need of a post to help relieve his poverty; *Greg. Ep.* iii 28 (a. 593 April).

Armentaria mother of Gregory of Tours M VI

Granddaughter of Gregorius, bishop of Langres (= *PLRE* II, p. 179, Gregorius Attalus); *Greg. Tur. V. Patr.* 7.2. Wife of Florentius 2. Mother of Gregory of Tours (Gregorius 3); *Ven. Fort. Carm.* x 15 (verses addressed: ad Armentariam matrem domini Gregorii episcopi). She was mother also of Petrus 12 and Anonyma 4. Niece of Gundulfus (and Nicetius 1); *Greg. Tur. HF* VI 11. See stemma 12.

She married in c. 534, cf. Florentius 2, and bore Gregory of Tours in 538 or 539; *Greg. Tur. Mir. S. Mart.* iii 10. She apparently lived in the Auvergne in 543, *Greg. Tur. Glor. Mart.* 51 (when the plague came, cf. *HF* iv 5), and in the 550s, *Glor. Mart.* 86 (during Gregory's adolescence); later she lived in Cavaillon in Burgundy, *Mir. S. Mart.* i 36, iii 60. She visited Gregory at Tours soon after his consecration as bishop (in 573) and was miraculously cured of a long-standing ailment; *Mir. S. Mart.* iii 10. Also mentioned in *Greg. Tur. V. Patr.* 2.2, *Glor. Conf.* 3, 40, 85, *Glor. Mart.* 84. She encouraged Gregory to record the miracles of St Martin; *Mir. S. Mart.* i praef. Cf. Strohecker, no. 35.

Armentarius 1 vir illustris (in Italy) E/M VI

Vir illustris; grandfather of Mascator; *Greg. Dial.* iii 16.

Armentarius 2 mag. mil. (in Italy) 559

Addressee of a letter from pope Pelagius I in March 559; he is styled 'gloria vestra'; *Pelag. I, Ep.* 55 (addressed 'Armentario magistro militum').

Armentarius 3 comes civitatis Lugdunensis c. 563/573

He was *comes* of Lugdunum when Nicetius 1 was bishop (c. 552–573) and Gregory of Tours already a deacon (c. 563–573) (*Armentarium comitem, qui Lugdunensem urbem his diebus potestate iudiciaria gubernabat*); Gregory reports his angry reply to a message from Nicetius; *Greg. Tur. V. Patr.* viii 3.

Armentarius 4 doctor (at Tours) 573

Archiatus, at Tours in 573 when he treated the new bishop Gregory of Tours; Greg. Tur. *Mir. S. Mart.* II 1.

Armentarius 5 Jewish moneylender (at Tours) 584

A Jew, he loaned money to Eunomius and Iniuriosus at Tours against the public taxes; after visiting Iniuriosus and collecting payment (in 584), he was murdered and his money and papers were stolen; followers of Iniuriosus were blamed, but Gregory reports that Medardus, to whom Armentarius had also lent money, was suspected of responsibility; Greg. Tur. *HF* VII 23.

Arnebertus dux (under Chlotharius and Dagobert) 626–629

He married the sister of Godinus 2 (i.e. daughter of Warnacharius 2); Fredegar. IV 54.

dux a. 626–629; dux under Chlotharius II in 626, sent by him with an army to kill Godinus (in Burgundy); later in 626, on the orders of Chlotharius he killed Boso 3; Fredegar. IV 54. Dux under Dagobert in 629 after Chlotharius' death, he, with Amalgarius and Willibadus killed Produlfus on Dagobert's orders at St-Jean-de-Losne (Latona); Fredegar. IV 58.

Possibly to be identified with Arinbertus (or Arnebertus).

Arnegiselus follower of Berulfus 585

Described as *socius* and *satelles* of Berulfus; Greg. Tur. *HF* VIII 26. See further Berulfus.

Arnegundis wife of Chlotharius I M VI

Sister of Ingundis (second wife of Chlotharius), she became Chlotharius' third wife and bore him Chilperic; Greg. Tur. *HF* IV 3 (Aregundis).

A ring belonging to her was found on the hand of a woman buried under the crypt of the abbey church of St Denis near Paris; it has the name ARNEGUNDIS round a monogram of REGINE; Lasko, *The Kingdom of the Franks*, (1971) pp. 55ff., and see Salin, *Acad. des inscr. et belles-lettres* XLIV, 1 (1960).

Arnulfus Frankish noble; bishop of Metz 614/623–629/638

Of noble and wealthy Frankish family; *V. S. Arnulfi* 1 (*MGH, Scr. Rer. Mer.* II, p. 432) (prosapie genitus Francorum, altus satis et nobilis parentibus atque oppulentissimus in rebus saeculi fuit).

He rose to prominence at the court of Theodebert II; *V. S. Arnulfi* 3, and cf. Gundulfus.

An Austrasian noble, he joined with Pippin and other Austrasian nobles in supporting the seizure of Austrasia by Chlotharius II after the death of Theoderic II (in 613); Fredegar. IV 40 (Chlotharius factione Arnulfo et Pippino vel ceteris proceribus Auster ingreditur).

Bishop of Metz c.a. 614/623–629/638: he was bishop of Metz by 623, when Chlotharius II entrusted the supervision of his son Dagobert to him; Fredegar. IV 52 (beatissimo vero Arnulfo pontifice), 53 (domnus Arnulfus pontifex Mettensis), 58 (Mettensis urbis pontifex), *Gesta Dagoberti* 2 (*MGH, Scr. Rer. Mer.* II, p. 401) (hic denique in annis puerilibus positus, traditus est a genitore venerabili et sanctissimo Arnulfo Mettensium urbis episcopo). He left the see after fifteen years and became a monk until his death; cf. Krusch, *MGH, Scr. Rer. Mer.* II, pp. 426–7.

He had three sons, Chlodulf, Martin and Ansegis; from the marriage between Ansegis and the daughter of Pippin, Begga, was descended the Arnulfing or Carolingian family; see further R. McKitterick, *The Frankish Kingdoms under the Carolingians*, pp. 24ff.

Arpagius (CIL VIII 2245 + 17671 = *Bull. Soc. Nat. Ant. Fr.* 1895, pp. 170–1 = *AE* 1895, 115 = D 9350 = *ILCV* 795); see Durlat, no. 28, esp. pp. 69–70, and cf. Gennadius 1.

Arsaces

Armenian noble M VI

An Armenian, he was of the family of the Arsacidae; Proc. *BG* III 32.1. A relative of Artabanes 2; Proc. *BG* III 32.1.5.8. On the name, cf. Justi, p. 27, s.n. Aršaka.

Some time before 548 he was convicted of treasonable communications with the Persian king Chosroes but received only mild punishment; he was lightly flogged and paraded through Constantinople on a camel, but otherwise was not physically harmed, retained his property and was not even exiled; Proc. *BG* III 32.2–3. The incident is not identifiable but perhaps took place during the war with Persia, 540–545. Thereafter he is said to have harboured a grudge and begun to plot against Justinian and the state; Proc. *BG* III 32.4, cf. 8 (he claimed to have suffered ἀνήκεστα ἔργα).

In 548 he persuaded Artabanes and Chanaranges to conspire against Justinian; Proc. *BG* III 32.5–13.29–31.37. His attempt to involve Germanus (*PLRE* II, Germanus 4) and his sons in the scheme failed; Proc. *BG* III 32.13–22.28. When the plot was revealed (in early 549), the conspirators were arrested and sent for questioning under torture; Proc.

BG III 32.42. Subsequently they were kept under guard in the palace but underwent no further punishment or disgrace; Proc. *BG* III 32.51.

Presumably related to the Arsaces killed in Africa in battle by Antalas in winter 546/547; Coripp. *Ioh.* v 254, and cf. Proc. *BG* III 32.7 (on the widespread dispersal of the Arsacidae).

Arsaphius 1 honorary consul VI/VII
Ἀρσαφίω ἀπὸ ὑπάτων; *BCTH* 1926, p. cxlvi, no. 1 (seal, from Carthage; obv.: cruciform monogram of Θεοτόκε βοήθει; rev.: +/ARCAΦΙ/ΩΑΠΟΝ[ΠΑ]/ΤΩΝ).

Arsaphius 2 honorary consul VII
Ἀρσαφίον ὑπάτου; *Zacos* 1115 = Dumbarton Oaks seal 58.106.3233 (seal; obv.: bust of the Virgin, between two short crosses; rev.: ARCA/ΦΙΟΝΝ/ΠΑΤΟ/Ν).

Arsaphius 3 honorary consul; patricius VII
Ἀρσαφίω ἀπὸ ὑπάτων πατρικίω; *Zacos* 1420 = Dumbarton Oaks seal 55.1.476 (seal; obv.: cruciform monogram of Θεοτόκε βοήθει; rev.: +ARCA/ΦΙΩΑΠΟ/ΝΠΑΤΩΝ/ΠΑΤΡΙΚ/ΙΩ).

Fl. Arsenius: vir gloriosissimus (East) E/M VI; *PLRE* II.

Arsenius v.d., tribunus (in Egypt) VI/VII

Arsenius and other military officers urged the bishop and people of Ombi to cleanse and restore a public building, possibly the soldiers' quarters originally built under the *dux* Gabrielius 3; *SEG* VIII 780 = *SB* IV 7475 (= Lefebvre, *Reuil*, no. 561) Ombi, undated – τῆς σπουδῆς καὶ ἐπίξεως Ἀρσενίου καθ(ωσιωμένου) τρι(βούνου?) (Lefebvre read: καθ(ολικοῦ) Αἰγ(ύπτου), wrongly) καὶ Θεολογίου πριμ(ικηρίου) καὶ λοιποῖς πρώτ(οις) (sic), presumably the officer and NCOs of the unit stationed at Ombi; in *Not. Dig. Or.* xxxi 31 this is recorded as (a detachment of) the *legio tertia Diocletiana*, of which Arsenius may therefore have been *tribunus*.

ARSICINVS dux (at Rimini) 591

In 591 he and the clergy and people of Rimini received instructions from pope Gregory on the choice of a new bishop; *Greg. Ep.* I 56 (a. 591 July; addressed 'Arsicino duci, clero, ordini et plebi civitatis Ariminensis').

His name perhaps denotes Armenian origin; cf. *Iusti*, pp. 27–9 (Arsaka).

ARSILIVS consularis Ciliciae Primae 535

Addressee of *Iust. Nov.* 121, issued a. 535 Feb. 15, and addressed Ἀρσιλίω ἄρχοντι Ταρσοῦ. Tarsus was the metropolis of Cilicia Prima. Arsilius is alluded to as ἡ σὴ μεγαλοπρέπεια and 'frater iucundissime', and was therefore the provincial governor rather than a municipal official at Tarsus. The law regulates interest payments on debts incurred among a number of municipal councillors, presumably of Tarsus.

Artabanus 1 Persarmenian soldier M VI

A Persarmenian, he deserted to the Romans under Valerianus 1 (in 541/547, possibly in 541), proving his loyalty by capturing a Persian stronghold; in 549 he fought in the battle of the river Hippis, showing courage in a moment of crisis; Proc. *BG* IV 8.21–8.

Artabanus 2 MVM per Thracias 550 (?554)

On the name, see *Iusti*, p. 32, s.n. Ἀρτάβανος, no. 17.

An Armenian; Proc. *BP* II 3.25, *BV* II 24.2, 24.15, *BG* III 32.1, Coripp. *Ioh.* IV 236, 361, 367. He was a member of the royal family of the Arsacids; Proc. *BP* II 3.25, *BV* II 24.2, 27.16. Son of Ioannes 28; Proc. *BP* II 3.25, *BV* II 24.2. Brother of Ioannes 34; Proc. *BV* II 24.2, 24.15. Cousin of Gregorius 2; Proc. *BV* II 27.10. Relative of Arsaces; Proc. *BG* III 32.1, 32.5, 32.8. He married a relative of his while she was still a child (συγγενῆς τε οὔσα καὶ ἐκ παιδὸς αὐτῷ ἐς γάμον ἐλθοῦσα) but later he abandoned her; Proc. *BG* III 31.11–12 (and cf. below). In 538/539 he was apparently still a fairly young man; Proc. *BV* II 27.17.

In 538/539 he took part in a conspiracy and killed the Roman governor of Armenia, Acacius 1; Proc. *BP* II 3.6–7, *BV* II 27.17. Shortly afterwards he also killed the general Sittas at the battle of Oenochalacon; Proc. *BP* II 3.25, *BV* II 27.17 (but cf. *BP* II 3.27 and Sittas 1; it was perhaps not he who killed Sittas but a certain Solomon). For the date of these events, cf. Sittas and Buzes.

By these acts he became known to the Persian king Chosroes and served with him on campaigns against the Romans; Proc. *BV* II 27.17. In 545 (see below) he had recently deserted the Persians with other Armenians and joined the Romans; Proc. *BV* II 24.2. The date may have been 542; cf. Proc. *BP* II 21.34 and see Bassaces.

COMMANDER OF ARMENIANS in Africa a. 545–546; sent to Africa with his brother Ioannes 34 in command of a small Armenian force which accompanied Arcobindus 2 and Athanasius 1; Proc. *BV* II 24.1–2. They probably arrived in spring 545; cf. Sergius 4.

In late 545, when the Moors, in collusion with Guntharis, prepared to march against Carthage, Artabanes and his Armenians were present with Areobindus in Carthage; Proc. *BF* II 25.4. Later on, when Guntharis openly revolted, Artabanes encouraged Areobindus and urged him to act boldly and attack without delay; Proc. *BF* II 26.7. In the fighting which followed at the gates of Carthage, Artabanes and his followers were evenly matched with the forces of Guntharis; Proc. *BF* II 26.13-14. However, after the flight of Areobindus, Artabanes also withdrew from the battle; Proc. *BF* II 26.17.

After Guntharis had seized power, Artabanes secured pledges for his safety and went to him in the palace with his Armenians where he undertook to serve under him; Proc. *BF* II 27.9. Secretly however he planned to assassinate Guntharis, an intention which he revealed to his cousin Gregorius and to Artasires 2, one of his δορυφόροι; Proc. *BF* II 27.10. Procopius attributes to Gregorius a speech encouraging Artabanes in his purpose; Proc. *BF* II 27.11-18.

Artabanes was ordered by Guntharis to lead the army against Antalas and the Moors of Byzacena; Proc. *BF* II 27.23. He set off immediately, accompanied by Ioannes 35 (successor of Stotzas), Vlitheus and the Moors under Cutzinas; they advanced beyond Hadrumetum before encountering the enemy, whereupon they made camp not far from them; Proc. *BF* II 27.25-6. On the following day Artabanes left Ioannes and Vlitheus with part of the army in camp and with Cutzinas and the rest marched against the enemy, who promptly took flight; instead of pursuing, Artabanes suddenly turned his standards about and withdrew back to camp; there he defended his action on the grounds that Marcentius could have come up from Hadrumetum and done great harm to his army and it was advisable for Guntharis to assemble the whole army to attack the enemy; Proc. *BF* II 27.27-32. He is said to have now considered taking his followers and uniting with the imperial forces in Hadrumetum, but to have decided to continue with his intention to assassinate Guntharis; Proc. *BF* II 27.33-4. He therefore returned to Carthage and advised Guntharis that he needed a larger army to deal with the enemy; Proc. *BF* II 27.35.

When about to depart at the head of his whole army, Guntharis gave a banquet at which Artabanes, Athanasius and others shared the top couch with him; Proc. *BF* II 28.1-3. Artabanes chose this occasion for the assassination and planned the details with Gregorius, Artasires and others of his δορυφόροι; Proc. *BF* II 28.6-11. Guntharis was murdered at the banquet, Artabanes himself striking the fatal blow and also helping to kill the rebels' bodyguards; Proc. *BF* II 28.29-33, cf. *BG* III 32.6 (αὐτοχειρί). The assassination of Guntharis is also recorded in Proc.

BG III 31.2-3, *Marcell. com. Addit.* ad a. 547, *Jord. Rom.* 384, *Vict. Tonn.* s.a. 546. According to Corippus, it was Athanasius who was responsible for the plot against Guntharis and Artabanes was his agent; Coripp. *Ioh.* IV 236-7 (Armenius tanti fuerat tunc ille minister consilii), 240-1, 426. On this, cf. Athanasius. Artabanes seems also to have relied on support from Antalas; cf. Coripp. *Ioh.* IV 367-9 and Partsch, *MGH, AA* III, *prooem.*, p. xxiii (and see below).

In his notice of the murder of Guntharis (s.a. 546), Victor *Tonnennensis* styles Artabanes 'Carthaginis dux'; this corresponds to no official form of title and should perhaps be interpreted as an imprecise allusion to his (future) post of *MVM per Africam*.

Immediately after the murder of Guntharis, Artabanes gave Athanasius charge of the money stored in the palace; Proc. *BF* II 28.35. He gave pledges of safety to Ioannes 35 as well as to the Vandals with whom he had sought sanctuary and sent them all to Constantinople; Proc. *BF* II 28.39-40, *Marcell. Com. Addit.* ad a. 547, *Jord. Rom.* 384. He meanwhile ruled Carthage in the name of the emperor; Proc. *BF* II 28.40.

He won a great reputation by this exploit; Proc. *BF* II 28.42. The emperor's niece, Praciecta 1, rewarded him with a large sum of money; Proc. *BF* II 28.43.

MAGISTER MILITVM PER AFRICAM a. 546: the emperor conferred on him the supreme command in Africa; Proc. *BF* II 28.43 (βασιλεὺς δὲ στρατηγὸν αὐτὸν κατεστήσατο Λιβύης ἀπάσης), *BG* III 31.4 (αὐτὸς δέ, καίπερ Λιβύης ὅλης στρατηγὸς καταστάς).

He apparently angered Antalas by failing to reward him as promised for his support against Guntharis; Coripp. *Ioh.* IV 358-75 (cf. Antalas).

He and Praciecta wanted to marry; Proc. *BG* III 31.2-3. He therefore sent her back to the emperor and took steps to secure his own return to Constantinople; he asked Justinian to recall him and devised various specious pretexts to that end; Proc. *BG* III 31.4, cf. *Jord. Rom.* 384 (sent the emperor's niece to Constantinople). According to Procopius, his ambitions were aroused by the prospect of the marriage and the position close to the throne which it would give him; Proc. *BG* III 31.5-6. Soon afterwards Justinian granted his wish and recalled him to Constantinople; his successor as *MVM per Africam* was Ioannes 36 Troglita; Proc. *BF* II 28.44-5, *BG* III 31.7, *Marcell. com. Addit.* ad a. 547, *Jord. Rom.* 385.

On his return to Constantinople he was very popular with the people on account of his successes and of his character and bearing (see below); Proc. *BG* III 31.8-9. He also received high honours from the emperor; Proc. *BG* III 31.9 (βασιλεὺς δὲ αὐτὸν ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα ἐτετιμήκει).

MAGISTER MILITVM PRAESENTALIS and COMES FOEDERATORVM a. 546-

549; HONORARY CONSVL a. 546(?): he was appointed to the offices of *MVM praesentalis* and *comes foederatorum* on his return to Constantinople in 546 and he also received the honorary consulship; Proc. *BG* III 31.10 (στρατηγόν τε γὰρ τῶν ἐν Βυζαντίῳ στρατιωτῶν καὶ ἄρχοντα φοιδεράτων καταστησάμενος ἐς τῶν ὑπάτων ἀνεγράψατο τὸ ἄξιωμα), 32.8 (Ἀρταβάνης ἀποχρῆν οἶεται, εἰ στρατηγός τε Ῥωμαίων εἶη καὶ ὑπάτος καλοῖτο μόνον), *Marcell. com. Addit. ad a. 547* (Artabanis evocatus praesentale accipit magisterium), *Jord. Rom.* 385 (Artabanus evocatus mag. militum praesentis accepit dignitatem). He seems to have held his two offices until 549; the honorary consulship was normally conferred for life and he may have retained it even in the circumstances of 549; see below.

His marriage with Praeicta did not take place, because his wife (see above), who had remained quietly at home while Artabanes was unknown, came to Constantinople when he became famous and made herself known to the empress, demanding recognition of her rights; the empress compelled Artabanes to accept her as his wife and although enraged by what he regarded as unfair treatment after his services to the state he could do nothing about it until the empress herself died (in summer 548), whereupon he immediately dismissed his wife; by then, however, Praeicta had already married Ioannes 63 (son of Pompeius); Proc. *BG* III 31.11-16.

Still annoyed over this affair, Artabanes allowed himself to be persuaded by Arsaces to join him and Chanaranges in a plot against Justinian; Proc. *BG* III 32.5-13, 32.20, 32.37. This was in late 548/early 549, after the death of Theodora (who is nowhere alluded to in connection with the plot) and before the attempt by Arsaces to involve Germanus (*PLRE* II, pp. 506-7) and Iustinus 4 (early 549, when Belisarius was en route from Italy). In one passage Procopius hints that Arsaces had approached Chanaranges at the suggestion of Artabanes; Proc. *BG* III 32.29. After talking with Iustinus, Arsaces reported to Artabanes his refusal to be involved; Proc. *BG* III 32.22. Later, when Iustinus approached Chanaranges, pretending to be sympathetic, Artabanes agreed that Chanaranges should reveal to Iustinus everything planned by Arsaces; Proc. *BG* III 32.31. Even when the plot was exposed, Marcellus 3 was reluctant to accuse Artabanes and ruin him on insufficient evidence; Proc. *BG* III 32.40. However, as Belisarius approached the city (no later than April 549; cf. Belisarius, p. 216), Marcellus revealed all to the emperor who ordered Artabanes and the others to prison and authorised their examination under torture; Proc. *BG* III 32.42. Justinian dismissed Artabanes from his office (παρέλυσε τὸν Ἀρταβάνην ἧς εἶχεν ἀρχῆς - presumably the two posts of *MVM*

praesentalis and *comes foederatorum*) but imposed on him no other punishment than confinement under guard within the palace with honourable treatment (οὐ σὺν ἀτιμίᾳ); Proc. *BG* III 32.51. His involvement in the conspiracy and his escape from punishment (*impunitus permansit*) are recorded briefly by Jordanes, *Rom.* 385.

MVM PER THRACIAS a. 550(?-554): in 550 Totila invaded and overran Sicily while the fortress of Rhegium surrendered to the Goths; Justinian responded by sending an expedition to Sicily under Liberius (*PLRE* II) but quickly regretted the appointment on account of the age of Liberius; Proc. *BG* III 39.1-7. He therefore dismissed all charges against Artabanes, appointed him *magister militum per Thracias* and sent him to Sicily, giving him only a small army but instructing him to take over the expedition from Liberius; Proc. *BG* III 39.8 (Ἀρταβάνη τε ἀφείς τὰ ἐς αὐτὸν ἐγκλήματα πάντα καὶ στρατηγὸν καταλόγων τῶν ἐπὶ Θράκης καταστησάμενος ἐς Σικελίαν εὐθύς ἐπεμψε), cf. *Jord. Rom.* 385 (et quasi benivulus, sc. Artabanes, contra Totilanem Sicilia cum Liberio patricio properavit). He possibly remained *MVM per Thracias* while continuing to serve in the west, i.e. until at least 554 (cf. below).

On arrival at Cephallenia Artabanes found that Liberius had already left for Sicily; he set sail immediately to cross the Adriatic but off Calabria his fleet ran into storms and adverse winds forced his fleet with some losses back to the Peloponnesus; his own ship was dismasted and with difficulty made landfall on the island of Melita (off Dalmatia); Proc. *BG* III 40.14-17. This took place presumably in late 550.

In 551 Artabanes was in command of all Roman forces in Sicily; Proc. *BG* IV 24.1 (Ἀρταβάνης δέ, τοῦτο βασιλεῖ δεδογμένον, παντὸς ἤρχε τοῦ ἐν Σικελίᾳ Ῥωμαίων στρατοῦ). Totila had left Gothic garrisons in a few strongholds on the island (in four only, cf. *BG* III 40.29); these Artabanes besieged and reduced to such straits that they all eventually surrendered to him; Proc. *BG* IV 24.2. During 551 and 552 he was frequently approached by the besieged inhabitants of Croton for help, but did nothing for them; Proc. *BG* IV 25.24-5.

In 553 and 554 he served in Italy under Narses I as one of the senior commanders (οἱ στρατηγοί) of the Roman army; his colleagues included Valerianus I and Ioannes 46 (nephew of Vitalianus); cf. *Agath.* I 15.9-10, 17.1-6, 18.1-2 (included among οἱ στρατηγοί) and see below. He was presumably still *magister militum*, perhaps *per Thracias* but possibly by now a *vacans*.

In summer 553 (cf. Valerianus), when the Franks and Alamanni invaded Italy, Artabanes was sent by Narses with Ioannes 46 (nephew of Vitalianus), Valerianus, Fulcaris and other commanders with the larger part of the Roman army to prevent them from crossing the

Apennines, or at least to harass their advance; Agath. I 11.3-4. After the defeat and death of Fulcaris at Parma, Artabanes and Ioannes judged the enemy to be too numerous and formidable in that area and withdrew their forces in the direction of Ravenna, stopping at Faventia; Agath. I 15.8-10 (τὰ δὲ τῶν Ῥωμαίων στρατεύματα, ὧν δὴ Ἰωάννης τε ὁ Βιταλιανοῦ ... καὶ Ἀρταβάνης ἠγοῦντο). This angered Narses, whose military strategy was jeopardised thereby, and he sent Stephanus 12 to Faventia to order them back to Parma; Agath. I 17.1-7. They defended their action, claiming that in the absence of the PPO Antiochus 2 it was impossible to obtain supplies or money for the army at Parma; Stephanus however brought Antiochus from Ravenna, resolved their difficulties, and persuaded them to return and make camp near Parma again; Agath. I 18.1-3.

In summer 554 Artabanes was in Pisaurum with Vldach and an army of Romans and Huns; there they met and destroyed many of the advance guard of the army of Leutharis as it returned north after raiding Apulia and Calabria; Agath. II 2.5. They declined battle however with the main army of Leutharis which was too strong for them; Agath. II 3.1. The Franks bypassed Pisaurum and continued north through Aemilia; Agath. II 3.2-3. Artabanes apparently then joined forces with Narses at Rome and accompanied him when he marched with all his forces against Butilinus near Capua; Agath. II 4.4, 6.1. At the battle of Capua, in late summer 554 (cf. Narses), Artabanes and Valerianus were stationed on the left wing of the Roman army with orders to remain concealed until the enemy attacked; Agath. II 8.3. Their forces consisted of mounted cavalry; Agath. II 9.2-3. The ploy worked and contributed to a decisive victory for the Romans; Agath. II 9.2-11. Presumably Artabanes returned with the rest of the army to Rome amid the general rejoicing; Agath. II 10.7. He is not recorded thereafter.

He was tall and handsome, of open character, and a man of few words; Proc. *BG* III 31.9.

Artabazes military commander (in Italy) 542

Native of Armenia; Proc. *BG* III 3.10. On the name, see Justi, p. 39, s.n. Artawazdah, no. 19.

He was one of the ἄρχοντες of the Roman army outside Verona, probably in spring 542, when he commanded Persian troops from the fortress of Sisauranon on the eastern front (cf. Bleschames); Proc. *BG* III 3.9-11. A Roman sympathiser (Marcianus 4) arranged for the city gates to be opened for the Romans and Artabazes undertook to secure them and admit the rest of the army; with an hundred picked men he seized the gates under cover of night when they were opened; the Roman army

however delayed entering the city (cf. Constantianus 2) and the Goths who had fled from it returned and trapped Artabazes and his men; they were forced up onto the battlements, fighting vigorously, where their only escape was by jumping down from the walls, in doing which several were killed; Artabazes survived unhurt and rejoined the Romans whom he bitterly reproached; Proc. *BG* III 3.10-22. He then accompanied the Romans to Faventia, where he is represented as urging in vain an attack on Totila and his army while they were still crossing the river in disorder; Proc. *BG* III 3.22, 4.2-9. Before the ensuing battle of Faventia he engaged in single combat with a Gothic champion, Valaris, and killed him, but was fatally wounded himself; Proc. *BG* III 4.21-29.

Praised by Procopius (conventionally, cf. Cameron, *Procopius*, pp. 44-5, 240 with n. 84) as a good soldier; Proc. *BG* III 3.10.

Artachis nephew of Radegundis M VI

Nephew of Radegundis and addressee of the lament composed for Radegundis by Venantius Fortunatus after the death of Hamalafred; Ven. Fort. *App. Carm.* III title: ad Artachin; cf. lines 35-6 vel tu, care nepos, placidum mihi redde propinquum et sis amore meus quod fuit ille prius.

'Artānā' military decurio (Egypt) 641

A decurion, he was appointed by Theodorus 166 as commander of troops in Alexandria in place of Domentianus; Joh. Nik. 119.17 ('Artānā, chief of ten orders, who is named a decurion') (p. 571 Zotenberg; 'Artānā décurion, c'est-à-dire chef de dix ordres'). See Maspero, *Org. Mil.*, p. 81, n. 2. The date was 641; cf. Domentianus. The name seems hopelessly corrupt.

Artasires ('Αρτασίρης) 1 officer of Belisarius' bodyguard 537-545

On the name, cf. Justi, p. 35, s.n. Artaxšahrā.

A Persian, he was an officer (δορυφόρος) of the bodyguard of Belisarius, in Italy in 537 and again in 545; Proc. *BG* II 2.10, III 11.37. In June 537 he, Bochas and Cutilas with six hundred horsemen attacked the Goths near the Porta Pinciana as part of the strategy of Belisarius to distract them and allow Euthalius to enter Rome; Proc. *BG* II 2.9-14. See Belisarius, p. 200. In early 545 he and Barbatian were sent to Rome by Belisarius to help Bessas (*PLRE* II) there; Proc. *BG* III 11.37. Later that year, when Totila laid siege to Rome, they sallied out against the Goths, against Bessas' wishes and Belisarius' orders; after initial success they were ambushed and returned to Rome with heavy losses; Proc. *BG* III 13.2-4.

Artasires 2 officer of Artabanes' bodyguard 545-546

Perhaps a Persian, like Artasires 1.

Officer (δορυφόρος) of the bodyguard of Artabanes 2, in Africa in 545 and 546; he was privy to Artabanes' plans to assassinate Guntharis and played an active role in the actual murder; Proc. *BV* II 27.10, 28.7-32. Cf. Artabanes 2 and Guntharis.

Artemia wife of Florentinus 1 E/M VI

Wife of Florentinus 1, mother of Gundulfus, Nicetius 1 (future bishop of Lyon, born c. 513) and a daughter; she insisted that her husband refuse the bishopric of Geneva and that Nicetius receive a religious education; Greg. Tur. *V. Patr.* 8.1. See stemma 12.

Cf. Stroheker, no. 36.

Artemidora ?c.f. (in Egypt) VI

Named in a receipt from Hermopolis, dated Pharmuthi 12, indiction 10; *BGU* XII 2195, line 1 π(αρά) τῆς κύρας Ἀρτεμιδώρας λαμπρο(τάτης).

Presumably a landowner at Hermopolis.

ARTEMIDORVS comes M/L VI

Ἀρτεμίδωρον κόμιστα; Zacos 753A (seal; obv.: APT/ΕΜΙΔ/ΩΡΟ.; rev.: KO/MIT/A).

Artemius honorary consul VII

Ἀρτεμίου ὑπάτωρ; Zacos 2861 (seal; obv.: +ΘΕ/ΟΤΟΚ/ΕΒΟ-Η/ΘΗ+; rev.: +ΑΡ/ΤΕΜΙ/ΩΝΠΑ/ΤΩ+).

Arufus (Ἀρουφος) Herul leader (in Italy) 547

Ὁ τῶν Ἐρούλων ἡγούμενος, in Lucania with Ioannes 46 in summer/autumn 547; surprised by the Goths, they fled to Hydruntum; Proc. *BG* III 26.23.28.

Perhaps identical with Aruth.

Aruth (Ἀρούθ) Herul leader (in Italy) 553

A Herul, an admirer of Roman ways, he married the daughter of Mauricius 1 (son of Mundus); a noted soldier, he had many Herul followers whom he led to Italy in 552 with the expedition of Narses 1; Proc. *BG* IV 26.13.

After the death of Fulcaris, Aruth had strong support among the Heruli to become their next leader; Agath. 1 28.8. See further Sindual and, for the date (late 553/early 554), Narses 1 (p. 921).

Arzes (Ἄρζης) bodyguard of Belisarius 537

On the name, cf. Justi, p. 42.

Bodyguard of Belisarius (τῶν Βελισαρίου ὑπασπιστῶν ἓνα), wounded in fighting at the *campus Neronis* in mid June 537, during the siege of Rome, and healed by Theoctistus 1; Proc. *BG* II 2.16-18.25-9, cf. 2.25 (described as ἀνδρα τῆς Βελισαρίου οἰκίας ἀριστον).

Asbadus 1 candidatus; cavalry commander (in Thrace) 550

A *candidatus*, he commanded cavalry units stationed at Tzurullum; Proc. *BG* III 38.5 (ἦν δὲ οὗτος ἀνὴρ βασιλέως μὲν Ἰουστινιανοῦ δορυφόρος, ἐπεὶ ἐς τοὺς κανδιδάτους καλουμένους τελῶν ἔτυχε, τῶν δὲ ἰππικῶν καταλόγων ἦρχεν οἱ ἐν Τζουρουλῶ τῶ ἐν Θράκη φρουρίῳ ἐκ παλαιοῦ ἴδρυνται). In 550 he was defeated and captured by an army of marauding Slavs, who later slayed him and then burnt him; Proc. *BG* III 38.4-6.9. For the date, early 550, cf. Stein, *Bas-Emp.* II 523 with n. 3.

Asbadus 2 Gepid 552

A Gepid; Proc. *BG* IV 26.13, 32.22. A young and vigorous man, he accompanied Narses 1 to Italy in 552 with four hundred soldiers of his own tribe; Proc. *BG* IV 26.13. After the battle of Busta Gallorum he pursued and fatally wounded the Gothic king Totila, not knowing his identity; at the same time he himself was wounded; Proc. *BG* IV 32.22-8.

Ascan (Ἀσκάν) Hun; cavalry commander 530-531

A Hun; Proc. *BP* I 13.21. On the name, cf. Justi, pp. 28 and 43.

He served under Belisarius at the battle of Dara in June 530, commanding a cavalry force six hundred strong with Simmas; Proc. *BP* I 13.21, 14.44.

In 531 he again served under Belisarius and was killed in the battle of Callinicum (April 19); Proc. *BP* I 18.38.41.

Ascel king of the Hermechiones 563

Ἀσκήλ, τοῦ ῥηγῶς Ἐρμηχιόνων, τοῦ ἔσωθεν κειμένου τοῦ τῶν βαρβάρων ἔθνους πλησίον τοῦ ὠκεανοῦ; in July 563 envoys from him arrived in Constantinople; Theoph. AM 6055. The identity of his people is unknown; possibly they were Avars (cf. Stein, *Bas-Emp.* II 545, with n. 3) or perhaps a tribe from the Baltic region.

Possibly another embassy of his was in Constantinople in late 565; Coripp. *Iust.* III 390-1 (en Scaldor nostra servire paratus in aula legatos nobis et plurima munera mittit; the form of the name is uncertain, either *enscultor* or *en scaldor*, as is also the identity of the two men). Cf. Stein (above).

See also Macartney, *Greek Sources*, pp. 267, 271-4.

Asclepiades follower of Theodorus 8 537/539

A native of Palestine and well born (εὖ γεγονότι), he was a leading follower of Theodorus 8 in Africa (πρώτῳ τῶν Θεοδώρου ἐπιτηδείων); when informed by Maximinus 1 of his conspiracy, he disclosed the matter to Theodorus and then to Germanus (*PLRE II*); Proc. *BF* II 18.3. The date was 537/539.

Asclepiodotus 1 ex praefectis 529/530

Ὁ ἀπὸ ἐπαρχῶν; Theoph. AM 6022. He took fright, drank poison and died during the pagan persecution of 529/530; Joh. Mal. 449, Theoph. AM 6022.

Asclepiodotus 2 advocate (at Naples) 536

In 536 Pastor 2 and Asclepiodotus were *advocati* (ρήτορες) at Naples; they were well known there and were prominent leaders of the Gothic cause; Proc. *BG* I 8.22. In order to prevent the surrender of the city to Belisarius, they persuaded the people first to demand impossible conditions and then, although these were conceded, still to refuse to admit the Romans, producing promises from the Jews that the city would not go short of necessities and from the Goths that they would maintain the defence of the circuit walls; Proc. *BG* I 8.23-4.29-42. After the capture of Naples Asclepiodotus accompanied other notables to a meeting with Belisarius and defended his conduct but while returning was attacked and killed by the populace who blamed him for their suffering; Proc. *BG* I 10.39-47.

Asclepiodotus 3 referendarius (of Guntram) 583/585

He conveyed Guntram's instruction to the council of Valence in 583/585; *Conc. Gall.* 511-695, p. 235 (per virum illustrem Asclpiodotum referendarium).

Perhaps identical with 'Asclpiodus' who certified (recognovit) the *decretio* of Childebert II in 596; *MG, Capit.* I, p. 17.

Cf. also Asclepius 5, and see Stroheker, no. 38. Perhaps identical with Asclepiodotus 4.

Asclepiodotus 4 patricius (et rector Provinciae) (?599-601

Possibly identical with Asclepiodotus 3.

Addressee of two letters from pope Gregory: *Ep.* IX 225 (a. 599 July; addressed 'Asclepiodoto Galliis' - perhaps 'in Gaul'), XI 43 (a. 601 June 22; addressed 'Asclepiodoto patricio Gallorum' - see below).

Apparently of noble family; Greg. *Ep.* XI 43 (the allusions to *nobilitas* and *nobiles* here imply that he came of old senatorial stock).

PATRICIUS (ET RECTOR PROVINCIÆ) a. (?599-601 June 22; in office a. 601 June 22, when Gregory commended to him the papal patrimony in Gaul and also the priest Candidus who was *rector patrimonii* there; Greg. *Ep.* XI 43 title (cited above) (he is styled 'gloria vestra' and the fact of his serving the king is noted with approval - prudentes viros, sicut estis, regibus adhaerere multorum solamen est). He was possibly in office in July 599, when he is styled 'gloria vestra' by Gregory in a letter commending Hilarius 3 to his protection (tuitioni vestrae); *Ep.* IX 225.

In 601 Gregory, who had heard good reports about his piety and generosity to the poor from Candidus, sent a key of St Peter to Asclepiodotus to wear round his neck for luck; *Ep.* XI 43.

ASCLEPIVS 1 proconsul (Asiae) V/VI

+ Αὐξί Ἀσκληπί(ο)ς ὁ μεγαλοπρεπέστατος ἀνθύπατος; *AE* 1977, 795 = *IK* 14, 1313 Ephesus. The inscription, a mosaic from a basilica, is in the form of an acclamation.

Asclepius 2 philosopher E/M VI

A native of Tralles, he was a pupil of Ammonius (*PLRE II*); he wrote a commentary on the *Arithmetica* of Nicomachus (ed. L. Taran, in *TAPS* 59) and another on the *Metaphysica* of Aristotle (ed. Hayduck, *CAG* VI 2). He was a fellow-pupil of Asclepius 3 and a contemporary of Simplicius 1, whom he outlived. See further *P-W* II 1697, no. 5 and cf. Westerink, *Janus* 51.3 (1964), p. 172.

Asclepius 3 philosopher and teacher of medicine E/M VI

A fellow-pupil of Asclepius 2 of Tralles, they studied together under Ammonius (*PLRE II*); later he taught medicine; Asclepius of Tralles, *Comm. in Arist. Met.* (*CAG* VI 2), p. 143, 31-2 Ἀσκληπίος ὁ τῆς ἰατρικῆς τέχνης διδάσκαλος, ὁ σὺν ἡμῖν ἐνδιατρίψας τοῖς μαθήμασιν. Cf. *P-W* II 1697, no. 6.

Asclepius 4 scriniarius of the MVM per Orientem 544

Σκρινιάριος τῆς κατὰ τὴν ἑὼ στρατηγίδος ἀρχῆς; he acted as judge for one of the parties in an inheritance dispute (cf. Ioannes 33); Just. *Nor.* 158 (a. 544 July 14).

Asclepius 5 dux under Guntram before 582

In 582 Asclepius *ex duce* killed the guard placed by Chilperic at the bridge over the river Orge near Paris (apud pontem vero Urbiensem)

(to prevent raids from Guntram's kingdom) and plundered the district near the bridge; war nearly followed but Guntram paid compensation; Greg. Tur. *HF* vi 19.

Cf. Asclepiodotus 3.

Ascovindus companion of Chramn ?555

Virum magnificum et in omni bonitate perspicuum, civem Arvernum, Ascovindum nomine; a companion of Chramnus at Clermont-Ferrand, he tried unsuccessfully to stop him from wrong-doing; Greg. Tur. *HF* iv 16. The date was probably 555; cf. Firminus 1.

Ascum MVM per Illyricum 528

Ἀσκούμ; Joh. Mal. Ἀκούμ; Theoph., Cedr.

Described as a Hun (perhaps a Bulgar, cf. Stein, *Bas-Emp.* II 307), he was a godson of the emperor Justinian; ὁ τοῦ Ἰλλυρικοῦ στρατηλάτης, in 528 with Constantiolus and Godilas he commanded the Roman army which defeated the Bulgars who had invaded Scythia and Moesia and were raiding Thrace; after the victory, they were surprised by other Bulgars and routed, and Ascum and Constantiolus were captured; Constantiolus was ransomed, but Ascum was carried off into captivity; Joh. Mal. 438, Theoph. AM 6031, Cedr. I 651.

Ashtat Yeztayar Persian general 607/608

On the name, see Justi, p. 47, s.n. Aštāt, no. 4.

Persian general sent by Chosroes in 607/608 (year 18 of Chosroes) to attack Armenia, accompanied by the supposed Theodosius 13 (son of Maurice); after defeating and routing the Roman forces he took and garrisoned Karin (Theodosiopolis) and then attacked Dzitharič (? = Citharizon), Satala, Nicopolis and Apastiy (?near Lake Van, cf. Sebeos, ed. Macler, index, p. 152); Sebeos xxiii, pp. 61-2. See also Garitte, *CSCO*, Subsidia 4, pp. 261-2.

Asinarius Gothic commander 536-537

In 536, under Theodahad, he and Gripas led a Gothic army into Dalmatia; Proc. *BG* I 7.1-5. See further Gripas.

In 537 he and Vligisalus were sent by Vitigis with a large army and fleet to recapture Dalmatia (ἄρχοντας Ἀσινάριον τε καὶ Οὐλιγίσσαλον); Proc. *BG* I 16.8-10. Following Vitigis' orders, Asinarius left the main army and went to raise a further army among the Suevi; Proc. *BG* I 16.12. With a large army of barbarians he rejoined Vligisalus at Burnus; they advanced against Salonae and invested it by land and sea; in spite of losses to their fleet they continued to press the siege; Proc. *BG* I 16.15-18. See further Constantianus 2.

Asouades (?al-Aswad) phylarchus 544/555

An Arab, he held the post of *phylarchus* but none the less was involved in fighting against Arethas (al-Hārith), not before 544; Cyr. Scyth. *V. Euth.* 51. The date was during Cyril's stay in the monastery of Euthymius, i.e. 544-555.

Perhaps a descendant of Asouades, *phylarchus* in 503 (*PLRE* II, p. 164).

ASPAGOVRIVS military commander (in Cyprus) 617

For the name, cf. Justi, p. 46, s.n. Aspacuras.

Sent to Cyprus in 617, he was refused admission into Constantia (Salamis) and was about to make war on the city when the patriarch of Alexandria, John the Almsgiver, arrived and made peace; Sophronius, *V. Ioh. El.* 13 (Ἀσπαγοῦριος δὲ τις τοῦνομα στρατηγός). His despatch to Cyprus had presumably some connection with the war against Persia; since the Persians had no fleet, he was perhaps intending to mount attacks from Cyprus on the Levant.

Aspasius father of Iovinus (in Gaul) M VI

Father of Iovinus 1 and Leo 10; Ven. Fort. *Carm.* VII 12, line 121. Perhaps a Gallo-Roman noble.

Aspebedes Persian noble E/M VI

On the name, see Justi, p. 306, s.n. Spādapati, no. 3.

Maternal uncle of Chosroes I; Proc. *BP* I 11.5, 23.6. In 531 he was one of the Persian generals to invade Mesopotamia (with Chanaranges and Mermeroos); Proc. *BP* I 21.4. He was one of the Persian nobles executed by Chosroes in c. 532 following the discovery of the plot to secure the throne for Zames; Proc. *BP* I 23.6.

Probably identical with Aspebedus, who negotiated peace in 506; Proc. *BP* I 9.24, Theoph. AM 5998, and see *PLRE* II, p. 169 and Christensen, *L'Iran sous les Sassanides*², pp. 336, n. 6, 354, 382.

His identification with Aspabed, the father of Bindoes and Bistam (maternal uncles of Chosroes II) (Theoph. Sim. iv 3.5), is difficult for reasons of chronology.

Asphaturius ?dux (of the Thebaid) 610/640

In a fragmentary papyrus from Hermopolis recording an agreement to repay a loan, Asphaturius is named in a manner suggesting that he was *dux et augustalis Thebaidis*; the document is from the reign of Heraclius; *P. Amh.* II 151, lines 4-5...ο]ν τοῦ καὶ τὸ πρόσωπον Ἀσφατουρίου τοῦ εὐκλεο[τά]του/...] ἑκατέρας Θηβαΐδος τὸν τόπον

ἀναπληροῦντι διὰ Σεργίου/. The epithet εὐκλέεστατος suggests that he was *dux*, presumably of the Thebaid. The sense is unclear, but the document was perhaps sent via Sergius to someone acting as deputy for Asphaturius.

Aspidius leading citizen in Gallaecia 575

A leading citizen (*loci senior*) in the mountains of Orense (in Gallaecia); in 575 when Leovigild subdued the district, Aspidius was captured with his wife and children and his property confiscated; Joh. Bicl. s.a. 575. Cf. Garcia Moreno, no. 20.

Asprenas (*IGLS* III 734) V/VI: *PLRE* II.

Asteriolus man of influence with Theodebert ?c. 540

He and Secundinus, men of education and wisdom, were highly regarded by king Theodebert (*magni cum rege habebantur; erat autem uterque sapiens et retoricis inbutus litteris*); they had a violent quarrel, which the king succeeded in calming, but when it again broke out the king, taking his enemy's part, reduced Asteriolus in rank to a position subordinate to Secundinus; he later regained his position with the support of queen Wisegardis (*rex suscipiens Secundini causam, Asteriolum in eius potestatem dedit. Qui valde humiliatus est et ab honore depositus; sed per Wisigardem reginam iterum est restitutus*); after the death of Wisegardis he was murdered by Secundinus, leaving a son who in due course sought to avenge him; Greg. Tur. *HF* III 33. The date was probably c. 540 (cf. Wisegardis). To judge by their names, they were Gallo-Roman notables, and evidently held office under Theodebert.

Asterius (*IGLS* IV 1356) V/VI: *PLRE* II.

Asterius: comes pistorum (Rome) V/VI: *PLRE* II.

Asterius (*AE* 1904, 46) V/VI: *PLRE* II.

Asterius I consul (?honorary) M VI

Consul; son of a widow, he received in marriage from Vigilius the pope's niece, *Vigilia*; said subsequently to have been arrested and beaten to death at the pope's instigation (one of the acts of cruelty supposedly alleged against Vigilius by the people of Rome, leading to the pope's arrest in 545); *Lib. Pont.* 61.4 (item dedit, sc. Vigilius, nepotem suam *Vigilia* (sic) Asterio consuli filio mulieris viduae).

If the story has any basis in fact and Asterius was a real person, he can hardly be identified with the last *consul ordinarius* called Asterius, who

held the title in 494 (*PLRE* II, Asterius 11). He was presumably an honorary consul. Probably a Roman aristocrat and perhaps of the same family as the consul of 494, Turcius Rufius Apronianus Asterius.

Asterius 2 ?iudex pedaneus 576

Εἷς τῶν βασιλείων διακτητῶν, οὗς δὴ ἀντιγραφέας ἀποκαλέσσις; taken captive by the Persians, he was executed in 576 when caught writing to tell the emperor to attack the Persians as they were in difficulties; Men. Prot. frag. 46. Διακτητής was the usual word for a *iudex pedaneus* (cf. e.g. Just. *Nov.* 82) whereas ἀντιγραφεύς was used to denote a *magister scrinii* (see Constantinus 1). Since Asterius was evidently absent from Constantinople, on the eastern frontier, he was more probably one of the *iudices*.

ASTERIUS 3 comes Orientis 587/588

Ἄσπεριου τὴν ἐφῶν ἀρχὴν διέποντος (he was *comes Orientis* rather than PPO Orientis); he quarrelled with the bishop of Antioch, Gregory, and was supported by the populace, but was dismissed after popular disorders and succeeded by Ioannes 97; Evagr. *HE* VI 7 (= Nic. Call. *HE* XVIII 12). He subsequently perished in the great earthquake at Antioch (Oct. 29, 588; Higgins, p. 31); Evagr. *HE* VI 8 (= Nic. Call. *HE* XVIII 13).

Asterius 4 illustrius (at Antioch) L VI

Ἰλλούστριος, at Antioch, where he and Thomas 21 were acquaintances of the *scholasticus* Anastasius 26; *V. Sym. Lun.* 224.

Asterius 5 ?PVC M VI/VII

His monogram (37) occurs on a glass weight; Monneret de Villard, Catalogue H, no. 25, and cf. Feissel, *Rev. Num.*⁶ 28 (1986), p. 128, with p. 129, fig. 1, no. 3. He was probably a prefect of Constantinople. The monogram is cruciform and therefore too late to belong to the Asterius who may have been PVC under Justin I (*PLRE* II, Asterius 10). His date is probably mid sixth/seventh century.

Astidius vir iulustris (in Gaul) L VI

Vir iulustris, at Limoges; successor of Aridius as abbot; *V. Aridii* 50 (*MGH, Scr. Rer. Mer.* III, pp. 601-2).

Asyncritus ex praefectis VII

Ἀσυγκρίτου ἀπὸ ἐπάρχ(ω)ν; Zacos 2862 (seal; obv.: +ACV/ΓΚΡΙ/ΤΟΥ; rev.: +ΑΠ/ΟΕΠΑ/ΡΧΟΝ).

Atarbius PPO (Orientis) 528 March 1

Addressee of *CJ* 1 3.41 (Ἀταρβίω ἐπάρχῳ πραιτωρίων).

Atat Khorkhoruni Armenian noble; patricius L VI/E VII

On the name, cf. *Justi*, p. 49, s.n. Atat, no. 2.

An Armenian noble, he rebelled with Samuel Vahewuni and others, probably in 595 (see Mamak Mamikonian), but submitted to the Romans under Heraclius 3 following divisions among the rebels; summoned by Maurice to the palace, he was loaded with honours, titles and gifts and sent to Thrace; *Sebeos* vi, pp. 31–3.

PATRICIVS a. 601: by 601 'il était grand patrice', *Sebeos* xx, p. 53. Possibly he received the title after the earlier revolt.

In 601 he rebelled again; summoned to the palace by Maurice with seventy followers, he was warmly received and given precious gifts and then sent back to rejoin his army in Thrace; instead he deserted with his men, making his way back to Armenia, to the fortress of Nakhishevan; there the Romans (perhaps under Narses 10) besieged him but he was relieved by the Persians and treated with honour by Chosroes; when Maurice died in the following year (i.e. 602), he planned to desert back to the Romans, but Chosroes found out and had him put to death; *Sebeos* xx, pp. 53–4.

After his initial revolt it would seem that Maurice stationed Atat in Thrace with Armenian troops.

Athalaricus: king of the Ostrogoths 526–534; *PLRE* II.

Athanagildus 1 king of the Visigoths (551–)555–568

Atanagildus; *Jord.* Athanaildus; *Joh. Bicl.* Athanagildus; *elsewhere*.

Of noble Visigothic family; *Ven. Fort. Carm.* vi 1, 124. Husband of Goisuintha; *Joh. Bicl.* s.a. 569, *Greg. Tur. HF* v 38. Father of Brunichildis; *Greg. Tur. HF* iv 27, *Ven. Fort. Carm.* vi 1, 124–7. Father also of Galsuintha; *Greg. Tur. HF* iv 28.

In 551 he led a revolt against Agila; *Jord. Get.* 303, *Chron. Caesaraug.* s.a. 552, *Isid. Hist. Goth.* 46, 47. He asked for military help from Justinian who sent a force under the command of Liberius (*PLRE* II, p. 680) in summer 552 (cf. Stein, *Bas-Emp.* II 820–1); *Jord. Get.* 303, *Isid. Hist. Goth.* 47, cf. *Greg. Tur. HF* iv 8 (arrival of imperial troops in Spain). Presumably with their aid (virtute militari) he then defeated the army of Agila near Seville; *Isid. Hist. Goth.* 46. The civil war apparently continued indecisively until the murder of Agila in 555.

KING of the Visigoths a. (551–) 555–568: in March 555 Agila was

assassinated and Athanagild was proclaimed king of the Visigoths; *Isid. Hist. Goth.* 46, 47 (in year of the province 592, year 29 of Justinian), *Chron. Caesaraug.* s.a. 552, *Greg. Tur. HF* iv 8. For the date, cf. Zeumer, *Neues Archiv* xxvii (1902), pp. 418ff. He reigned for fifteen years; *Chron. Caesaraug.* s.a. 552, cf. *Isid. Hist. Goth.* 47 (fourteen years). He dated his own reign from his initial rebellion against Agila in 551; cf. *CIL* XII 5343 = *ILCV* 1847 (an inscription from Narbo dated to the fifth year of Athanagild and in a fourth indiction, i.e. Sept. 555/Aug. 556).

During his reign he fought many successful battles against the imperial troops and recaptured a number of the cities which had fallen into their hands; *Greg. Tur. HF* iv 8. He was never able however to drive them from Spain; *Isid. Hist. Goth.* 47. Late in the reign he captured Seville (once perhaps his capital, now apparently in revolt) and did great harm to Cordoba (also apparently a centre of revolt); *Chron. Caesaraug.* s.a. 568, cf. Thompson, *Goths in Spain*, p. 322 (for date and circumstances).

In 568 he died a natural death in Toledo and was succeeded after five months' interregnum by Liuva; *Joh. Bicl.* s.a. 568, *Isid. Hist. Goth.* 47 (a natural death, at Toledo), *Greg. Tur. HF* iv 38.

Athanagildus 2 Visigothic prince L VI

The infant son of Ermenegildus and Ingundis, he was in the hands of Byzantine forces in Spain in 584 with his mother when his father was overthrown and captured; *Greg. Tur. HF* viii 28 (unnamed). He was taken to Constantinople, where letters were sent to him in 585/586 by his grandmother Brunichildis and his uncle Childebert II; *Ep. Austras.* 27, 28 (*MGH, Epp.* III, pp. 139–40) (both addressed 'dulcissimo nepoti Athanagildo regi'). Attempts to obtain his release and despatch to Gaul were made by the embassy of Babo and Grippo in late 585/early 586 (without success); *Ep. Austras.* 43, 44, 45 (*MGH, Epp.* III, pp. 149–51). Cf. Babo, for the circumstances.

Athanasia 1 ?c.f. (Egypt) VI

A papyrus from Oxyrhynchus records payments of barley, one made δ(ιά) τῆς μεγαλοπρε(πτο)τάτης Ἀθανασίας ὑπὲρ διαφόρ(ων) ὀνομ(άτων); *P. Oxy.* 2020 (sixth cent.).

Athanasia 2 patricia VII

Ἀθανασίας πατρικίας; *Zacos* 754 = *Dumbarton Oaks* seal 58.106.2281 (seal; obv.: +/ΑΘΑΝ/ΑΚΙΑC/+; rev.: +/ΠΑΤ./ΙΚΙΑC).

money in the palace. Procopius perhaps suppressed the role of Athanasius, but more probably it was Procopius' source for these events which did so; his source seems to have been either Artabanes himself or one of his followers, possibly Artasires 2. It seems that Procopius, informed by Artabanes or a follower in Constantinople in the absence of Athanasius, stressed the role of Artabanes, while Corippus, writing in Africa while Athanasius was still in office there and after Artabanes had left, stressed that of Athanasius.

In 547 when Ioannes 36 Troglita suffered defeat on the Plain of Gallica, near Marta, Athanasius was apparently in Carthage; cf. Coripp. *Ioh.* vii 150 (nuntius infelix Tyriam concusserat urbem), 195. Probably during the following winter 547/548 he helped to reorganise the Roman army; Coripp. *Ioh.* vii 199–202 (at pater alternans Athanasius ordine curas, sollicitus rerum patriaeque suaeque salutis, agmina cuncta movet latis incedere campis et forti properare duci). He organised supplies, encouraged the allies and gave advice to Ioannes; Coripp. *Ioh.* vii 202–3 (veneranda senectus evigilanter agit populos), 206–8 (ergo tot impensas genitor tunc ire iubebat et socios urgebat agens, fortique magistro consilium gratus senior mandabat amicum).

He was apparently still in office when Corippus composed the *Iohannis* (probably 549/550), but had certainly been replaced by Sept. 6, 552; cf. Paulus 17.

He was evidently an accomplished and persuasive speaker, a quality useful in an envoy; cf. Proc. *BV* II 26.22 (θωπεΐα τε πολλῇ χρώμενος – to Guntharis), Coripp. *Ioh.* vii 204–5 (gravitas seniumque laborque verbaque blanda iuvant tristes mulcentia mentes).

Perhaps in allusion to his age and experience he is styled 'pater' and 'genitor' by Corippus; *Ioh.* iv 232 (pater ille bonus), 239 (genitor), vii 199 (pater), 206 (genitor).

Athanasius 2 ?iudex pedaneus (in Lazica) 556

In 556 he was one of the leading senators at Constantinople (ἐνα τῶν τὰ πρῶτα λαχόντων ἐν τῇ συγκλήτῳ βουλῇ); Agath. iii 14.4. Possibly identical with Athanasius 1 (former PPO).

He was sent to Lazica in 556 to hold a formal enquiry into the death of Gubazes and to try those accused of his murder; Agath. iii 14.4–6, iv 1.1–2. See Ioannes 47 and Rusticus 4 and cf. Mestrianus (his assistant). He is styled ὁ διατητής, Agath. iii 14.6, iv 2.2; and δικαστής, Agath. iv 3.1–3, 6.6, 7.2, 8.1, 10.1. Probably he was one of the *iudices pedanei*; cf. Just. *Nov.* 82. He judged that Gubazes was innocent of treachery and had been wrongly killed; he sent to Justinian a report on the guilt of

Martinus 2 and ordered the execution of the others involved (Rusticus and Ioannes); Agath. iv 11.1–2.

Fl. Triadius Marianus Michaelius Gabrielius Constantinus Theodorus Martyrius Iulianus Athanasius 3

honorary MVM and consul, patricius, dux et augustalis Thebaidis
?566–568

Pap. 1–8) *P. Cairo Masp.* 67002–5, 67007–8, 67097 (= *REG* 24 (1911), p. 428), *P. Lit. Lond.* 100D all possibly from Antinoe; *Pap.* 9–12) Antinoe, *Pap.* 9–10; *P. Cairo Masp.* 67166, 67279 (= *P. Beuzé* 2), 11–12) *P. Lond.* v 1674, 1709; *Pap.* 13) *P. Oxy.* 154 = *P. Oxy.* 1920.

Full name; *Pap.* 1–6 (in full or to be restored). Athanasius; *Pap.* 7–13.

He was the subject of a panegyric composed by Fl. Dioscorus 5 of Aphroditō; *Pap.* 7 = Heitsch XLII 4. He was also the subject of an epithalamium by Dioscorus; *Pap.* 8.

According to the panegyric he was descended from Eustochius 1, Cyrillus 1 and Cometas 1; *Pap.* 7, lines 10–11 Εὐστοχίου γε [σ]οτήρος ἀτὰρ Κυρίλλου τε Κομητοῦ, ὧν βασιλεῖς τρομέουσι τὰ μῆδεα πυκνὰ σοφίης, 98–99 ὁ τοῦ Κυρίλλου καὶ Κομητοῦ τῶν πάνυ οἱ καὶ κυβερνῆται μέγιστοι πελαστικῶν (possibly = πελατικῶν, referring to the inhabitants of the Thebaid; cf. Maspero, *REG*, *loc. cit.*). The three men are otherwise unrecorded.

?DVX ET AVGVSTALIS THEBAIDIS before c. 567/568 (possibly Jan./Feb. 548 or 563): in two documents there are allusions to his previous tenure of the office, *Pap.* 1, III, line 9 ἐπὶ τῆς πρώτης ὑμῶν εὐαρχείας, *Pap.* 3, lines 3–4 (referring to his reappointment). This presumably indicates an earlier term in the office. The date of this earlier term was possibly Jan./Feb., 548 or 563; a document from Oxyrhynchus records payments made τοῖς ἀνθρώποις τοῦ ὑπερφύεστ(άτου) πατρικίου Ἀθανασίου on their visit to Oxyrhynchus from the Thebais between Jan. 27 and Feb. 7 (Mecheir 2 to 13) in an eleventh indiction; the men included various minor officials and a number of soldiers; *P. Oxy.* 154 = 1920. The context clearly shows that Athanasius was in office in the Thebaid, but the indiction does not fit the dates 566/568. The only possible years seem to be 548 or 563; perhaps the latter is the more likely, as closer in date to his recorded tenure.

His full titles are recorded (with unimportant variations) in *Pap.* 1–6: ὁ ἐνδοξότατος στρατηλάτης^(a), ἀπὸ ὑπάτων^(b) καὶ ὑπερφύεστατος πατρικίος^(c), πραΐφεκτος Ἰουστίνου^(d), δούξ καὶ αὐγουστάλιος τῆς Θηβαίων χώρας τὸ β^(e).

(a)–(c) MVM, EX CONSVLE ET PATRICIVS: these titles are all honorific; they are alluded to in *Pap.* 7, line 20 ὦ στρατιάρχε μέγιστε καὶ ὑπάτε,

Athanasia 3 wife of Marcellinus E VII

A rich lady, of good family (γένους... λαμπρότητι) at Alexandria; wife of Marcellinus 4; a disbeliever in the powers of Saints Cyrus and John, she often spoke blasphemously of them and was afflicted by curvature of the spine in punishment; later she became a believer and was cured; Sophronius, *Mir. SS. Cyr. et Ioh.* 29 (PG 87.3.3508-12).

Athanasius 1 PPO Italiae 539-542; PPO Africae 545-548 (-?549)

Brother of Alexander 1 (who was a member of the senate); Proc. *BG* I 6.26. Father-in-law of Leontius 5; Proc. *BG* III 32.34, IV 24.11. He was an elderly man in 545/546; Proc. *BV* II 26.33 (τὸ γῆρας... τοῦ ἀνθρώπου), cf. Coripp. *Ioh.* IV 237 (cana gravitate), 239 (senilis) (in 546), VII 202 (veneranda senectus), 204 (senium), 208 (senior) (in 547/548).

In 536 he and Petrus 6 (the patrician) were sent to Italy by Justinian as envoys to Theodahad; Proc. *BG* I 6.25-6, 7.24. The time was apparently in spring or early summer; cf. Belisarius, p. 195. Their purpose was to arrange the transfer of the government of Italy from the Goths to the Romans; they were instructed to give to Theodahad the estates of the imperial *patrimonium* and to secure confirmation of the agreement in writing and by oaths, after which they were to summon Belisarius from Sicily to take control of affairs in Italy; Proc. *BG* I 6.19-26. At this point Theodahad changed his mind after learning of the deaths of the Roman generals Mundus and Mauricius and began to abuse the envoys; they protested strongly at his actions and his change of policy, but they were placed by Theodahad under close arrest; Proc. *BG* I 7.11-25. They were not released until 539, spring or summer, when Belisarius refused to allow Gothic envoys returning from Constantinople to rejoin their people until Athanasius and Petrus in turn were set free; Proc. *BG* II 22.23.

PPO ITALIAE a. 539-540 (-?542): on their return to Constantinople the two men were given the highest honours by Justinian; Athanasius was made PPO Italiae; Proc. *BG* II 22.24 (οὓς δὴ ἐς Βυζάντιον ἀφικομένους γερῶν βασιλεὺς τῶν μεγίστων ἠξίωσεν, Ἀθανάσιον μὲν ὑπαρχον τῶν ἐν Ἰταλίᾳ πραιτωρίων καταστησάμενος). He was probably appointed around midsummer 539; Proc. *BG* II 22.25. His last known predecessor was Reparatus (*PLRE* II), murdered by the Goths in March 539; Proc. *BG* II 21.40. He apparently arrived in Italy from Constantinople early in 540; shortly before Belisarius entered Ravenna (in May 540), Athanasius and several Roman commanders whom Belisarius distrusted were dispersed to various places, ostensibly because of the difficulty of supplying the whole army if it were concentrated at Ravenna; Proc. *BG*

II 29.29-30 (they departed σὺν Ἀθανασίῳ τῷ τῶν πραιτωρίων ὑπάρχῳ, ἄρτι ἦκοντι ἐκ Βυζαντίου). Possibly Athanasius was responsible for organising supplies for the dispersed commanders.

He is not again recorded in this office, but may have held it until summer/autumn 542 when Maximinus 2 became PPO Italiae. According to Procopius, Athanasius had recently left Italy when in 545 he accompanied Areobindus 2 to Africa (see below); he perhaps remained in Italy after ceasing to be prefect, returning to Constantinople in 544 and sailing from there with Areobindus in 545.

PPO AFRICAE a. 545-548(-?): sent by Justinian as PPO to Africa with Areobindus 2; Proc. *BV* II 24.2 (καὶ σὺν αὐτῷ Ἀθανάσιον ἑπαρχον ἄρτι ἐξ Ἰταλίας ἦκοντα ἔστειλλε). They probably arrived in spring 545; cf. Sergius 4. Recorded on one side of a bronze tablet from Carthage; *BCTH* 1918, p. 183, n. 50 (Atana/si prefecti); the reverse records: Petri/proc(onsulis)).

When Guntharis revolted in late 545, Athanasius was summoned with other leaders to take counsel with Areobindus; Proc. *BV* II 26.6. Allegations were made by Guntharis to his troops that Areobindus and Athanasius were planning to sail away from Carthage in order to avoid paying the army their wages; Proc. *BV* II 26.10.

After Guntharis seized Carthage his first act was to summon Athanasius to him; Athanasius went without delay and professed his delight at the turn of events with many expressions of flattery; Proc. *BV* II 26.21-2. He and Areobindus were summoned to dine with Guntharis in the palace, after which Areobindus was murdered by agents of Guntharis; Athanasius however was spared, supposedly because of his age; Proc. *BV* II 26.31-3.

According to Corippus, Athanasius was responsible for planning the death of Guntharis; he alone, it is said, was able to save Africa for the empire and Artabanes 2 was his agent; Coripp. *Ioh.* IV 232-9. At the banquet at which Guntharis was murdered, Athanasius shared the top couch with Guntharis, Artabanes and others; Proc. *BV* II 28.3. After the murder he was asked by Artabanes to take charge of the money stored in the palace; this included the wealth left by Areobindus; Proc. *BV* II 28.35. The evidence of Procopius does not point to Athanasius as a leader of the plot against Guntharis (cf. Artabanes); nevertheless his account is not inconsistent with the version of Corippus; Athanasius evidently convinced Guntharis of the sincerity of his support (Proc. *BV* II 26.22; δόκησιν παρείχeto ὡς αὐτὸν ὅτι μάλιστα ἢ πρᾶξις ἀρέσκοι), then presumably bided his time with Artabanes until a suitable opportunity for the assassination occurred; his involvement in the plot is strongly suggested by the fact that he immediately took charge of the

(Fl. Marianus) Michael Gabriel Ioannes Theodorus Iulianus Theodorus Marinus Athanasius 8

ex praefectis, ex comitibus privatarum, imperialis chartularius et proconsul (Asiae) ?VI/VII

+ Θαυμα. ια Μιχ(α)ήλ Γαβρ(ι)ήλ Ἰωάνν(η)ς Θεόδωρ(ος) Ἰουλιαν(ός) Θεόδωρ(ος) Μαρίν(ος) Ἀθανάσιος ὁ μεγαλοπρεπέστα(τος), ἀπὸ ἐπά-ρχων κ(αί) ἀπὸ κομίτων πριουάτων, δεσποτικὸς χαρτουλάριος καὶ σὺ(ν) Θ(ε)ῶ ἀνθύπατος λέγει; *IK* 14, 1323 Ephesus. The first words of the inscription perhaps should be read as the beginning of his name, possibly Φλα. Μα[ρ]ια(νος). His combination of titles (the first two are both honorific) is without exact parallel and suggests a sixth- or possibly seventh-century date.

Athanasius 9 CSL 605 or 607

On June 7, in either 605 or 607, he was executed for plotting against Phocas; *Chron. Pasch.* s.a. 605 (κόμης λαργιτιώνων). He is certainly identical with Anastasius, κόμης τῶν λαργιτιώνων, named in Theoph. AM 6101 (under the year 609) as a participant with Theodorus 150 and Elpidius 3 in a conspiracy to murder Phocas; after initial involvement, he betrayed the plot to Phocas but was none the less beheaded with the other conspirators. This is evidently the same as the conspiracy recorded in *Chron. Pasch.* s.a. 605 and Theoph. AM 6099. See further Theodorus 150.

Athanasius 10 patricius; envoy to the Avars 626

Envoy to the Avar khan in c. 620; *Nic. Brev.*, p. 13 (Ἀθανάσιον τὸν πατρικίον). Cf. Cosmas 20.

Ὁ ἐνδοξότατος πατρικίος; sent from Constantinople as envoy to the khan of the Avars near Adrianople shortly before the siege of Constantinople; he returned at the khan's request to ask what the citizens would pay for him to withdraw, but found the city's defences strengthened and the people defiant; on his return to the Avars the khan refused to see him unless he brought the total submission of the city; on Aug. 2, the fifth day of the siege, Athanasius was one of the ἄρχοντες who visited the khan on a fruitless mission to make peace (cf. Bonus 5 and Georgius 48); *Chron. Pasch.* s.a. 626, Theod. Sync., 307.11-40.

Athanasius 11 domesticus (in Egypt) VII

He received thirty-six κοῦρι δ(ο)θ(έντα) τῶ κυρ(ίω) Ἀθανασί(ω) τωμεστίκ(ω) (sic); *P. Ross.-Georg.* v 64 Fayum.

Athanasius 12 patricius VII

Ἀθανασίου πατρικίου; Zacos 756 (seal; obv.: .ΘΑ/NAC/IOV; rev.: ΠΑΤ/ΠΙΚ/IOV). A similar seal, with different alignment, is in Constantinopoloulos, *Molybdoboulla*, no. 454.

Athanasius 13 spatharius VII

Ἀθανασίου σπαθαρίου; Dumbarton Oaks seal 58.106.1247 (seal; obv.: cruciform monogram (9) of Ἀθανασίου; rev.: cruciform monogram (311) of σπαθαρίου).

Athanasius (?) 14 spatharius and MVM VII

Ἀθανασίου σπαθαρίου(?), στρατηλάτου; Dumbarton Oaks seal 55.1.84 (seal; obv.: cruciform monogram (10) of Ἀθανασίου σπαθαρίου(?); rev.: cruciform monogram (325) of στρατηλάτου).

ATHENAEVS comes (East) M VI

Κόμης; husband of Fidelia, father of Fidelia; *IGC* 343 Philadelphia (Lydia), dated in indiction 9 under Justinian (= 530/531, 545/546 or 560/561; Grégoire suggested 530/531).

Athenius pagarchus (of the Arsinoite nome) ?VI

Ἀθηνίου παγάρχου; his heirs owed a debt; *Stud. Pal.* III 436 Arsinoite nome.

Athenodorus officer of Belisarius' bodyguard 537

A native of Isauria and δορυφόρος of Belisarius (ἐν τοῖς Βελισαρίου δορυφόροις εὐδόκιμος), recorded early in the siege of Rome (in c. April/May 537); *Proc. BG* I 29.20-1. Cf. also Georgius 3 and Theodoriscus.

Gregorius Attalus: bishop of Langres c. 506-c. 539; *PLRE* II.

Attalus Gallo-Roman noble E/M VI

Of senatorial family, nephew of Gregorius Attalus (bishop of Langres; *PLRE* II, p. 179); one of several hostages exchanged between Theoderic (511-533) and Childebert (511-558), he was reduced to slavery when the kings again quarrelled and was subject to a Frankish master near Trier; attempts by his uncle to ransom him failed and he was finally rescued by one of his uncle's servants, a cook called Leo; *Greg. Tur. HF* III 15 (the story is told at great length by Gregory of Tours who was related to Attalus through his mother). Cf. Strohecker, no. 42.

πατὴρ ἀνάκτων. Athanasius is styled πανεύφημος (or ὑπερφυέστατος) πατρικίος in *Pap.* 9, 11, 12, 13. He was already *patricius* in 563, or less probably 548; *Pap.* 13, and see above.

(d) This title, *praefectus Iustini* (or, earlier, *praefectus Iustiniani*), is recorded only in the reigns of Justinian and Justin II. It has been interpreted as a military title (prefect of the troops of Justinian/Justin) and an actual office, cf. Maspero, *Org. Mil.*, p. 80, but it is perhaps best regarded as a newly devised honorific title (perhaps a new name for honorary PPO, or a new grade related to it). It was evidently a title still borne by Athanasius when in office as *dux et augustalis* (and so is unlikely to have been an actual office), and its position in the list of his titles, before the office of *dux*, implies that it was honorific.

(e) DVX ET AVGVSTALIS THEBAIDIS? a. 566–568: in office in late 567/early 568, *Pap.* 1 (written shortly after a fifteenth indiction; see *P. Lond.* v, p. 69), cf. *Pap.* 2–6 (all undated, but written by Dioscorus at about the same time as *Pap.* 1). Perhaps still in office on March 15, 568; *Pap.* 9 (dated Phamenoth 19, indiction 1, in the third year of Justin; it mentions the ἔνδοξος οἶκος τοῦ πανευφήμου Ἀθανασίου πατρικίου), and cf. *Pap.* 12 (a Coptic document, alluding to an ‘ex-superintendent (ἀποπρονοητῶν) of the honoured house of the illustrious (πανεύφημος) patrician (πατρικίος) Athanasius’). He was succeeded by Callinicus 4 and had left office perhaps before the end of 568; cf. *Pap.* 4 (the draft, addressed to Athanasius, records Callinicus in the subscription on the verso), *Pap.* 10 (addressed to Callinicus, it alludes to an event ἐπὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς Ἀθανασίου το[ῦ] ὑπ(ε)ρυεστά(του), in line 15, and is itself to be dated c. 569, see Fl. Helladius 1), *Pap.* 11 (lines 92–3, πράττων ὁ πανεύφημος πατρικίος Ἀθανάσιος, i.e. formerly in office; cf. *P. Lond.* v 1708, line 79, note. *Pap.* 11 possibly alludes back to the petition in *Pap.* 1). The meaning of τὸ β’ (*Pap.* 1–6) is almost certainly that he was in his second year in office (cf. e.g. Iacobus 1); he therefore held office for no more than two years (cf. *Pap.* 4), possibly 566 to 568; cf. *P. Lond.* 1663, line 1, note.

The panegyric on Athanasius by Dioscorus (*Pap.* 7) was composed while Athanasius was *dux Thebaidis*, though whether for the first or second time is uncertain; cf. *Pap.* 7, lines 12 and 95 (στρατιάρχος, perhaps *dux* rather than MVM, which was στρατιάρχος μέγιστος in line 20), lines 18–19 (γῆς Φαρίης κρατέων ἢ δ’ Ἀρκαδίας μετὰ Θήβης, σὺν πότῳ ἦτε φόβῳ τὰ θεμιστὰ πάντα νομεύων; he did not rule Egypt and Arcadia – the language is that of hyperbole).

Athanasius may be alluded to in a fragmentary papyrus, *P. Cairo Masp.* 67017 (...? Γαβριη]λίω Θε[οδῶρω?... / ... πατρ]ικίω δοῦκ[ι καὶ αὐγουσταλίω...).

FL. ATHANASIVS 4 v.c., advocatus fori Thebaidis VI

+ Φλαυίω Ἀθανασίω υἱῶ (.....) τῷ λαμπροτάτῳ καὶ σοφωτάτῳ σχολαστικῷ φό[ρο]ν [Θ]η[β]αῖ[δο]ς; addressee of a receipt for the loan of six carats of gold; *P. Ant.* 104.

Athanasius 5 grandson of the empress Theodora; a monk M VI

Grandson of the empress Theodora, whose daughter was his mother; Joh. Eph. *HE* III 5.1, Mich. Syr. IX 30, X 1, Bar Hebr., *Chron. Eccl.* I 46 (p. 226), 47 (p. 236).

He received a religious education from the monophysites Amantius, a monk from Edessa, and then Sergius, a priest from Tella and later patriarch of Antioch; he became a Tritheite and a follower of John Asconaghes; Mich. Syr. IX 30, Bar Hebr., *Chron. Eccl.* I 46. He was a monk and in 566, when the monophysite bishop of Alexandria, Theodosius, died, he was a candidate for the vacant see; Mich. Syr. X 1, Bar Hebr., *Chron. Eccl.* I 47.

He promoted a further heresy, following the teachings of Ioannes *grammaticus* of Alexandria and denying the resurrection of the physical body; Joh. Eph. *HE* III 2.36, 2.51. Said to have used gold to spread the heresy; Joh. Eph. *HE* III 5.1.

He made a will, naming the emperor and empress (Justin II and Sophia) as his heirs, manumitting his slaves and leaving a small legacy to each, and bequeathing to the bishop Conon, a fellow-heretic, the sum of ten pounds of gold immediately and an annuity of two pounds of gold for life; subsequently there was a split among the heretics and he and Conon fell out and anathematised one another, but Athanasius died before he could change his will; Joh. Eph. *HE* III 5.7.

Athanasius 6 patricius M VI/M VII

Ἀθανασίου πατρικίου; Zacos 288 = Dumbarton Oaks seal 58.106.4548 (seal; obv.: cruciform monogram (8) of Ἀθανασίου; rev.: cruciform monogram (251) of πατρικίου).

Athanasius 7 a secretis VI/VII

Ἀθανασίου ἀσηκρητίς; Zacos 755 (seal, dated M VI/M VII Zacos; obv.: ΑΘΑ/ΝΑCΙ/ΟV; rev.: ACH/KPH/TIC). A closely similar seal is Dumbarton Oaks seal 55.1.1939 (dated VI/VII Oikonomides; obv.: +/ΑΘΑ/ΝΑC/ΙΟV; rev.: +/ΑCΗ/Κ.Η/TIC).

Atticus Gallo-Roman noble M VI

His epitaph was composed by Venantius Fortunatus; Ven. Fort. *Carm.* iv 16.

Of noble ancestry; line 11 (clarus ab antiquis, spes nobilitatis opimae). He was a wealthy man, lavish with gifts to churches and the poor; lines 12, 17. An eloquent speaker, much admired for his judgement and honoured in Gaul in old age like a father; lines 6-10, esp. 9-10 (cuius abundantem venerata est Gallia sensum, excoluitque senem semper honore patrem). Described as 'celsus... Atticus ille'; line 5.

Evidently a Gallo-Roman noble, probably of senatorial descent, and well educated. Cf. Stroheker, no. 44.

Attila vir inluster; domesticus (at the Frankish court) M VI

Vir inluster ac regalis aulae domesticus; cured by bishop Germanus of Paris after injuring his arm in a fall, in gratitude he gave Germanus a large sum of money to distribute to the poor; Ven. Fort. *V.S. Germ.* LX 159-62.

He evidently served at the court of one of the Frankish kings who controlled Paris, while Germanus was bishop (c. 556-576). On the *domesticus*, cf. Dalton II 516.

Aubedo envoy of Clovis II ?c. 641/642

Envoy (legatarius) of Clovis II to the Lombard king Rothari, whom he reproached for humiliating Gundoberga; lavishly rewarded by her after her release; Fredegar. iv 71. The date was apparently some five years after the accession of Rothari.

Auctarit ?Lombard noble L VI

In 592 his troops, like those of Nordulf, were serving under the *dux* of Spolegium Ariulfus who asked pope Gregory to pay them what was owed before he would discuss peace; Greg. *Ep.* II 45 (a. 592 July; Ariulfus exercitum Auctarit et Nordulfi habens eorum sibi dari precaria desiderat, ut nobiscum loqui aliquid de pace dignetur).

This implies that, like Nordulfs, the troops of Auctarit had once fought for the Romans until their arrears of pay mounted, when they went over to the Lombard side and joined Ariulf. If this is the case and Auctarit was their leader at the time, he cannot be identified with the Lombard king Authari. However it is not impossible that the king's personal followers went over to the Roman side, if only briefly, following his death in Sept. 590. Cf. also Autharius 2.

Audax: grammarian L IV/VI; *PLRE* II.

Audeca king of the Sueves 584-585

Audeca; Joh. Bicl., Isid., Fredegar. Audica; Greg. Tur. Odiacca; coin (see below).

Husband of a sister of Eboricus; presumably son-in-law of Miro; Greg. Tur. *HF* VI 43, Fredegar. III 83.

KING of the Sueves a. 584-585: in 584 he deposed Eboricus and usurped the throne of the Sueves in Gallaecia; Joh. Bicl. s.a. 584, Isid. *Hist. Sueb.* 92, Greg. Tur. *HF* VI 43, Fredegar. III 83. He then married the widow of Miro, Sisegutia; Joh. Bicl. s.a. 584, Greg. Tur. *HF* VI 43. In 585 the kingdom was overrun by the Visigothic king Leovigild and Audeca was deposed, tonsured and ordained to the priesthood; Joh. Bicl. s.a. 585, Isid. *Hist. Sueb.* 92. He was exiled to Pax Iulia (Pacensi urbe); Joh. Bicl. s.a. 585.

He was the only king of the Sueves to put his own name on his coins; see Grierson, in *Estudos de Castelo Branco* (1962), pp. 7-12.

Audegiselus maior domus (under the Franks) M VI

Maior domus regiae; cured of a fever by bishop Germanus of Paris; Ven. Fort. *V.S. Germ.* XLIV 122-4.

He presumably served at the court of one of the Frankish kings at Paris, during the episcopate of Germanus (c. 556-576). On the *maior domus*, cf. Dalton I 199-200.

Quenia Audentia (*CIL* XI 1728) IV/VI; *PLRE* II.

Audo ?comes (in Paris) ?-584

A *iudex*, apparently in Paris, under Chilperic; said to have collaborated in wrongdoing with Fredegundis; he and Mummolus 3 had imposed taxes on some Franks who had previously been exempt; after Chilperic's death (late 584) he was attacked by them; they carried off all his wealth and burnt his property; he saved his life by taking sanctuary in a church, the same one as Fredegundis; Greg. Tur. *HF* VII 15. For the equivalence of *iudex* and *comes*, see Dalton, I, p. 202 with n. 3.

Audioenus *qui et Dado* = St Ouen, bishop of Rouen 641-684

Dado; Fredegarius, Desiderius of Cahors. Audioenus cognomento Dado; *Vita*, I. Audioenus; *Lib. Hist. Franc., Gesta Dagoberti*, V. S. *Balthildis*.

Son of Audecharius and Aiga, brother of Ado and Rado; *V. Audioeni* I (*MGH, Scr. Rer. Mer.* v, p. 554).

In 635 he was *referendarius* of Dagobert; owner of a *mansio* at Clichy

where the Breton ruler Iudicael visited him; Fredegar. iv 78. He served at the courts of Chlotharius II and Dagobert; Ionas, *V. Columb.* i 26, *V. Audoeni* 1-3 (*MGH, Scr. Rer. Mer.*, v, pp. 554-5, and see p. 537).

Bishop of Rouen a. 641-684; he was bishop from 641 until his death on Aug. 24, 684; *V. Audoeni*, passim, *Lib. Hist. Franc.* 42, 45, 47, *Gesta Dagoberti* 51, *V. S. Balthildis* 5, and see *MGH, Scr. Rer. Mer.* v, 538-40.

Addressee of a letter from Desiderius of Cahors; Desid. Cadurc. *Ep.* i 10. He was co-author of two surviving letters; Desid. Cadurc. *Ep.* ii 4, 6.

Audoin king of the Lombards M VI

A member of one of the Lombard noble families (ex genere fuit Gausus); his mother is said to have been Menia, wife of a king Pissas; *Hist. Lang. cod. Goth.* 5. His wife was Rodelinda, who bore him a son, his successor Alboin; *Origo Gent. Lang.* 5, *Hist. Lang. cod. Goth.* 5, Paul. Diac. *Hist. Lang.* i 23, 27. At some date, probably between c. 540 and c. 552, he was betrothed by Justinian to the sister of Amalafriadas; Proc. *BG* iv 25.12. Whether or not she was identical with Rodelinda or whether the marriage ever took place is not certain; however the prowess of Alboin in 552 suggests that he was not born after c. 540 and therefore that Audoin had married Rodelinda some time before then, perhaps in the 530s. Cf. further Alboin.

During the seven years reign of the boy-king Waltari (c. 540/541-c. 547/548), Audoin ruled the Lombards as regent; Proc. *BG* iii 35.17 (ἐπίτροπος καταστάς Αὐδοῖν τὴν ἀρχὴν διωκεῖτο).

KING of the Lombards c.a. 547/548-552(-?): when Waltari died, Audoin used his influence to secure the throne for himself (his chief rival was Ildigisal); Proc. *BG* iii 35.18. Successor of Waltari as ninth king of the Lombards; *Origo Gent. Lang.* 5, *Hist. Lang. cod. Goth.* 5, Paul. Diac. *Hist. Lang.* i 22. King of the Lombards; Proc. *BG* iii 34.4 (in 548/549), iv 25.12, 15, 26.12, Paul. Diac. *Hist. Lang.* i 23, 27, *Hist. Rom.* xvi 20. According to Lombard sources, one of his first acts was to lead his people into Pannonia to settle there; *Origo Gent. Lang.* 5, *Hist. Lang. cod. Goth.* 5, Paul. Diac. *Hist. Lang.* i 22. The Lombards were settled in Pannonia and Noricum by Justinian, perhaps c. 546/547; Proc. *BG* iii 33.10-12, and cf. Stein, *Bas-Emp.* ii 528. The period of Lombard settlement in Pannonia prior to their departure for Italy in 568 (see Alboin) is recorded as forty-two years by Paul the Deacon, *Hist. Lang.* ii 7. The date of 526 is much too early for the settlement by Justinian and under Audoin. Perhaps the correct number was twenty-two years (a. 546-568).

In 548/549 Audoin sent envoys to Justinian seeking Roman support against their new neighbours, the Gepids; Proc. *BG* iii 34.4, and see

Turisindus. In 549 he asked the Gepids (under Turisindus) to return Ildigisal, Audoin's chief rival for the Lombard throne, without success; Proc. *BG* iii 35.20, cf. iv 27.1 (his rival). In 550 he led his troops against the Gepids, but both armies panicked and ran away and the kings agreed to a two-year truce; Proc. *BG* iv 18.2-11 (ἡγεῖτο... τῶν δὲ Λαγγοβαρδῶν Αὐδοῖν ὄνομα). In the same year Audoin promised help to Germanus (*PLRE* ii, p. 507) for the expedition to Italy and prepared a strong force of a thousand men; Proc. *BG* iii 39.20. Probably between 550 and 552 Audoin asked Justinian to surrender Ildigisal, but was refused; Proc. *BG* iv 27.4.

In early 552, in return for a substantial payment and in accordance with the terms of their alliance (τῆ τῆς ὀμαιχμίας συνθήκη), Audoin sent a large force of Lombards (five thousand, five hundred strong) to assist the Romans under Narses i in Italy; Proc. *BG* iv 26.12, Paul. Diac. *Hist. Lang.* ii 1. Later in the year the war with the Gepids resumed and in a great battle, in which the Lombards were joined by Roman troops under Amalafriadas, Audoin crushingly defeated the Gepids; his son Alboin distinguished himself in the fighting and killed Turismodus, son of the Gepid king; Proc. *BG* iv 25.14, Paul. Diac. *Hist. Lang.* i 23, *Hist. Rom.* xvi 20. Audoin subsequently sent envoys to announce the victory to Justinian and to complain that the assistance he received was inadequate considering how great were the forces sent by the Lombards to help Narses in Italy; Proc. *BG* iv 25.15.

Following this victory, the Romans and the Lombards made a peace with the Gepids which apparently lasted until after the death of Turisindus; Proc. *BG* iv 27.21-2. A request by Justinian and Audoin for the surrender of Ildigisal was refused and Audoin refused a counter-request from Turisindus for the surrender of Vstrigothus (both fugitives were quietly murdered by their respective hosts and peace was maintained); Proc. *BG* iv 27.22.26-8.

Audoin died in Pannonia and was succeeded by Alboin; *Origo Gent. Lang.* 5, *Hist. Lang. cod. Goth.* 5, Paul. Diac. *Hist. Lang.* i 27.

Audolenus ?Frankish notable L VI/E VII

Father of Boso 3, from Etampes; Fredegar. iv 54. Presumably a Frankish notable.

Audovaldus dux (of Childebert) 590

One of the twenty *duces* in command of the expedition sent into Italy against the Lombards in 590 by Childebert II; en route he and Wintrio plundered the district around Metz; once in Italy he and six (unnamed) *duces* advanced to Milan, where they met imperial envoys and waited in

vain for promised imperial reinforcements; after some three months the expedition returned home, suffering badly from hunger and dysentery; Greg. Tur. *HF* x 3, Paul. Diac. *Hist. Lang.* iii 31 (who names the three leading *duces* as Audualdus (sic), Olo and Cedinus, = Henus). On this expedition, see further Henus and cf. Goubert, ii, i, 188-92.

Audovarius commander (under Sigibert) 567/569

He commanded an army of Sigibert from the Auvergne in 567/569; he and Firminus 1 joined forces and captured Arles but were then defeated and put to flight by Celsus 2; Greg. Tur. *HF* iv 30.

Audovera wife of Chilperic M VI

On the name, see Förstemann 203.

Wife of king Chilperic before he married Fredegundis; mother of Theodebertus, Merovechus, Chlodovechus and Basina; Greg. Tur. *HF* iv 28, v 2, 39, vi 34, Fredegar. iii 60, *Lib. Hist. Franc.* 31, 33.

She was murdered in late 580 after the death of Chlodovechus; Greg. Tur. *HF* v 39.

Audulfus at Childebert's court ?579/582

Commended by Venantius Fortunatus to Childebert II and Brunichildis, possibly in 579/582 (see Agiulfus); Ven. Fort. *App. Carm.* v-vii. He was a client of Venantius (Audulfum famulum, Audulfum proprium).

Aventius ?son of Euphronius M VI

Possibly son of Euphronius; Ven. Fort. *Carm.* iii 2.6 (a letter to Euphronius: domnum meum per omnia dulcissimum, filium vestrum Aventium pro me multipliciter supplico salutari). The words may however be used in a spiritual sense.

Augustina Augusta 638

Daughter of the emperor Heraclius and Martina, sister of David 8, Marinus 12 and Martina 2; made Augusta in 638; Nic. *Brev.* 27. For the date, cf. David 8. See stemma 6.

Augustinus logothetes M VI/M VII

Αὐγουστίνου λογοθέτου; Zacos 757 (seal; obv.: AV/Γ8CTI/NOV; rev.: [Λ]ΟΓ/ΟΘΕ/Τ8). On λογοθέτης = discussor, see Jones, *LRE* iii, p. 243, n. 106, and cf. Alexander 5.

Augustus (Cedr. i 684; cousin of Justin II): the name should be Iustinus. See Iustinus 4.

AVGVSTVS

v.c. (in Italy) 602

In 602 he was strongly recommended by pope Gregory for the post of *comes formarum* (at Rome); Greg. *Ep.* xii 6 (a. 602 Jan.; addressed to the subdeacon John at Ravenna, asking him to intercede with the PPO, 'quatenus cura formarum committi Augusto viro clarissimo debuisset, pro eo quod omnino sollicitus atque strenuus vir est').

There is no evidence to identify him with the Augustus named in Greg. *Ep.* ix 44 (a. 598 Oct.).

Avia (*CIL* xii 481) V/VI: *PLRE* ii.

Rufius Magnus Faustus Avienus: consul 502; PPO Italiae 527-528; *PLRE* ii.

Avienus father of pope Severinus L VI/E VII

Lib. Pont. 73. Possibly of senatorial descent, to judge by his name; cf. Brown, *Gentlemen*, p. 24 with n. 7.

Avita sister of Desiderius of Cahors E VII

Daughter of Salvius and Herchenfreda, sister of Desiderius 5, Rusticus 6, Syagrius 3 and Selina; *V. Desid. Cad.* i (*MGH, Scr. Rer. Mer.* iv, p. 563).

Avitus: (v.c.) (West) E VI; *PLRE* ii.

Aulus

MVM (East) 583

In summer 583 he captured the fort of Acbas; Joh. Eph. *HE* iii 6.36 ('magister militum (στρατηλάτης) videlicet cui nomen Aulus'), but cf. Theoph. Sim. i 12.1-7, according to whom the siege of Acbas ended in defeat for the Romans, and see Ioannes 101 Mystacon. Acbas is not recorded elsewhere to have fallen into Roman hands other than in late 589; see Comentiolus 1. Theophylact does not name the Roman commander at Acbas in 583, calling him first ὁ τοῦ Ῥωμαϊκοῦ ταξίαρχος (i 12.1) and then ὁ στρατηγός (i 12.3). The Romans evidently suffered a defeat at Acbas, but the testimony of John of Ephesus strongly indicates that they captured the place later in 583 (cf. also Joh. Eph. *HE* iii 6.37). Possibly the ταξίαρχος was Aulus who began the siege and was joined for a time by the στρατηγός Ioannes Mystacon under whom the Roman defeat occurred and who then withdrew leaving Aulus to complete the attempt successfully.

Avolus

Gallo-Roman noble M VI

Of noble birth (nobilitate potens), wealthy and generous to the church

and the poor; his epitaph was composed by Venantius Fortunatus; Ven. Fort. *Carm.* iv 21. Perhaps a Gallo-Roman, of senatorial descent. Cf. Avulus, in *PLRE* II, and Stroheker, no. 63.

The name is also that of a learned ecclesiastical *notarius* at Metz to whom Gogo sent greetings (salutem Avolum, notarii eruditione fulgentem); *Ep. Austras.* 22 (*MGH, Epp.* III, p. 135).

Aurelia Maria

Aureliana (*IGC* 47 bis) ?V/VI: *PLRE* II.

Aureliana (or ?Aurelia) wife of Dynamius L VI

Wife of Dynamius 4; *Greg. Ep.* VII 12 (a. 596 Oct.; Aureliana), 33 (597 July; Aurelia).

Fl. Marianus Micahelius Gabrihelius Petrus Iohannis Narses Aurelianus Limenius Stefanus Aurelianus 1

PPO Italiae 554/568

Vir gl(oriosissimus) p(raefectus) p(raetori)o p(er) It(aliam); he presided over hearings brought by representatives of the church of Ravenna; *P. Ital.* 4-5 (= Marini, *P. Dip.* 74), B VIII 4-5 (full name and title), cf. B VII 12 (Fl. Aurelianus, and title), and see Tjäder, p. 419, n. 47. The text cites documents, the latest dated Jan. 552, and mentions a *defensor* Thomas (B VIII 1) who was dead by 575 (*P. Ital.* 6, line 43). However the post of PPO Italiae was held by Antiochus 2 from 552 to 554 and by Longinus 5 from 568 to 574/575.

Aurelianus 2 patricius (at Marseilles) ?VI

Patricius; owner of a slave miraculously cured at the tomb of St Victor in Marseilles; *Greg. Tur. Glor. Mart.* 76. The date is not certain but was probably contemporary with Gregory. Aurelianus was perhaps *patricius* of Provence, but cf. Stroheker, n. 46 (identifying him with the PPO of 473, *PLRE* II, Aurelianus 5).

Aurelianus 3 ?Frankish notable L VI

Addressee of a letter from pope Gregory consoling him on the death of his brother; allusions to his hospitality and charitable works suggest that he was a man of wealth; *Greg. Ep.* IX 217 (a. 599 July; addressed 'Aureliano ex Francis'). His name suggests that he may have been a Gallo-Roman rather than a Frank. He may have been related to Aureliana (?Aurelia), the wife of Dynamius 4; see *MGH, Epp.* I, p. 454, n. 3.

Ioannes Aurus domesticus of the lanciarii ?VI

+ "Ενθα κατάκιτε ὁ ἔμπρακτος δομειστικός λανκιαρίων ὁ κύρις Ἰωάννης Ἄουρος; *AE* 1903, 73 Iconium (Lycaonia). For ἔμπρακτος = in actu positus, see *CJ* I 24.1 (ἔμπρακτοι ἄρχοντες).

AVSTRAPIVS dux (of Tours and Poitiers) 556

Dux, under Chlotharius I; at Tours in 556 he took refuge from Chramnus in the basilica of St Martin, while Chlotharius was away on campaign against the Saxons, and nearly perished of starvation; highly honoured by Chlotharius after his return (magnus cum eo est habitus); later he became a cleric and was made bishop of Sellense castrum (Chantoceaux) in the district of Poitiers, with Chlotharius' promise that he would succeed to the see of Poitiers on the death of bishop Pientius; however Chlotharius died first and Charibert, on Pientius' death, appointed Pascentius in spite of Austrapius' appeals; Austrapius returned to his own see and subsequently was killed by the local Taifali whom he had earlier oppressed; *Greg. Tur. HF* IV 18. While still *dux* he joined bishop Pientius in building a monastery for St Radegund at Poitiers; Baudonivia, *V.S. Radeg.* 5.

Austregildis quae et Bobilla

regina; (second) wife of Guntram M/L VI

For her names, see *Greg. Tur. HF* IV 25, *Fredegar.* III 56, and cf. Schönfeld, p. 38, and Förstemann 318.

Formerly servant of Magnacharius, she became the second wife of Guntram, in succession to Marcatrudis, and bore him two sons, Chlotharius and Chlodomeris; *Greg. Tur. HF* IV 25, V 17, 20, *Fredegar.* III 56. Styled 'regina', *Greg. Tur. HF* V 17, 36, *Mar. Avent. s.a.* 581. Mother also of Chlodeberga and Chlothildis.

She died of plague in September 580, after extracting an oath from Guntram to execute her two doctors in the event of her death; *Greg. Tur. HF* V 35, *Mar. Avent. s.a.* 581 (dating her death to September of indiction fourteen). Her epitaph is preserved; Le Blant, *Inscr. chrét. de la Gaule* I 316, no. 218.

Austrigusa wife of the Lombard ruler Vaces E/M VI

Daughter of a king of the Gepids, second wife of the Lombard ruler Waccho (Vaces), mother of Wisegardis and Walderada (Vuldetrada); *Origo Gent. Lang.* 4, *Paul. Diac. Hist. Lang.* I 21.

Austrovaldus dux (in Gaul) 587-589

On the name, see Förstemann 216.

comes (? of Toulouse) in 587, when he accompanied Desiderius 2 on campaign against the Visigoths of Carcassonne; they set out from

Toulouse; after the death of Desiderius, Austrovaldus withdrew, went to the king (Guntram) and soon became *dux* in succession to Desiderius (see below); Greg. Tur. *HF* viii 45.

dux (under Guntram) a. 587–589; appointed to succeed Desiderius in 587; Greg. Tur. *HF* viii 45 (*qui mox in eius locum dux statuitur*). *Dux*, in 587, *HF* ix 7; in 589, *HF* ix 31. In 587 he led several attacks on the Wascones when they began to come down from the mountains on raiding forays but did them no great harm; Greg. Tur. *HF* ix 7. In 589 when Guntram planned to attack Septimania Austrovaldus first subdued Carcassonne to Guntram's rule but was subsequently treated with scorn by Boso 2 for entering Carcassonne without him; Greg. Tur. *HF* ix 31.

Autharius 1 Lombard *dux* ?584

He submitted to the Romans; Fredegar. iv 45 (*alius Autharius – i.e. not king Authari – idemque dux cum integro suo ducatu se ditioni tradidit imperii, ibique permansit*). For the date, possibly 584, see Jamut, *Studien*, p. 346, no. 33.

He may be identical with Auctarit.

Authari 2 king of the Lombards 584–590

Autharic; Joh. Bicl. Autharith; Greg., *Auct. Haun. Extr.* Authari; *Origo Gent. Lang., Hist. Lang. cod. Goth.*, Paul. Diac. Aptachar; Greg. Tur. Autharius; Fredegar.

Son of Cleph; *Ed. Roth.*, p. 2, *Origo Gent. Lang. 6, Hist. Lang. cod. Goth.* 6, Paul. Diac. *Hist. Lang.* iii 16. A relative of Agilulfus; Paul. Diac. *Hist. Lang.* iii 35, cf. Fredegar. iv 45 (wrongly called his father).

According to Fredegar. iv 45 he was a *dux* before he became king.

KING of the Lombards a. 584–590: after an interregnum of ten years from the death of Cleph, he was chosen by the Lombards as their king; *Auct. Haun. Extr.* 14 (*MGH, AA* xiii, p. 338), Joh. Bicl. s.a. 581, *Origo Gent. Lang. 6, Hist. Lang. cod. Goth.* 6, Paul. Diac. *Hist. Lang.* iii 16, cf. Fredegar. iv 45 (he was allegedly chosen with the consent of the Frankish kings Guntram and Childebert II and paid regular tribute to the Franks). He assumed the *praenomen* Flavius; Paul. Diac. *Hist. Lang.* iii 16, 28, 30. His reign lasted for six years and six months; *Auct. Haun. Extr.* 8, cf. *Origo Gent. Lang. 6* and *Hist. Lang. cod. Goth. 6* (seven years), and Paul. Diac. *Hist. Lang.* iii 35 (six years). His death occurred on Sept. 5, 590 (see below); he therefore became king in March/April 584.

He fought successfully against the Romans and extended Lombard rule in Italy; Joh. Bicl. s.a. 581, s.a. 586. He defeated Droctulfus at Brexillum (probably in 584) and forced him to flee to Ravenna, and then made peace with Smaragdus for three years (?585/586–588/589);

Paul. Diac. *Hist. Lang.* iii 18. He later sent an army against Histria under Eoin and expelled Francio from the island of Comacina; Paul. Diac. *Hist. Lang.* iii 27. Under him Italy suffered attacks from the Franks under Childebert, who had agreed to help the Romans; Greg. Tur. *HF* vi 42 (in 584), viii 18 (in 585), Paul. Diac. *Hist. Lang.* iii 17, 22. He sought the hand of Childebert's sister Chlodosinda in marriage (in vain); Greg. Tur. *HF* ix 25 (in 588), Paul. Diac. *Hist. Lang.* iii 28. In 588 he inflicted a crushing defeat on Childebert's army; *Auct. Haun. Extr.* 8 (but cf. Ollo), Greg. Tur. *HF* ix 25, Paul. Diac. *Hist. Lang.* iii 29. Probably in 589, on May 15, he married Theodelinda, a Frankish lady from Bavaria; *Origo Gent. Lang. 6, Hist. Lang. cod. Goth. 6*, Paul. Diac. *Hist. Lang.* iii 30 (May 15), *Auct. Haun. Extr.* 9. Also in 589 he sent envoys to Guntram and Childebert in an effort to avert another attack and make peace; Greg. Tur. *HF* ix 29.

In 590 he was assailed in north Italy by both the Franks and the Romans and took refuge in Pavia; he sent envoys to Guntram and Childebert again to try to make peace, but while they were still absent Authari died at Pavia, on Sept. 5; Greg. Tur. *HF* x 3, Paul. Diac. *Hist. Lang.* iii 31, 34, 35, *Auct. Haun. Extr.* 14 (p. 339), Greg. *Ep.* i 17 (a. 591 Jan.), *Ep. Austras.* 40 (*MGH, Epp.* iii, p. 146). He was succeeded by Agilulfus (q.v.).

At Easter 590 he had forbidden the Catholic baptism of Lombards; Greg. *Ep.* i 17 (*quoniam nefandissimus Autharith in hac quae nuper exempta est paschali sollemnitate Langobardorum filios in fide catholica baptizari prohibuit – pro qua culpa cum divina maiestas extinxit, ut sollemnitatem paschalis alterius non videret*). Alluded to by Gregory as a former 'rex Langobardorum'; Greg. *Ep.* vii 23 (in 597).

Paul gives a description of him at the time of his marriage; *Hist. Lang.* iii 30 (*erat autem tunc Authari iuvenali aetate floridus, statura decens, candido crine perfusus et satis decorus aspectu*).

Autiliten Moorish chief 546–548

A Moorish chief, he fought on the Moorish side in the battles won by Ioannes 36 Troglita in winter 546/547 and in summer 548 on the Plains of Cato; Coripp. *Ioh.* ii 58–9 (*quis gravis Autiliten, patris non mollior ausis, praefectus bellique comes nullique fidelis ibat*), iv 643 (winter battle of 546/547), viii 255 (Plains of Cato, in 548).

Auxentia (Just. *Nov.* 155) E/M VI: PLRE II.

Auxentius architect (in Phrygia) VI
+ Ὑπὲρ εὐχῆς καὶ ἀναπαύσεως Αὐξεντίου ἀρχιτέκτονος καὶ ὑπὲρ

εὐχῆς Ὑπατίας καὶ Ἀνδρέου καὶ Εὐσιβί[ου] καὶ εὐξαμέν[ω]ν τὴν εὐ[χὴν?] ἐξετελέ[σθη]+; *BCH* 1893, p. 289, no. 93 Aghzi-Kara (Phrygia).

Auxitius: comes orientis V/VI; *PLRE* II.

Azarethes Persian general 531, 544

Ἀζαρέθης; Proc., Evagr. Ἐξαράθ; Joh. Mal. Zuraq; *Chron.* 724. The name was probably an honorific designation; cf. Justi, p. 88 s.n. Ἐξαράθ, Christensen, *L'Iran sous les Sassanides*², pp. 409–10, and Stein, *Bas-Emp.* II 293, n. 2 from p. 292.

In spring 531 he led a Persian invasion of Commagene, accompanied by Alamundarus (*PLRE* II, pp. 41–2). They withdrew before the Roman army under Belisarius as far as Callinicum, where the Romans were heavily defeated; Proc. *BP* I 17.1–2, 18.1–2, 18.9–10, 18.13, 18.27–30, Joh. Mal. 461, Evagr. *HE* IV 13, *Chron.* 724, p. 150 = p. 115–16, Zach. *HE* IX 4 (unnamed), and see Belisarius. However his own losses were so heavy that he incurred the displeasure of Cavades; Proc. *BP* I 18.51–6. He held the post of *astabadh* (*magister officiorum*); Zach. *HE* IX 4.

In 544 he was present with Chosroes at the siege of Edessa; Proc. *BP* II 27.41.

Āzarmīdukht daughter of Chosroes II; ruler of Persia c. 630/632

Azarmidukht; Sebeos. Azarmic; Thomas Artsruni. Arzemidokht; *Hist. Nest.* Zādmīdūkht; Bar Hebr. Zarmandocht; *Chron.* 1234. See also Justi, p. 54, and Noeldeke, *Tabari*, p. 393, n. 2.

Daughter of Chosroes II (by Shirin, *Hist. Nest.*) and sister of Boran whom she succeeded as ruler of Persia during the period of confusion in 630/2; Sebeos xxviii, p. 90, Thomas Artsruni II 3, *Hist. Nest.* II 94 (at Seleucia; blinded after a year, then killed), Bar Hebr., *Chron.*, p. 93, *Chron.* 1234, civ (wrongly called sister of Isdegerdes III), Mich. Syr. XI 3.

AZIMARCHVS scribo (in Sicily) 598

In late 598 he came to Rome with a message from Leontius II that Gregorius 6 would suffer no harm if he came to Sicily; Greg. *Ep.* IX 57 (a. 598 Nov.; the message came 'per Azimarchum virum magnificum scribonem'). In Nov./Dec. 598 he received three letters from pope Gregory, all addressed 'Azimarcho scriboni'; Greg. *Ep.* IX 63 (recently in Rome, he was concerned with the case of Bonifatius 4 and Laurentius 5), 73 (congratulated on his safe arrival in Sicily after a shipwreck), 77 (informing him that Gregorius 6 was on his way to Sicily). In all three letters to him he is styled 'magnitudo vestra'.

Baanes

MVM 627, 634–636

Βαάνης, Βοάνης; Theoph., Cedr. 'Baanes'; Mich. Syr., *Chron.* 1234, Bar Hebr. 'Mahan'; Euty chius. Probably an Armenian, to judge by his name. See Justi, pp. 338–9, s.n. Wahan.

MVM a. 627: he accompanied Heraclius on the final invasion of Persia in late 627; in early December with picked soldiers he defeated a Persian force, killed their commander and took notable prisoners; Theoph. AM 6118 (Βοάνην τὸν στρατηλάτην), Cedr. I 730.

MVM (East) a. 634–636: appointed στρατηγός after the defeat of the emperor's brother Theodorus 163 at al-Jābiya (= Gabitha) (July 30, 634); Theoph. AM 6125, Cedr. I 745. His subsequent movements are highly obscure but in 635 he was seemingly active, together with Theodorus 164 (*sacellarius*), in defending the area between Damascus and Emesa and inflicting several defeats on Arab forces; Theoph. AM 6125, Cedr. I 745, and cf. Stratos II, pp. 58–61. In 636 he joined forces with Theodorus 164, Nicetas 9 and Jabalah against the Arabs; they were defeated at the battle of the Yarmuk (Aug. 20, 636) and Baanes was killed; Theoph. AM 6126, Cedr. I 745, Mich. Syr. XI 6, *Chron.* 1234, cx, Bar Hebr., *Chron.*, p. 94, cf. Euty chius, *Annales*, col. 1096–1097 (he allegedly survived the battle and fled to Sinai to become a monk). The Greek sources claim that on the eve of the final battle his troops abandoned Heraclius and proclaimed Baanes emperor; Theoph. AM 6125, Cedr. I 745.

Babas military commander (in Lazica) 550–556; ?MVM 556

Native of Thrace; Proc. *BG* IV 9.5.

COMMANDER in Lazica a. 550–556: one of the Roman commanders already in Lazica when Bessas arrived (in 550); Proc. *BG* IV 9.5 (the others were Benilus, Odonachus and Vligagus). In spring 551 he and Odonachus were in Archaeopolis in command of 3,000 men, one quarter of all Roman troops in Lazica; Proc. *BG* IV 13.8 (ὦν Ὀδώναχος τε καὶ Βάβας ἦρχον). They successfully defended the place against the Persians under Mermeroes and by a sudden sortie put them to flight; Proc. *BG* IV 14.1–44. Still in command in Colchis (= Lazica) in 556, possibly as MVM; Agath. III 18.10 (Βάβας δὲ ὁ στρατηγός, ὃς δὴ τῶν ἐν τῇ Κολχίδι χώρᾳ ἰδρυμένων ἐκ πλείστου Ῥωμαίων ἠγεῖτο; the title στρατηγός implies that he had the rank of MVM). He was in Archaeopolis, from where he led an attack on the Dolomitae (Dilimnitae), allies of the

Persians who were already in flight from the Sabiri; he killed many of them; Agath. III 18.10–11.

He and Odonachus are described (conventionally) as good soldiers (ἀγαθοὶ τὰ πολέμια); Proc. BG IV 13.8.

Babatio (CIL III 14203, 39) V/VI: PLRE II.

Babo vir inluster (in Gaul); envoy 585/586

Envoy of Childebert II to the emperor Maurice; his fellow-envoy was Grippo; Ep. Austras. 43 (MGH, Epp. III, p. 149) (per Babonem et Griponem). For the date of this embassy (late 585/early 586) and the circumstances, see Goubert, II i, pp. 113, 121–2.

Babo could be identical with Bobo I or perhaps Bodegiselus, but cf. Goubert, *op. cit.*, pp. 110–12.

A man called Babo who is named in a letter from bishop Abbo of Metz to bishop Desiderius of Cahors in 630/644 probably belongs to a later generation; Desid. Cadurc. Ep. II 13 (MGH, Epp. III, p. 210).

Bacauda (CIL III 15130) V/VI: PLRE II.

Bacauda man of wealth (at Ravenna) M VI

He and Iulianus 7 built the church of the Archangel Michael (San Michele in Africisco) in Ravenna; it was dedicated by them on May 6, 545; Agnellus 77 (= CIL XI 287 = ILCV 1794). See further Iulianus.

Cf. also PLRE II, Bacauda 1 and 2.

Bacchus 1 father of Sergius; a priest M VI

Father of Sergius 4, Cyrus 3 and Solomon 2, and brother of Solomon 1; Proc. BV II 21.1, 21.19, 22.17, Anecd. 5.28, Agath. V 23.8, Joh. Mal. 490, Theoph. AM 6051. According to Theophanes, he was a priest (ὁ πρεσβύτερος); Theoph. AM 6051. The family came from the vicinity of Dara; see Solomon 1.

Bacchus 2 M VI

Father of Theodorus 33; Men. Prot. fr. 41, fr. 46.

(Bac?)chus 3 v. glor., comes Orientis 588/589

In 588/589 he ordered certain boundaries to be clearly marked in the vicinity of Antioch by his *cancellarius* Ioannes 99; IGLS 530 (= Princ. Exp. Syr. III, p. 91, n. 75 = CIG 3650) near Qaṣr el-Banât, near Antioch in Syria (dated in year 637 of the era of Antioch and indiction seven, i.e. Sept. 588/Aug. 589). The text in IGLS and Princ. Exp. Syr. reads: κατὰ κέλευσιν/Παυλου τοῦ ἐν/δοξ(οτάτου) κόμ(ητος) τῆς ἑω. However the

last three letters of the name have generally been read as ...χου (see note in IGLS, which suggests Βαχχου).

Fl. Marianus Michaelius Gabriellus Sergius Bacchus Narses Conon Anastasius Dominus Theodorus Callinicus

Baddo 1 Frankish envoy 587

Senior member of an embassy sent to Guntram by Fredegundis on her son Chlotharius II's behalf in 587; the envoys were all arrested on suspicion of plotting to murder Guntram; Greg. Tur. HF VIII 44. Later in 587 he was tried for treason at Paris and sent in chains to Chalon-sur-Saône but was released and allowed to go home following the intercession of the bishop of Bayeux on his behalf; Greg. Tur. HF IX 13.

Baddo 2 Visigothic queen 589

Wife of Reccared and queen of the Visigoths; with her husband she subscribed the statement of Catholic faith at the Third Council of Toledo on May 8, 589; Mansi IX 983 = Vives, Concilios, p. 116 (ego Baddo, gloriosa regina). The marriage was after 584; see Reccared.

Petrus Badoariu(s) ?M/L VI

Named on a bronze weight or tessera; Pink, col. 92, no. 56 (+ Petrus Badoariu). He may be identical with Baduarius 2 (son-in-law of Justin II), cf. Pink, col. 61, but this is very uncertain, as is the nature of the bronze object.

Badua, Baduila; see Totila.

Baduarius 1 ?MVM et dux Scythiae 528

Βαδουάριος; Joh. Mal. 432, 437, Joh. Nik. 90.69 ('Baduarius'). Βαουδάριος; Theoph. AM 6031. Βαδούριος; Theoph. AM 6020, Cedr. I 645 (Βαδύριος).

?MVM ET DVX SCYTHIAE a. 528: στρατηγός, Joh. Mal. 432, Theoph. AM 6020, Cedr. I 645; στρατηλάτης... τῆς Σκυθίας, Theoph. AM 6031, cf. Joh. Mal. 437 (στρατηλάτης Ῥωμαίων), and see below.

In 528 Baduarius and Godilas 1 led an expedition by land from Odessus to recover Bosphorus from the Huns of the Crimea under Mougel (a naval expedition was also sent, under Ioannes 7); Joh. Mal. 432, Theoph. AM 6020 (διὰ γῆς ἀπὸ Ὀδυσσοπόλεως), Joh. Nik. 90.69, Cedr. I 645. Also in 528 he and Iustinus 1, respectively *duces* of Scythia and Moesia (Secunda), jointly met in battle an army of Bulgars (John Malalas calls them Huns) which had invaded Scythia and Moesia; Iustinus was killed and the invaders pressed on into Thrace; Joh. Mal. 437 (the Huns invaded Scythia and Moesia, ὄντος ἐκεῖ στρατηλάτου

Ῥωμαίων Βαδουαρίου καὶ Ἰουστίνου (sic)), Theoph. AM 6031 (the Bulgars invaded Scythia and Moesia, στρατηλάτου ὄντος τῆς Μυσίας Ἰουστίνου καὶ τῆς Σκυθίας Βαουδαρίου).

Baduarius is not mentioned in connection with the further Roman operations against these invaders, possibly because they took place away from Scythia; cf. Constantiolus and Godilas.

Baduarius was apparently *dux Scythiae* with the rank of *magister militum*.

Baduarius 2 patricius; comes stabuli 573

Son-in-law of Justin II (see Arabia); Coripp. *Iust.* II 284-5, Joh. Bicl. s.a. 576. Wrongly called his brother in Theoph. AM 6065. Younger than Marcellus 5; Coripp. *Iust.* II 286. Perhaps son or grandson of Baduarius 1.

CVRA PALATHI a. 565 late-?: appointed by Justin II immediately after his accession as his own successor in this post; Coripp. *Iust.* II 284-5 (dispositorque novus sacrae Baduarius aulae, successor soceri - factus mox curapalatii est).

PATRICIUS a. 565-?576: already *patricius* in Nov. 565; Coripp. *Iust.* II 287 (he and Marcellus 5 were 'ambo patricii'). He presumably remained *patricius* until his death.

?MVM (VACANS) c.a. 566/567: ordered by Justin to gather an army from Moesia and Scythia and help the Gepids under Cunimund (around Sirmium) against the Lombards; Theoph. Sim. VI 10.10 (προστάττει Βαδουαρίῳ στρατηγῶ τὰς περὶ τὴν Σκυθίαν καὶ Μυσίαν δυνάμεις ἀθροίσαντι βοηθεῖν Κοιμοῦνδῳ). A battle was fought which the Romans won; Theoph. Sim. VI 10.12. The date was 566 or 567, near the start of Justin's reign; after this battle Cunimund broke the terms of his agreement with the Romans, who then refused him help when threatened by an alliance of the Lombards and Avars; there followed the Gepid defeat by the Lombards and Cunimund's death, and subsequently the Lombards migrated to Italy, leaving Pannonia in April 568; cf. Men. Prot. fr. 24, 25, 28. Baduarius was perhaps an MVM *vacans* rather than MVM *per Illyricum* or *quaestor exercitus*.

COMES STABULI a. 573: κόμητης τῶν βασιλικῶν σταύλων on October 6, 573, when, according to an anecdote told by Theophanes, he angered the emperor during a *silentium*; Justin, already suffering from mental illness, insulted him and had the *cubicularii* expel him with blows from the meeting; subsequently the emperor repented and visited the stables to apologise to Baduarius and make his peace; Theoph. AM 6065.

He was later sent to Italy, perhaps with an army, to try to stem the Lombard conquest. In c. 576 he suffered defeat in battle at their hands and soon afterwards died there; Joh. Bicl. s.a. 576 (Baduarius gener

Iustini principis in Italia a Longobardis proelio vincitur et non multo post inibi vitae finem accipit). It is not clear from this whether his death was natural or from wounds or whether he fell into Lombard hands and was killed.

He may be identical with a Baduarius who built a church at Ravenna which was consecrated by a bishop Petrus; Agnellus, *Lib. Pont. Eccl. Rav.* 51 (Agnellus identifies the bishop with Petrus Chrysologus, giving a fifth-century date, but his chronology is very muddled, and the bishop could be Petrus III, bishop of Ravenna from 570 to 578; cf. Agnellus, *Lib. Pont. Eccl. Rav.* 93 and 97).

Baduarius 3 ?curator domus rerum Arcobindi ?VI

Recorded as in charge of the *domus rerum Arcobindi* in an inscription from Constantinople; Schneider, *Germania* (1937), p. 177 (epitaph of Anilas, διαφέρ(ω)ν ἔκου τῶ(ν) Ἀρεοβίνδου ὑπὸ δεσποτίαν Βαδουαρ[ίου] καὶ Θεοδόρου τ[ῆς ἐν]δόξου μνήμης). The spelling suggests a date not earlier than the sixth century, and the formula οἶκος τῶν Ἀρεοβίνδου implies that the *domus* was no longer the personal property of an Arcobindus but an estate taken over into imperial ownership and so presumably one of the *domus divinae*. If so, Baduarius may have been the *curator domus*. On the other hand he may actually have been the owner of the *domus* τῶν Ἀρεοβίνδου at Constantinople; if so, he may well be identical with Baduarius 2, son-in-law of Justin II, and may have been given the *domus* by Justin. On Arcobindus, see Janin, *Const. Byz.*, p. 264 and *PLRE* II, pp. 143-4.

Baduarius was perhaps the husband of Theodora 2, and so not Justin's son-in-law.

Pap Bagratid

Smbat Bagratuni: see Symbatius

Bahan

MVM (in Italy) 599

Gloriosus filius noster Bahan magister militum; in 599 he secured the appointment by pope Gregory of a visitor (the bishop of Ancona) to organise the church at Osimo (Auximum); Greg. *Ep.* IX 99 (a. 599 Jan.). He was evidently in command of the newly liberated city. To judge by his name he was of Armenian origin; cf. Justi, pp. 338-9 (s.n. Wahan).

Bahram (Bahram Gusnasp) 1

Persian general (under Chosroes I) 573

Βαραμάνης; Joh. Epiph. Μιράνης ὁ καὶ Βαραμαάνης; Theoph. Byz. See Justi, p. 214, s.n. Mithrana, no. 10, p. 362, s.n. Werethraghna, no. 21.

He was called Bahram and was a member of the family of Mirhan; he is to be identified with Bargousnas (Theoph. Sim. v 13.4), i.e. Bahram Gusnasp, the father of (the rebel) Bahram Chobin; cf. Justi, p. 365, no. 3.

A Persian general under Chosroes I, he was sent to attack the Himyarites; he captured their king Sanatources, sacked their capital and enslaved the people; Theoph. Byz. fr. 3 = Phot. *Bibl.* 64.

In 573 he was in command of Persian troops in Nisibis when it was under siege by Marcianus 7; he joined forces with a number of allies (the Sabiri, the Daganes and the Dilimnitae) and met Marcianus in battle at Sargathon near Nisibis but was defeated and put to flight; Joh. Epiph. 3 (στρατηγούντος αὐτοῖς Βαραμάνου, ὃς τῶν ἐκέισε ταγματῶν ἄρχειν ἐτέτακτο), Theoph. Byz. fr. 4 = Phot. *Bibl.* 64, Theoph. Sim. iii 10.4.

Bahram 2 (Chobīn)

Persian rebel 589-591

Βαράμ; Theoph. Sim., *Chron. Pasch.*, Theoph., Cedr., Zon. Βάραμος; Evagr. Bahram; *Chron.* 1234. Agapius, Bar Hebr. Bahram Šobin; *Hist. Nest.* Warahran; Anon. Guidi. Bahram Sumir; Eutychius. Vahram Merhewandak; Sebeos. Bahram Mehrevandac; Thomas Artsruni. See Justi, p. 363, s.n. Werethraghna, no. 23.

A native of Rhazacene, of the family of Mirhan (οἰκαρχίας δὲ τῆς τοῦ Μιρράμου) and descended from the Arsacids; Theoph. Sim. iii 18.6.10, cf. Anon. Guidi, p. 15 = 15 ('Rhagis oriundus'). His father was Bargousnas (= Bahram Gusnasp); Theoph. Sim. v 13.4, and see Justi, p. 365, no. 3.

He once served in the royal bodyguard (τοῖς τοῦ βασιλέως σωματοφύλαξιν); later, when in 573 the Persians captured Dara, he commanded a regiment under Chosroes I (στρατιωτικῆς ἰλης ἡγησάμενον); he then invaded Armenia under Chosroes and was so successful that he was made general (στρατηγὸς μετ' οὐ πολὺ καὶ τοῦ Περσικοῦ χειροτονεῖται ἀθροίσματος); thereafter he was appointed to the post of 'darigbedoum', equivalent to *curapalates* (ὡς καὶ δαριγβεδοῦμ τῆς βασιλικῆς ἀναδείξαι ἐστίας - ὃν δὴ κουροπαλάτην Ῥωμαῖοι κατονομάζουσιν); Theoph. Sim. iii 18.10-12.

Under Hormisdas he defeated the Turks to the east of Persia and made them pay tribute; Theoph. Sim. iii 6.9-16, Evagr. *HE* vi 15, Nic. Call. *HE* xviii 18, Sebeos ii, pp. 11ff., Thomas Artsruni ii 3, Anon. Guidi, p. 15 = 15, *Hist. Nest.* ii 43, Eutychius, *Annales*, col. 1080. On his return he was sent by Hormisdas against Suania, which he captured, and then Lazica (Colchis); a Roman army under Romanus 4 was sent against him and he tried to lure it into a trap but was defeated in a battle

in Albania; the date was 589; Theoph. Sim. iii 6.7-8 (in year eight of Maurice). 15-16, 7.1-2.13-18, Theoph. AM 6080, Nic. Call. *HE* xviii 19, and see Romanus 4. He was then dismissed in disgrace by Hormisdas; he rebelled and civil war ensued and Hormisdas was overthrown in a palace revolution; Theoph. Sim. iii 8.1-2.10-12, iv 1ff., Evagr. *HE* vi 15, Nic. Call. *HE* xviii 18-19, Theoph. AM 6080, Sebeos ii, pp. 11ff., *Hist. Nest.* ii 43, 58, Zon. xiv 12, Eutychius, *Annales*, col. 1080. Anon. Guidi, p. 15 = 15. He refused to accept Hormisdas' successor, Chosroes II, marched against him and overthrew him (in early 590); Theoph. Sim. iv 7.1-10.1, Evagr. *HE* vi 17, *Chron. Pasch.* s.a. 591, Nic. Call. *HE* xviii 20, Theoph. AM 6080, Cedr. i 695, Zon. xiv 12, Thomas Artsruni ii 3, *Hist. Nest.* ii 42, *Chron.* 1234, lxxx, Anon. Guidi, p. 15 = 15, Bar Hebr., *Chron.*, p. 85, Agapius, p. 441.

He crowned himself king of Persia; Theoph. Sim. iv 12.6. For the date, March 9, 590, see Higgins, pp. 8-9, Goubert, i, pp. 139-40.

He was defeated and overthrown in summer/autumn 591 by an expedition in which a Roman army under the command of Narses 10 joined forces with the Persian troops under Chosroes II; the allies defeated Bahram and put him to flight at the battle of Blarathon; Theoph. Sim. v 9.8-12, 10-11, Evagr. *HE* vi 19, Nic. Call. *HE* xviii 20, Theoph. AM 6081, Cedr. i 695, Zon. xiv 12, Sebeos ii, pp. 16ff., Thomas Artsruni ii 3, *Hist. Nest.* ii 43, 58, *Chron.* 1234, lxxxi, Anon. Guidi, p. 15 = 15, Agapius, p. 446.

Bahram 3

Persian general 611

According to Syriac sources, he commanded the army of Chosroes which took Caesarea in Cappadocia in 611; Mich. Syr. xi 1. Bar Hebr., *Chron.*, p. 87, *Chron.* 1234, lxxxii. See however Shāhīn.

Baianus (Βαϊάνος)

khan of the Avars ?561-582/585

Named in Men. Prot. fr. 9, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 48, 63, 65, 66. KHAN of the Avars a. 561/562?-582/585: first named in 561/562 (without title), Men. Prot. fr. 9. 'Ο τῶν Ἀβάρων ἡγούμενος; Men. Prot. fr. 26, 27, 33. 'Ο τῶν Ἀβάρων ἡγεμών; Men. Prot. fr. 28, 48. 'Ο τῶν Ἀβάρων Χαγάνος; Men. Prot. fr. 63, 64. 'Ο Χαγάνος; Men. Prot. fr. 27, 28, 33, 63, 64, 66. 'Ο τῶν Ἀβάρων μοναρχος; Men. Prot. fr. 66.

Probably in 561, after an Avar embassy was detained at Constantinople, Baian threatened war; Men. Prot. fr. 9, and see Iustinus 4. He was apparently already ruler of the Avars. It was presumably he who sent an embassy to Justin II in late 565, on which occasion the new emperor brusquely refused their request that payments formerly made by Justinian should continue; Coripp. *Iust.* iii 231-401, Men. Prot. fr. 14

(τὸν καθ' ἡμᾶς ἡγεμόνα), cf. fr. 24, and see Targitis. In 566 after a victory over the Franks, Baian made peace with Sigibertus and withdrew his forces; Men. Prot. fr. 23, Greg. Tur. *HF* iv 29, and see Sigibertus. In 567 he accepted an invitation from Alboin to help the Lombards against the Gepids, but insisted on negotiating very favourable terms, viz. a tithe of the Lombard cattle, plus half the booty and all the Gepid lands if they were defeated; Men. Prot. fr. 24, 25. The Gepids were totally defeated; see Cunimund and Alboin. Early in 568, after the defeat of the Gepids, Baian planned to attack Sirmium and detained in captivity the Roman envoys Vitalianus 2 and Cometas 5; Men. Prot. fr. 26. He then attacked Sirmium but, failing to take it by assault (μετὰ τὴν τοιχομαχίαν), sent envoys to negotiate with Bonus 4; the negotiations also failed and Baian sent a large Cotrigur army to attack Dalmatia and himself led all his people over the Danube and occupied the former Gepid lands (σὺν πάσῃ τῇ κατ' αὐτὸν πληθύνει διελθὼν τὸν Ἰστρον ἐς τὰ τῶν Γηπαίδων διέτριβεν ὄρια); Men. Prot. fr. 27. Later in 568 he sent his envoy Targitis with Vitalianus to demand the surrender of Sirmium and the return of the Gepid Vsdibad (on the grounds that the Gepids were now his subjects by right of conquest) as well as the payment of money formerly paid by Justinian to the Cotrigurs and Utigurs; the demands were rejected by Justin who ordered Bonus to prepare for war; Men. Prot. fr. 28. Another embassy was sent with the same demands (cf. Targitis), probably in late 569, Men. Prot. fr. 29; and then in 569/570 a further embassy under Apsich 2 tried unsuccessfully to negotiate a settlement of the Avars on Roman territory, Men. Prot. fr. 33, and see Tiberius 1, p. 1324. For the Avar defeat of 570 and their defeat of Tiberius in 571 and the subsequent truce and peace, see Men. Prot. fr. 34, 35 and Tiberius, p. 1325, and Stein, *Stud.*, p. 13. There was peace for some years between the Avars and the Romans (a treaty was apparently made in 574/575, cf. below), and in 578 Baian was asked by Tiberius for help against the Slavs who were harrying Greece; with help from Ioannes 91 he transported sixty thousand cavalry from Pannonia (across the Save) onto Roman soil, marched through Illyricum to Scythia, re-crossed the Danube and attacked villages of the Slavs; Baian is said to have had a grievance against the Slavs for the murder of some of his envoys; Men. Prot. fr. 48, cf. 63 (on this occasion he liberated many Romans taken captive by the Slavs). In 579 he again sent Targitis on an embassy, this time to collect the payments and supplies due under a treaty made shortly after Tiberius became Caesar; however, as soon as Targitis returned with them, Baian broke the treaty and with a full-scale army (πανστρατία) made to cross the Save between Sirmium and Singidunum; he had assembled many boats from Upper Pannonia to force

the river crossing; to the protests of the MVM at Singidunum, Sethus, he claimed to be marching against the Slavs, as in the previous year, but while envoys went to Constantinople, he continued with measures to cross the river; Men. Prot. fr. 63. Suspecting Baian's intention to attack Sirmium, and having no adequate troops in the area because of the war with Persia, Tiberius tried to deter the Avars, but a new envoy arrived from Baian to announce that the Save was bridged and to demand that Sirmium be surrendered or it would be taken by force; Tiberius sent what forces he could muster from Constantinople to help Sirmium; Men. Prot. fr. 64. The siege of Sirmium lasted until 582; during the siege Baian discussed a truce with Theognis, without result; reinforcements reached him from Dalmatia under Apsich 1, and the city suffered greatly from hunger; eventually (in 582) Tiberius gave orders to negotiate the surrender of the city; Men. Prot. fr. 65, 66, and see Solomon 4 and Theognis 1. At the fall of the city, the khan asked for the payments due to him under the earlier treaty for the previous three years; Men. Prot. fr. 66. Since he received them for the year 579 (see above), the three years were 580, 581 and 582, which therefore correspond, presumably, to the duration of the siege of Sirmium. Cf. Stein, *Stud.*, pp. 112-13, with n. 10.

Baian probably died not long after this, since a new khan (one of his sons) seems to have been ruling the Avars in 584/585; cf. Thérèse Olajos, *REB* 34 (1976), pp. 151-8.

Bakur II (Bacurius) ruler of Iberia 534/535-547/548

Son and successor of Dach'i, he ruled Iberia from 534/535 to 547/548; father of his successor P'arsman; see Toumanoff, *Le Muséon* 65 (1952), pp. 35-6 (with n. 34). According to Juansher he died leaving young children and Iberia fell under Persian control; Toumanoff, *op. cit.*, p. 40. Cf. Justi, p. 239, s.n. Πάκοπος, no. 21.

Bakur III (Bacurius) ruler of Iberia c. 579/581

Son and successor of P'arsman VI, he ruled Iberia as contemporary of the Persian king Hormisdas; see Toumanoff, *Le Muséon* 65 (1952), p. 36 (with n. 37). He died in 579/581; Toumanoff, *op. cit.*, pp. 39-40. Father of Adarnase; Toumanoff, *op. cit.*, p. 201. Cf. Justi, p. 239, s.n. Πάκοπος, no. 23.

Balas (Βάλας) Hun leader 533

On the name, cf. Justi, p. 345, s.n. Walagaš, no. 12.

On the Vandal expedition in 533 he and Sinnion led a contingent of Hun allies in Belisarius' army; like Sinnion he was noted for his strength and bravery; Proc. *BV* I 11.11-12. See further Sinnion.

- Balmach (Βαλμάχ) Hun leader 556
 One of three leaders of a force of Sabirian Hun mercenaries with the Roman army in Lazica in 556 (the others were Cutilzis and Iliger); Agath. III 17.5. For further details, see Iliger.
- Bānōn prominent citizen (Egypt) LVI
 Son of Ammon, held in prison at Alexandria with Cosmas but released by the *augustalis* Ioannes 169 at the request of Theodorus 59, in order to help overthrow the rebellion of Abaskīrōn; Joh. Nik. 97.15-16 (p. 531 Zotenberg). He and Cosmas accompanied Theodorus' army and persuaded many rebel supporters to desert; Joh. Nik. 97.20-2 (pp. 531-2). The date was during the reign of Maurice.
- BARBARA (c.f.); daughter of Venantius 599-601
 Daughter of Venantius 2 and Italica and sister of Antonina 3; Greg. Ep. IX 232, XI 18, 23, 25, 59. See further Antonina.
- Barbation officer of Belisarius' bodyguard 545-547
 Native of Thrace; Proc. BG III 11.37.
 Ὁ Βελισσαρίου δορυφόρος (or similar); Proc. BG III 11.37, 28.5.17.
 In 545 Barbation and Artasires 1 were sent by Belisarius to help Bessas (PLRE II) to defend Rome, with orders not to make sallies against the enemy; Proc. BG III 11.37. Soon after the siege began (late 545, see Stein, *Bas-Emp.* II 578) they sallied out against the Goths but after initial success they followed too far and fell into an ambush in which they lost most of their men and escaped with difficulty themselves; Proc. BG III 13.2-4.
 In late 547 he was apparently with Belisarius in Rome and accompanied him when with seven hundred picked cavalry and two hundred infantry he sailed via Sicily for Tarentum; Proc. BG III 24.34, 27.16. They put in at Croton, whence Barbation and Phazas were sent with the cavalry to guard the nearby passes; Proc. BG III 28.3-5. After an encounter with the cavalry of Totila, in which many perished including Phazas, Barbation escaped and carried the news to Belisarius at Croton; they promptly set sail and reached Messana in Sicily; Proc. BG III 28.17.
- Barbatus I cavalry commander (in Africa) 533-536
 Probably a native of Thrace; Proc. BV I 11.10.
 In 533 he was one of the four cavalry commanders (στρατιωτῶν δέ

ἰππέων μὲν sc. ἄρχοντες) sent with Belisarius on the expedition against the Vandals; Proc. BV I 11.7. For the others, see Rufinus 1. At the battle of Tricamarum in mid December he was one of the cavalry commanders on the right wing of the Roman army; Proc. BV II 3.4 (cited under Aigan).

In summer 536 he commanded a regular cavalry force in Numidia (καταλόγου δὲ ἰππικοῦ μὲν Βαρβάτος sc. ἡγεμῶν); Proc. BV II 15.50. He marched under Marcellus 2 against Stotzas at Gazophyla (= Gadiaufala, near Constantina); their troops deserted to Stotzas and the Roman commanders (see Marcellus) sought sanctuary in a church there, from which they emerged after Stotzas gave pledges, only to be executed by him; Proc. BV II 15.51-2.59, Jord. Rom. 369.

Barbatus 2 MVM M VI/M VII

Βαρβάτου στρατηλάτου; Zacos 758 = Dumbarton Oaks seal 58.106.4468 (seal; obv.: BAP/ΒΑΤ/OV; rev.: [C]TPA/ΤΗΛΛ/[Τ]ΟV).

Baresmanas (Βαρεσμανᾶς) Persian general 530

One of the Persian generals under Perozes in the battle of Dara in 530, in which he was killed; Proc. BP I 13.16 (nicknamed ἑτερόφθαλμος, one-eyed), 14.32.47.50. Cf. Justi, p. 64.

Barnabas chartularius VII

Βαρνάβα χαρτουλαρίου; Zacos 291 = Dumbarton Oaks seal 55.1.85 (seal, dated M VI/M VII Zacos, VII Oikonomides; obv.: cruciform monogram (40) of Βαρνάβα; rev.: cruciform monogram (359) of χαρτουλαρίου).

Barontus Frankish dux (under Dagobert) 632-635

A Frank; Fredegar. IV 78.

dux a. 632-635; dux in 632, sent by Dagobert to fetch the treasures of his recently deceased brother Charibert (ruler of Aquitaine); he conspired with the treasurers and kept a large portion for himself; Fredegar. IV 67. In 635 he was one of ten *duces* who accompanied Chadoind on an expedition to subdue the Wascones; Fredegar. IV 78.

Barsamouses (Βαρσαμούσης) Iberian ruler 627

Ruler of the Iberians subject to Persia (ὁ ἄρχων τῶν Ἰβήρων τῶν ὑπὸ Πέρσας); he fought in the battle of Niniveh (Dec. 12, 627) and was captured by the Romans; Theoph. AM 6118.

He was king Vahram-Aršūša V; see C. Toumanoff, *Traditio* 17 (1961), p. 101.

Bar Yohannan agent of Justinian c. 542

Sent from Constantinople in c. 542 by Justinian to help Thomas I punish the monophysites of Amida for expelling their bishop, Abraham bar Kyly; Ps.-Dion., *Chron.* II, p. 33, Mich. Syr. IX 26. Cf. *PLRE* II, Abraham I.

Basilia religiosa femina ?VI

CIL V 367 = *ILCV* 219 c Parentium. See further Fausta.

Basilianus vir illustris (East) 550

Basilianus illustris et magnificus vir, filius noster; mentioned in a letter of pope Vigilius, dated March 18, 550, to the bishop of Tomi; he and representatives of the bishop of Tomi had accused certain persons of spreading lies about Vigilius' attitude to Ibas and Theodoret in his *Iudicatum*; Vigilius, *Ep.* 12 (*PL* 69, col. 51) = *ACOec.* IV I, p. 195.

Basilicus (*CIL* VI 31958) V/VI: *PLRE* II.

Basilides patricius; honorary consul; Mag. Off. 536-539

PPO ORIENTIS before Feb. 13, 528: vir excellentissimus ex praefecto praetorio Orientis et patricius, Just. *Const.* 'Haec' (a. 528 Feb. 13), cf. Just. *Const.* 'Summa' (cited below). The title may have been honorific rather than an actual post, since the Oriental prefecture ranked above that of Illyricum (cf. below).

He was a member of the first commission on the *Codex Iustinianus* in 528 and 529; Just. *Const.* 'Haec' (appointing the commissioners on Feb. 13, 528), Just. *Const.* 'Summa' (on the publication of the first edition of the *Codex* on April 7, 529). See Tribonianus I.

PATRICIUS: first attested as *patricius* on Feb. 13, 528; Just. *Const.* 'Haec' (cited above). Also attested a. 529 April 7, Just. *Const.* 'Summa'; a. 532 Jan., Proc. *BP* I 24.18 (cited below), *Chron. Pasch.* s.a. 532; a. 536 March 18, Just. *Nov.* 22.

PPO ILLYRICI a. 529 April 7: vir excellentissimus ex praefecto praetorio per Orientem et patricius et nunc praefectus praetorio per Illyricum; Just. *Const.* 'Summa'. Described in 536 as ἀπὸ ἐπάρχων; Just. *Nov.* 22 epil. (cited below). Possibly identical with Basilius, a PPO (Illyrici) whose statue once stood over the east gate of Thessalonica; *Anth. Gr.* IX 686 (Ἦνορέης ὀλετήρα ὑπερφιάλου Βαβυλωνος καὶ σέλας ἀκτεάνοιο Δίκης Βασιλείου ὑπαρχον, ξεῖνε, νόω σκίρτησον ἰδὼν ἐφ' ὑπερθε πυλάων. Εὐνομῆς ποτὶ χῶρον ἀριστογένεθλον ὀδεύεις, βάρβαρον οὐ τρομέεις, οὐκ ἄρρενας ἀρρενοκοίτας. Ὅπλα Λάκων, σὺ δὲ τείχος ἔχεις βασιλείου ἀγαλμα), cf. lemma B: εἰς τὴν πύλην τὴν ἀνατολικὴν τῆς Θεσσαλονίκης.

For the possible identification with Basilides, see Mango, *CQ* N.S. XXXIV, no. 2 (1984), pp. 489-91.

AGENS VICEM MAGISTRI OFFICIORVM a. (531-) 532 Jan.: in Jan. 532 (cf. below) he was deputising for the (absent) *mag. off.* Hermogenes; *Chron. Pasch.* s.a. 532 (ὁ ποιῶν τὸν τόπον τοῦ μαγίστρου Ἑρμογένους ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει; also styled ὁ τοποτηρῶν τὸν μαγίστρον). He may have continued in this role for a time after becoming QSP, taking part as such in the attack on the hippodrome (see below); later he was apparently succeeded by Strategius (*PLRE* II, Strategius 9).

During the Nika riot Basilides was sent with Constantiolus and Mundus to enquire the reason for the disturbances (on Jan. 14, 532; cf. Joh. Mal. 474-5); they reported to Justinian that the crowds were demanding the dismissal of the PPO Ioannes II, the QSP Rufinus (sic; an error for Tribonianus) and the PVC Eudaemon I; the emperor promptly dismissed them and made Basilides QSP as a person acceptable to the people; *Chron. Pasch.* s.a. 532, Joh. Mal. 475, cf. Proc. *BP* I 24.18 (cited below). Later he accompanied Mundus and others in an attack on the kathisma in the hippodrome; *Chron. Pasch.* s.a. 532.

QSP a. 532 Jan. 14 (-?534/535): appointed QSP in place of Tribonianus I on Jan. 14, 532; Proc. *BP* I 24.18 (Βασιλείδην δὲ τὴν τοῦ κοιαιστωρος ἀρχὴν ἔχειν ἐκέλευεν, ἕκ τε ἐπιεικείας γνώριμον ἐν πατρικίῳ ὄντα καὶ ἄλλως δόκιμον); *Chron. Pasch.* s.a. 532. He perhaps remained in this office until the reappointment of Tribonianus (in late 534/early 535). Recorded in a late and unreliable source as helping Justinian to raise money (miraculously) and materials for the building of Hagia Sophia; *Narr. de aed. S. Soph.* II, 14, and cf. Theodorus I.

MAGISTER OFFICIORVM a. 536 March 18-539 June 25; a. 536 March 18, Just. *Nov.* 22 epil. (ἐγράφη τὸ ἰσότυπον Βασιλίδη τῷ ἐνδοξοτάτῳ μαγίστρω τῶν θείων ὀφφικίων, ἀπὸ ἐπάρχων καὶ ὑπάτων καὶ πατρικίῳ); a. 539 March 10, Just. *Nov.* 79 epil. (scriptum exemplar Basilidi gloriosissimo magistro sacrorum officiorum); a. 539 June 25, Just. *Nov.* 85 (addressed Βασιλίδη τῷ ἐνδοξοτάτῳ μαγίστρω τῶν θείων ὀφφικίων). Probably he was the unnamed magister sent by pope Agapetus in March 536 with excubitors against the monophysite Zooras; Joh. Eph. V. SS. Or. 2, Bar Hebr., *Chron. Eccl.* I 45 (p. 210).

HONORARY CONSVL: recorded a. 536 March 18; Just. *Nov.* 22 epil. (cited above).

The site of his palace in Constantinople was known by his name in later Byzantine times; *Patr. Const.* III 205 (τὰ δὲ Βασιλίδου οἶκος ἦν πατρικίου Βασιλίδου καὶ κυαίστορος τοῦ μεγάλου Ἰουστινιανοῦ), cf. Janin, *Const. Byz.*, pp. 298-9. See also Clauss, p. 149.

Basilius (*CIL* X 8072, 6) V/VI: *PLRE* II.

Basilivus 1 citizen of Edessa E VI

Father of Ioannes 30, of a rich and noble family of Edessa; Proc. *BP* II 21.27, *Anecd.* 12.6.

BASILIVS 2 comes (?rei militaris) ?528

Ὁ κόμης; one of the commanders (for the others, see Belisarius, p. 183) of a Roman army sent against the Persians which was heavily defeated; he was among the leaders taken prisoner; Joh. Mal. 441-2, Zach. *HE* IX 2. The battle was that of Tanurin, probably in early 528; see Belisarius, *loc. cit.*

(Fl.) Anicius Faustus Albinus Basilivus 3 patricius; consul ordinarius 541

Diptych *CIL* XI 8138 a and b = XIII 3, p. 753 (= D 1312, in part).

Anic(ius) Faust(us) Albin(us) Basilivus; *Diptych.* Albinus Basilivus; *Lib. Pont.* 61 (as emended by H. Usener, *Anecdota Holderi*, p. 8, cf. Alan Cameron and Diane Schauer, *JRS* 72 (1982), 129-30). Fl. Basilivus; papyri and inscriptions from his consulship (cf. below). To judge by his names, he was a Roman aristocrat belonging to the family of the Decii, very probably a grandson of the consul of 480, Basilivus, and perhaps son of the consul of 493, Albinus (*PLRE* II, pp. 51, 217); cf. Cameron, *loc. cit.*

His titles in 541 are recorded on his consular diptych: v.c. et in(l)ustris, ex com(ite) dom(esticorum), pat(ricius), cons(ul) ord(inarius).

The *comitiva domesticorum* was by this date an honorary title conferred to give the status of *vir illustris*; cf. Cass. *Var.* VI 11.

PATRICIVS: Proc. *BG* III 20.18, *Lib. Pont.* 61 (both referring to 546/547).

CONSVL ORDINARIVS (without a colleague) a. 541: *Fasti, Marcell. com. Addit.* ad a. 541, Vict. Tonn. s.a. 541, Mar. Avent. s.a. 541, *Diptych, P. Cairo. Masp.* 67126, 36. He was the last private individual to hold the ordinary consulate and, as the next person to hold it was the emperor Justin II in 566, the years from 542 to 565 were dated by his post-consulates, e.g. *ACOec.* IV i, passim, IV ii, pp. 103, 168, Rossi I 1088, *CIL* V 5231, 5411, 5418, X 1351-60, XII 939, 944, 1045, 1800, *P. Oxy.* 1985, 1995, *Stud. Pal.* XX 142, *P. Lond.* I, p. 211, no. 113, *P. Strassb.* I 4, *P. Flor.* III 285, 286, *SB* 9085, 9283, 9284, 9292, and many others. Some papyri still used his name in 566, e.g. *P. Strassb.* I 46-9. See also Bagnall and others, *Consuls*, pp. 616-17.

He was in Rome in late 546, fleeing with Bessas (*PLRE* II) when Totila entered the city (on 17 Dec. 546, *Marcell. com. Addit.* ad a. 547.5); Proc.

BG III 20.18. He escaped with other Roman aristocrats to Constantinople; *Lib. Pont.* 61.

Basilivus 4 ?vir inlustris (in Gaul) M VI

Husband of Baudegundis; Ven. Fort. *Carm.* I 7, IV 18. They were married for twenty years; *Carm.* IV 18, lines 21-2.

?VIR INLIVSTRIS: Basilivus inlustrem maesta sepulchra tegunt, Ven. Fort. *Carm.* IV 18, line 6. It is not certain that 'inlustrem' here alludes to his rank. He was acquainted with the king (probably Sigibert, cf. below); Ven. Fort. *Carm.* IV 18, line 11 (regis amor). He frequently visited Spain on embassies; Ven. Fort. *Carm.* IV 18, lines 15-16 (hunc consultantem legati sorte frequenter misit ad Hispanos Gallica cura viros). None of the occasions is known.

He was a wealthy and pious man and gave generous donations to churches and to the poor; Ven. Fort. *Carm.* IV 18, lines 17-20. With his wife he restored and enlarged a basilica of St Martin, an event commemorated by Venantius, *Carm.* I 7 (In honorem basilicae S. Martini quam aedificaverunt Basilivus et Baudegundis). The site is described as lying between a river and a hill, but the location is unknown; it was perhaps near Poitiers; see below.

He died aged c. 55, and Venantius composed an epitaph on him, in spite of his personal grief, at the request of the widow; *Carm.* IV 18.

The poems were among those written at Poitiers, and Venantius' personal acquaintance with Baudegundis and his grief at Basilivus' death both suggest that they lived there too. If so, the church which they founded was probably nearby. See Meyer, p. 74. Poitiers was subject to Sigibert between 567 and 575, and Basilivus may therefore have served him.

Not to be identified with Basilivus 5, who died a violent death and was an enemy of Sigibert.

Cf. Siroheker, no. 65.

Basilivus 5 citizen of Poitiers c. 568

In c. 568 Basilivus and Sigarius, 'Pictavi cives', assembled a large body of men to resist Mummolus 2 on behalf of Chilperic but were overwhelmed by him and killed; Greg. Tur. *HF* IV 45.

Not to be identified with Basilivus 4.

BASILIVS 6 v.c. (in Italy) 598-599

Vir clarissimus; reported to have spoken to king Agilulf and to have heard him insult Gregory and the see of Peter, a charge later denied by Agilulf; Greg. *Ep.* IX 44 (a. 598 Oct.; to Theodorus 49 at Ravenna). He had perhaps accompanied Theodorus to the Lombard king's court.

Possibly identical with the Basilius to whom Gregory wrote *Ep.* ix 153 in May 599; styled 'magnitudo vestra', he opposed the Istrian schismatics and there are allusions to his sons and to 'omnis domus vestra'. He was evidently a person of rank, though not of the highest, was well-off and probably lived in north-east Italy.

Basilius 7 son of Guntelda ?L VI

Son of Guntelda, father of Guntio 2; *CIL* v 5415 Comum.

FL. BASILIVS 8 v.sp., comes; defensor of Arsinoe 618

Addressee of a surety for the good behaviour of a σύμμαχος (Φλ. Βασιλίω τῷ περιβλέπτῳ κόμετι καὶ λογιωτάτῳ ἔκδικῳ ταύτης τῆς Ἄρσι- (νοϊτῶν) πόλεως) on March 25, 618; *BGU* II 401, 6 verso (Fayum, dated Phamenoth 29, indiction 6, in year 8 of Heraclius). He was a *spectabilis comes* but held office only as ἔκδικος (defensor) of Arsinoe. He was presumably one of the wealthier landowners at Arsinoe.

Basilius 9 MVM M VI/VII

Βασιλείου στρατηλάτου; *Zacos* 761 (seal; obv.: +BA/[C]IΛEI/[O]V; rev.: CTPA/THAA/TOV).

Basilius 10 chartularius VII

Βασιλείω χαρτ(ουλαρίω); *Dumbarton Oaks* seal 58.106.3989 (seal; obv.: cruciform monogram of Θεοτόκε βοήθει; in the quarters: ΤΩ-ΘΩ-ΔΔ-ΛΩ; rev.: /BACI/ΛΕΙΩ/ΧΑΡΤ,/).

Basilius 11 domesticus VII

Βασιλ(εί)ου δομεστίκου; *Zacos* 1430 (seal; obv.: cruciform monogram of Θεοτόκε βοήθει; rev.: BACI/ΛΙΟΝΔΟ/ΜΕCΤ/ΙΚΟV).

Basilius 12 ex praefectis VII

Βασιλ(εί)ω ἀπὸ ἐπάρχων; *Zacos* 1429A (seal; obv.: cruciform monogram of Θεοτόκε βοήθει; rev.: +BA/CIΛΙΩA/ΠΟΕΠA[P]/ΧΩN).

Basilius 13 ex praefectis VII

Βασιλείου ἀπὸ [ἐπ]άρχων; *Dumbarton Oaks* seal 58.106.2624 (seal; obv.: +BACI/ΛΕΙΟΝA/ΠO..AP/ΧΩN; rev.: +ΔΟΝ/ΛΟ.ΤΗ/CΘΕΟΤ/ΟΚΟV).

Basilius (*Anth. Gr.* ix 686): see Basilides

Basina daughter of Chilperic M/L VI

Daughter of king Chilperic and Audovera; sister of Theodebertus, Merovechus and Chlodovechus; *Greg. Tur. HF* v 39, vi 34, ix 39, x 20. Perhaps identical with Childasinda; *Lib. Hist. Franc.* 31.

After the murder of Chlodovech (in 580), she was tricked by Fredegundis' servants into entering the nunnery of St Radegund at Poitiers, where she became a nun and was still living when Gregory wrote his *History*; *Greg. Tur. HF* v 39. In 584 she refused to leave the nunnery to go to Spain and marry; *Greg. Tur. HF* vi 34. In 589 and 590 she was a leader in the revolt of the nuns of St Radegund against the abbess Leubovera and was excommunicated but finally repented and was allowed to re-enter the convent; *Greg. Tur. HF* ix 39-40, 43, x 15-17, 20, and cf. Chrodielidis.

Bassaces Armenian leader 539-542

On the name, cf. *Justi*, p. 59, s.n. Βαγασάκης.

An Armenian, son-in-law of Ioannes 28; in 539 he accompanied Ioannes to meet Buzes but feared Roman treachery and withdrew in time to escape being murdered with Ioannes; after this he led an Armenian delegation to Persia seeking help from Chosroes; *Proc. BP* II 3.29-31.

In 542 Bassaces and the other Armenians who had gone to Persia received guarantees from the Romans and went to Constantinople; *Proc. BP* II 21.34.

Described by Procopius (conventionally) as a man of action (δραστήριος); *Proc. BP* II 3.31.

BASSVS 1 ?praeses Palaestinae Secundae 529

In 529 the governor Bassus was dismissed and executed in Palestine on the orders of Justinian, who was angered by widespread burning by Samaritans in Scythopolis; *Joh. Mal.* 445 (the emperor was angry κατὰ τοῦ ἄρχοντος Βάσσου). Scythopolis was the metropolis of Palaestina Secunda and Bassus was probably therefore *praeses Palaestinae Secundae*.

Bassus 2 patricius (East) M VI

Πατρικίος, in the time of Justinian he built a *domus* at Constantinople, later known as τὰ Βάσσου; he was murdered after a quarrel with the empress Theodora; *Patr. Const.* III 50, cf. *Janin, Const. Byz.*, p. 300. Since he died before Theodora, he cannot be identical with Bassus 4 (PPO 548). However the information from this source (apart, presumably, from the existence of the building) may not be historical.

BASSVS 3 v.c. (in Italy) M VI

V.c.: son of Alexander; witness of a document drawn up at Ravenna in 535/542 (see *Wadulf*); *Marini, P. Dip.* 131 = *P. Ital.* 43, lines 12 and 49. Perhaps identical with Bassus v.c. who witnessed the donation of



Ranilo at Ravenna on April 4, 553; Marini, *P. Dip.* 86 = *P. Ital.* 13, line 72.

Fl. Comitas Theodorus Bassus 4 PPO (Orientis) 548

Full name; Just. *Nov.* 167. Bassus; *elsewhere*.

COMES DOMESTICORVM, LOCVM TENENS PRAEFECTI PRAETORIO ORIENTIS a. 541 Feb. 1: addressee of two laws, dated Feb. 1, 541, as deputy for the PPO Fl. Ioannes 11 (John the Cappadocian), Just. *Nov.* 107, 108 (both addressed Βάσσω τῷ μεγαλοπρεπεστάτῳ κόμητι τῶν καθωσιωμένων δομestikῶν, ἐπέχοντι τὸν τόπον Ἰωάννου τοῦ ἐνδοξοτάτου ὑπάρχου τῶν ἱερῶν πραιτωρίων, or similar). On the circumstances, cf. Stein, *Bas-Emp.* II 481, n. 1. Although styled only μεγαλοπρεπέστατος in the headings, Bassus is alluded to as ἡ σὴ ἐνδοξότης in the *epilogi* of both laws. His title of *comes domesticorum* was probably honorific, conferred to give him membership of the senate, and does not indicate that he was a military man.

PPO (ORIENTIS) a. 548 early-Sept. 15/17; a. 548 Sept. 1 (or ?July 1), Just. *Nov.* 127 (Βάσσω τῷ ἐνδοξοτάτῳ ἐπάρχῳ πραιτωρίων, Sept. 1) = *Auth.* 120 (July 1); a. 548 Sept. 15 or 17, Just. *Ed.* 8 (Βάσσω τῷ ἐνδοξοτάτῳ ἐπάρχῳ τῶν ἱερῶν πραιτωρίων, concerning the *vicarius Ponticae*, Sept. 17). The Latin version of *Ed.* 8, *Auth.* 121, is dated Sept. 15 and addressed 'Eugenio pf.p.'; Eugenius probably succeeded Bassus very soon after the issue of *Ed.* 8, i.e. in Sept./Oct. 548. A prefectorial *forma* (undated) of Bassus is extant, Just. *Nov.* 167 (Φλάβιος Κομίτας Θεόδωρος Βάσσος οἱ μεγαλοπρεπέστατοι ἐπάρχοι τῶν ἱερῶν πραιτωρίων λέγουσι; the plural is probably due to the fact that the *forma* was issued in the name of all the current PPOs and the other names – of the prefects of Illyricum (unknown) and of Africa (Athanasius 1) – have fallen out; for a different view, see Stein, *Rhein. Mus.* 74 (1925), p. 373, n. 2 = *Op. Min. Sel.*, p. 171). Bassus is named by Procopius with a predecessor Phocas (*PLRE* II) as the only praetorian prefects of the time who refused to use their office to enrich themselves and therefore each held it for under a year, being dismissed as unsuitable in a matter of months (μηνῶν που ὀλίγων τοῦ ἀξιώματος ἔξω γεγένηται); Proc. *Anecd.* 21.6–7. Bassus therefore probably entered office early in 548 as the successor of Theodotus 3.

Fl. Bassus 5 agens in rebus (East) VI

Φλ. Βάσσος μαγ(ιστριανός); husband of Nonno, with a family; *IGLS* 625 Immae (Syria).

Fl. Bathyllus

illustris (in Egypt) M VI

Addressee of a letter through his προνοητής John, acknowledging a loan of money (Φλαυίῳ Βαθύλλῳ...ν[/καὶ ἰλλουστρίῳ [υἱῶ τοῦ θεοφιλεστάτῳ Ἀββᾶ Ἀδ...]); *P. Herm.* 65, lines 6–7, Hermopolis, dated in 553, Sept. 22. Apparently a wealthy landowner at Hermopolis.

BATZAS 1

dux (Euphratensis) 536

The name is Germanic; see Schönfeld, p. 47.

DVX (EUPHRATENSIS) a. 536: during a drought in 536 two Arab chiefs, Chabus and Hezidus, prevented by Alamundarus (*PLRE* II) from seeking water further east, entered Euphratensis with all their people, some fifteen thousand in number; by a combination of tact and firmness the *dux* Batzas avoided any warfare; *Marcell. com. Addit.* ad a. 536 (circiter quindecim milia Saracenorū...cum Chabo et Hezido phylarchis limitem Eufraesiae ingressa, ubi Batzas dux eos partim blanditiis partim districtione pacifica fovit et inhiantes bellare repressit).

Perhaps identical with Batzas 2.

Batzas 2

v.inl.; commander in Italy (?MVM vacans) 537

For the name, cf. Batzas 1.

VIR INLVSTRIS in 537, when he was sent from Constantinople with Conon 1, Paulus 5 and Rema, apparently under the command of Ioannes 46, with reinforcements for Belisarius in Italy; they camped at Ostia (cf. Ioannes) and relieved Rome (with men and supplies); *Marcell. com. Addit.* ad a. 538 (cited under Rema). He may have been an MVM *vacans*, but this is not certain; cf. Conon.

Perhaps identical with Batzas 1; if so, he was possibly rewarded with promotion to the illustrate and a field army command after his success in Euphratensis.

Ba(u)degiselus

bishop of Le Mans 581–586

Brother of Nectarius; Greg. Tur. *HF* VII 15. He had other brothers or sisters; Greg. Tur. *HF* VIII 39 (germani). Husband of Magnatrudis; Greg. Tur. *HF* VIII 39, x 5. They had a daughter; Greg. Tur. *HF* x 5. MAIOR DOMVS REGIAE (under Chilperic) a. 581; Greg. Tur. *HF* VI 9 (cited below). On the *maior domus* in Gaul, cf. Dalton, I, pp. 199–200.

Bishop of Le Mans a. 581–586: successor of Domnolus as bishop of Le Mans in 581, Greg. Tur. *HF* VI 9 (in Badegisilum domus regiae maiorem

transfertur electio. Qui tonsoratus, gradus quos clerici sortiuntur ascendens, post quadraginta diebus, migrante sacerdote, successit). He died in 586, having shown himself ruthless, quarrelsome and avaricious; Greg. Tur. *HF* viii 39. He attended the Council of Mâcon in 585; *Conc. Gall.* 511-695, p. 249.

Baudegundis wife of Basilius M VI

Wife of Basilius 4, for twenty years; co-builder with him of a basilica of St Martin; she outlived him and asked Venantius Fortunatus to compose an epitaph for him; Ven. Fort. *Carm.* i 7, iv 18. See further Basilius.

Baudinus Frankish referendarius; bishop of Tours 546-552

He served under king Chlotharius I as *domesticus* and became his *referendarius*; later he became bishop of Tours in 546, in succession to Iniuriosus, and served for five years and ten months; on his death in 552 he was succeeded by the abbot Gunthar; he had sons of his own; Greg. Tur. *HF* iv 3 (ex domestico Chlothacharii regis), 4, x 31. xvi (ex referendario Chlothari regis).

On Frankish *domestici* and *referendarii*, cf. Dalton, i 200, Jones, *LRE* i, p. 261 with n. 58 (*referendarius*), and Dalton, ii 516 (*domesticus*).

Baudolevus Frankish noble M VI

He lived near Chartres, a noble and wealthy Frank, with an only daughter whom bishop Leobinus is said to have restored to life (filia unica cuiusdam ex parrochianis nomine Baudolevi genere et opibus illustri viri); *V. S. Leobini* xxiv 76-81.

Baudulfus Burgundian magnate under Theoderic ii 609

One of the *proceres* of Burgundy under Theoderic ii (virum quendam procerem nomen Baudulfum); sent by him in 609 to expel St Columbanus from his monastery at Luxeuil; he took him to Besançon into exile and when Columbanus returned to the monastery was sent with Bertharius i to expel him again; Fredegar. iv 36. Cf. also Ragamundus.

Beator ?comes privatarum (in Italy) 603

He was in Italy in Feb. 603 claiming to be a *comes privatarum* and harassing the people and property of the wealthy with the alleged

purpose of recovering public property; Gregory wrote to inform Rusticiana 2 (in Constantinople) of his activities against her estates; Greg. *Ep.* xiii 26 (a. 603 Feb.; praeterea indico quendam hic nomine Beatoem, qui quasi comes privatarum dici vult, venisse et multa contra omnes agere, maxime autem contra excellentiae vestrae homines vel nobilissimarum neptium vestrarum, quasi res publicas quaerens).

Perhaps he was sent by the new emperor Phocas to Italy to investigate the illegal acquisition of public estates, especially by members of the aristocracy.

BEATVS I v.c., cancellarius (?of Campania) 533-537

Instructed by the PPO Cassiodorus Senator (in 533/537; *PLRE* ii, p. 267) to provide Danus, one of the (Gothic) king's servants, with all necessary supplies and facilities (annonas deputatas subvectionemque necessariam praebete venienti) during a visit for health reasons to Mons Lactarius (in Campania); Cass. *Var.* xi 10 (addressed 'Beato v.c. cancellario'). He was apparently the *cancellarius provinciae Campaniae*. See also Anatolicus.

Beatus 2 primicerius Augustalium 534

He served in the *officium* of the PPO Italiae and reached the position of *primicerius Augustalium* in 534; Cass. *Var.* xi 30. On the *Augustales* in the *officium* of the PPO, see Jones, *LRE* ii, 587-8 with n. 59.

Becco comes (Arvernorum) E/M VI

COMES at Clermont, where he apparently suffered a stroke in the basilica of St Julian after falsely accusing one of the servants; he never recovered, although making many donations to the basilica; Greg. Tur. *Mir. S. Iul.* 16. His date is uncertain, though perhaps later than Theoderic I's attack on the Auvergne (mentioned in *Mir. S. Iul.* 13); he was perhaps contemporary with Sigivaldus i or Hortensius (*PLRE* ii, p. 572); cf. Kurth, *Ét. franq.* i, pp. 188-9, Stroheker, p. 119 (perhaps in 532/533).

Belisarius (Bellesarius): poet and scholasticus L V/VI; *PLRE* ii.

Fl. Belisarius I consul 535;

patricius; MVM per Orientem 529-531, 533-542, 549-551

The normal form of his name is Belisarius or Βελισάριος (cf. e.g. Proc., Agath., Vigilius, and *Not. Scav.* iv (1879-80), p. 378), but there are a number of ancient variants. Belesarius; Jord. (once Belezarius), Vict. Tonn., Mar. Avent. Βηλίσάριος; *Chron. Pasch.* Βιβλίσάριος; *IGLS* i 145.

Vilisarius; Rossi I 1055, 1059, 1060, 1061, *ACOec.* IV I, p. 185 (also one MS of IV I, p. 27), *Lib. Pont.* Velisarius; Marini, *P. Dip.* 140. Velesarius; Rossi I 1062. Wilisarius; Rossi I 1057. Bilisarius; Rossi I 1056 (Fl. Bili...), 1058. Belsuarius; Greg. Tur. ... isarius; Rossi I 1063. The etymology of the name is still uncertain; attempts to derive the name from Germanic roots, including Gothic, and from Celtic, Thracian and Slavonic have all failed to achieve general acceptance among scholars; cf. Schönfeld, p. 49. For the possibility that the name may be Thracian, see D. Detschew, pp. 48-9.

A native of Germania, situated between Thrace and Illyricum; Proc. *BV* I 11.21. Germania, or Germana, is to be identified with Saparevska Banya in western Bulgaria; cf. C. Jiriček, *Arch. Epigr. Mitth.* x (1886), pp. 71-2. Nothing is known about his ancestry. He was still a young man in 527; Proc. *BP* I 12.21 (he and Sittas were νεανία μὲν καὶ πρῶτον ὑπηρέτα). Nevertheless he could already be called elderly in 559; Agath. v 15.7 (κεκμηκῶς ἦδη ὑπὸ τοῦ γήρωτος), 16.1 (γηραιὸς μὲν γὰρ ἦν ἦδη). He was presumably therefore born c. 500.

He married Antonina, the daughter of a charioteer and an actress; Proc. *BP* I 25.11-13, *BV* I 12.2, *BG* I 5.5, 18.43, II 4.6.14, 7.15, III 30.3-4, *Anecd.* 1.31.34, 5.19.33, *Liberat. Brev.* 22, Joh. Eph. *HE* III 1.32, *Vict. Tonn. s.a.* 542, *Lib. Pont.* 60, *Suid.* E 165, *Patr. Const.* III 117. They had only one child, a daughter called Ioannina; Proc. *Anecd.* 4.37, 5.20. Belisarius had a stepson, Photius, son of Antonina by an earlier marriage; Proc. *BG* I 5.5, *Anecd.* 1.31-34, 2.6-11, Joh. Eph. *HE* III 1.32, *Theoph. AM* 6058, *Cedr.* I 680. He apparently also had a stepdaughter; Proc. *BG* II 7.13 (Ildiger was the son-in-law of Antonina; since he did not marry Ioannina, Antonina must have had another daughter; cf. Proc. *Anecd.* 1.12 for the claim that Antonina had had many children - παίδων... πολλῶν - before Belisarius married her). On the eve of the Vandal expedition (cf. below) Belisarius adopted Theodosius 8; Proc. *Anecd.* 1.15-16 (= *Suid.* E 902).

He served as an officer in the bodyguard of Justinian, when the future emperor was still MVM (a. 520-527); Proc. *BP* I 12.21 (cited below). In 527 he and Sittas, Ἰουστινιανοῦ στρατηγοῦ δορυφόρω, led an invasion into Persarmenia, plundering widely and taking many Armenians prisoner before returning home; Proc. *BP* I 12.20-1. Later in the same year (but before Justinian became sole emperor, in August) they again invaded Armenia but suffered defeat at the hands of Aratius and Narses 2; Proc. *BP* I 12.21-2, 15.31.

DVX MESOPOTAMIAE a. 527-529: after the defeat of a Roman expedition under Libelarius (summer 527) and the death of Timostratus (both in *PLRE* II), Belisarius was made *dux Mesopotamiae* in succession to

Timostratus (Fl. Hypatius (= *PLRE* II, Hypatius 6) succeeded Libelarius as MVM, in June/July 527); Proc. *BP* I 12.24 (Βελισάριον δὲ ἄρχοντα καταλόγων τῶν ἐν Δάρος κατεστήσατο sc. βασιλεύς), *Zach. HE* IX 2 ('quod dux Timostratus στρατηλάτης mortuus erat, Belisarius ei successit'), cf. Proc. *BP* I 22.3 (where Dara is identified as the headquarters of the *dux Mesopotamiae* - ὁ τῶν ἐν Μεσοποταμίᾳ στρατιωτῶν ἄρχων). He now appointed Procopius 2, the future historian, as his *assessor* (σύμβουλος); Proc. *BP* I 12.24. He was also served at this time by Solomon 1; *Zach. HE* IX 2 (perhaps already his *domesticus*).

An attempt by the Romans to fortify a site at Tanurin in the desert (south of Nisibis) was thwarted by the Persians, and a Roman army was subsequently assembled under several commanders, including Belisarius (the others were Cutzes, Buzes, Basilius 2, Sebastianus 1, Vincentius and Tapharas); they were sent to Tanurin against the Persians but were heavily defeated; the cavalry and Belisarius escaped to Dara but the infantry were all either killed or captured; *Zach. HE* IX 2, *Joh. Mal.* 441-2, cf. *Zach. HE* IX 5 (failure to build at Tanurin), 6 and 17 (defeats of Belisarius at Tanurin). This battle is also described by Procopius, *BP* I 13.5-8, but Procopius has confused these events with the later Roman defeat at Mindouos; cf. below. After the failure at Tanurin, Justinian ordered Belisarius to construct a fortress at a place called Mindouos (Proc.) or Bidhwin (*Zach.*), situated on the Persian frontier north of Nisibis; Proc. *BP* I 13.2 (οὗτος Ἰουστινιανὸς ἐκέλευε Βελισάριον δειμάσθαι φρούριον ἐν χωρίῳ Μίνδουος, ὃ πρὸς αὐτοῖς ἐστὶ τοῖς Περσῶν ὀρίοις, ἐν ὀριστερᾷ ἔς Νίσιβιν ἰόντι), *Zach. HE* IX 5 (cited below). Belisarius pressed on with the building, but the Persians again interfered with the work and a battle was fought on Mount Melabason, which the Romans lost; Proc. *BP* I 13.3-4 (Belisarius pursues the work vigorously until the Persians intervene), *Zach. HE* IX 5 ('cum diebus Belisarii ducis, anno πέντε (= 526/527), Romani, postquam impediti sunt quominus Tanurin limitis conderent, in regione Melabhas Bidhwin(?) urbem facere voluissent, GDR cadisenus cum exercitu a Qawadh missus est, et Romanos desinere coegit, eosque pugna quam cum eis fecit in monte Melabhas fugavit'). On the geography of Tanurin and Mindouos/Bidhwin, cf. Honigmann, *Die Ostgrenze*, pp. 17-18. Since Tanurin lay to the south of Nisibis and Mindouos to the north, it follows that there were two separate attempts by the Romans to build strongholds on the frontier, and therefore two battles, as Zacharias says. Procopius has evidently conflated these two events into one. The dates are uncertain; Zacharias, *HE* IX 2, places the attempt to build at Tanurin at the end of the reign of Justin, while John Malalas places the battle of Tanurin in 528. However Zacharias *HE* IX 5 puts the attempts to build both at

Tanurin and at Bidhwin in year five, i.e. indiction five, a. 526/527. This is presumably an error. It seems probable that the battle of Tanurin was early in 528 and that of Mount Melabason later in the same year, and that it was in consequence of these events that various new and senior commanders were sent out to the east by Justinian; cf. *Fasti*. On this whole matter, cf. also B. Rubin, *Das Zeitalter Justinians* I, pp. 264-5 with p. 487, n. 777.

Belisarius is named in several sources, probably wrongly, as one of the three στρατηλάται sent to Lazica in c. 527/528 to help the king of the Lazi against Persia; *Chron. Pasch.* s.a. 528, Joh. Nik. 90.52, Theoph. AM 6020, Cedr. I 643. These sources name him as colleague of Cerycus and Irenaeus (*PLRE* II, Irenaeus 7), but John Malalas names their colleague as Gilderich (Joh. Mal. 427, Joh. Mal. (slav.), p. 134) and this is probably to be preferred.

MVM PER ORIENTEM a. 529 April-531: appointed MVM *per Orientem* in April 529 in succession to Fl. Hypatius (*PLRE* II, p. 580); Proc. *BP* I 13.9 (στρατηγός τῆς ἑω), Joh. Mal. 445 (ἑξάρχος Ῥωμαίων, successor of Hypatius), Theoph. AM 6021 (April 529, appointed στρατηλάτης ἀνατολῆς in succession to Hypatius). Ὁ στρατηλάτης τῆς ἀνατολῆς; Theoph. AM 6022 (a. 530). Ὁ τῆς ἑώας στρατηγός; Proc. *BV* I 9.25 (a. 531). Ὁ στρατηλάτης; Joh. Mal. 452 (a. 530), 461 (a. 531), Theoph. AM 6021 (a. 530). Στρατηγῶν τῶν ἑώων δυναμέων; Evagr. *HE* IV 12. Magister Romanae militiae; Vict. Tonn. s.a. 532 (referring to the Persian war). Στρατηγός; Zach. *HE* IX 4 (a. 531). Ordered to make war on Persia; Proc. *BP* I 13.9, Joh. Mal. 445. In 530 (cf. below) he went to Dara with a large army; Proc. *BP* I 13.9. There he was joined by Hermogenes, sent by Justinian to assist with the military operations; Proc. *BP* I 13.10, Evagr. *HE* IV 12. Hearing that the Persians planned to capture Dara, they constructed trenches before the city; Proc. *BP* I 13.12-14. The Persians made camp at Ammodius, close to Dara, and, their commander having requested Belisarius to prepare a bath for him for the following day, the Romans made ready in anticipation of a battle; Proc. *BP* I 13.15-18. The next morning, the Romans assumed their battle positions, in which Belisarius and Hermogenes occupied the central part of the line, behind the trench; Proc. *BP* I 13.22. After a day of light skirmishing, at dusk both sides withdrew; Proc. *BP* I 13.24-39. The following day was occupied with an exchange of letters between Belisarius and Hermogenes and the Persian commander; Proc. *BP* I 14.1-12. The day after that, Belisarius and Hermogenes exhorted their troops and drew up the army in the same array as before when they saw the Persians approaching; Proc. *BP* I 14.20-8. There followed the battle of Dara, which is described at length by Procopius; Proc. *BP* I 14.34-54,

cf. Joh. Mal. 452-3, Theoph. AM 6022, Nic. Call. *HE* XVII 10. It took place in June 530; Theoph. AM 6022. The result was a decisive victory for the Romans; Proc. *BP* I 14.53-4, 16.1, Joh. Mal. 453, Evagr. *HE* IV 12, Theoph. AM 6022, Nic. Call. *HE* XVII 10. It is clear from the narrative of Procopius that the command, before and during the battle, was shared jointly by Belisarius and Hermogenes; cf. Proc. *BP* I 13.10.12.35, 14.1.20.28.32.44-53.

In late 530 Belisarius questioned under torture five Samaritans, captured at Ammodius while returning home from Persia, and learned that the Samaritans, previously defeated in their revolt, were planning to betray Palestine and its wealthy holy places to Cavades; Joh. Mal. 455-6 (τὸν στρατηλάτην τῆς ἀνατολῆς - unnamed), Theoph. AM 6021 (στρατηλάτης). The date is fixed by the connection with the action of Cavades in disrupting peace negotiations being carried on by Rufinus (*PLRE* II, p. 955); cf. Joh. Mal. 454 (after September 530) and *PLRE* II, p. 955.

In spring 531 the Persians (cf. Azarethes) unexpectedly launched an invasion into Commagene (i.e. Euphratensis; cf. Proc. *BP* I 17.2.23); Belisarius, after some hesitation, decided to go and help; he garrisoned the cities of Mesopotamia, in case of attack during his absence, and then crossed the Euphrates; Proc. *BP* I 18.1-4, Joh. Mal. 461. He made camp at Chalcis, not far from the Persian forces who were in the area of Gabbula; Proc. *BP* I 18.8, Joh. Mal. 461-2. The Persians began to retreat homewards and Belisarius followed them, remaining a day's march in their rear and avoiding battle; Proc. *BP* I 18.9-11. At Barbalissus he was rejoined by Hermogenes, who ended a quarrel between Belisarius and one of his officers, Sunicas; Joh. Mal. 462, Proc. *BP* I 18.16. They finally overtook the Persians as they prepared to leave Roman territory near Callinicum; Belisarius allegedly yielded to pressure from his soldiers and officers and agreed to fight; Proc. *BP* I 18.12-25, Zach. *HE* IX 4. He drew up his men in battle array, taking the central position with the cavalry himself; Proc. *BP* I 18.26, Joh. Mal. 463. The battle of Callinicum is described by Procopius; Proc. *BP* I 18.30-50, cf. Joh. Mal. 463-4, Zach. *HE* IX 4, Evagr. *HE* IV 13, Nic. Call. *HE* XVII 10, Bar Hebr., *Chron.*, p. 74, Mich. Syr. IX 21. The date was Easter day, April 19, 531; Joh. Mal. 463 (April 19, Easter), Proc. *BP* I 18.15, Zach. *HE* IX 4 (Easter). The result was a defeat for the Romans; Proc. *BP* I 18.36-7, Joh. Mal. 464, Zach. *HE* IX 4, 6, 17, Evagr. *HE* IV 13, Bar Hebr., *Chron.*, p. 74, Mich. Syr. IX 21, Nic. Call. *HE* XVII 10. Belisarius himself is said by Procopius to have dismounted and fought on foot until nightfall before making his escape by boat over the Euphrates to Callinicum; Proc. *BP* I 18.41-50. This conflicts with the

version of Malalas, according to whom Belisarius had fled earlier by boat to Callinicum and it was Sunicas and Simmas who dismounted and fought on until nightfall; Joh. Mal. 464. The account in Malalas is to be preferred, since Procopius clearly conceals Belisarius' responsibility for the disaster as shown by his silence about the enquiry of Constantiolus and his version of the recall and dismissal of Belisarius (see below).

Following this reverse, an enquiry was held under Constantiolus, and Belisarius was replaced as MVM *per Orientem* and recalled to Constantinople; Proc. *BP* I 21.2, *BV* I 9.25, Joh. Mal. 466, cf. Zach. *HE* IX 6, 17 (he was blamed for the defeats of Tanurin and Callinicum), Jord. *Rom.* 366, Zon. xiv 7 (pp. 276-7), Nic. Call. *HE* xvii 12. He was succeeded as MVM *per Orientem* by Mundus; Joh. Mal. 466 (διεδέξατο μὲν Βελισάριον τῆς στρατηλασίας, προαγαγὼν δὲ Μοῦνδον ἐποίησεν αὐτὸν στρατηλάτην ἀνατολῆς). Previously the MVM *praesentalis* Sittas, then in Armenia, had been ordered to aid the east; Joh. Mal. 465, Proc. *BP* I 21.3. Belisarius attributed his defeat to the rashness and indiscipline of his troops; Zach. *HE* IX 17. Procopius claimed that the real reason why Belisarius was recalled was in order to undertake the war against the Vandals and his removal from office was only a pretext; Proc. *BP* I 21.2, *BV* I 9.25. He has omitted all reference to the enquiry of Constantiolus, doubtless because it reflected badly on Belisarius; cf. above.

Belisarius is alluded to as commander of the Greek troops in the four-year war with Persia; Agapius, p. 167 = p. 427 (where his name is given as 'Basilides'). Wrongly said to have won three great victories over the Persians; Vict. Tonn. s.a. 532 (Belesarius magister Romanae militiae duobus superatis proeliis tertium mirabiliter Persicum proelium superavit), cf. Jord. *Rom.* 366.

He returned from the Persian war with a large following, including many battle-hardened *bucellarii* (δορυφόρων τε εἶχε καὶ ὑπασπιστῶν πλῆθος); Proc. *BP* I 24.40. During the Nika revolt (Jan. 13-18, 532) Belisarius led a large force of Goths (probably from his own *bucellarii*) against the rioters and many people lost their lives in the fighting which ensued (the date of this event was Jan. 14 or 15; cf. Bury, *LRE*² II, p. 43); this only incensed the populace the more and led to further acts of arson and murder; Joh. Mal. 475, *Chron. Pasch.* s.a. 532. By the last day of the revolt Belisarius and Mundus were the sole support for Justinian among the military; Proc. *BP* I 24.40. Belisarius tried to reach Hypatius in the kathisma of the hippodrome by a direct route, but was prevented by palace guards who insisted on remaining neutral; he was then sent by Justinian by another route into the hippodrome itself where he decided to attack the crowd which was acclaiming Hypatius; he received support

from Mundus; in the ensuing slaughter over thirty thousand perished and the revolt was crushed; Proc. *BP* I 24.44-53, Joh. Mal. 476, *Chron. Pasch.* s.a. 532, Theoph. AM 6024, Cedr. I 647, Nic. Call. *HE* xvii 10.

MVM *PER ORIENTEM* (II) a. (?532) 533-542: he was reappointed MVM *per Orientem* some time before the expedition against the Vandals (midsummer 533, cf. below); Proc. *BP* I 26.1 (βασιλεὺς στρατηγὸν τε τῆς ἑώρας αὐθις Βελισάριον κατεστήσατο), *BV* I 11.18 (cited below). He probably held the post on Feb. 1, 533, when Justinian addressed to him a law concerning a property dispute which he was to settle in co-operation with the patriarch of Antioch; Just. *Nov.* 155 (addressed Βελισαρίῳ, without title, but in the Epitome of Athanasius it is addressed Βελισαρίῳ στρατηγῷ; cf. Heimbach, *Anecd.* I, p. 146. On the date, 533, cf. Just. *Nov.* (ed. Schoell and Kroll), p. 732, app. crit. to line 29). He bore the title on April 13, 534; *CJ* I 27.2 (addressed 'Belisario magistro militum per Orientem', on the military reorganisation of Africa). Magister militum, in 533-534; Vict. Tonn. s.a. 534. The titles in Jord. *Get.* 171 (mag(ister) mil(itum) Orientalis, exconsul ordinarius atque patricius) are chronologically confused; the passage concerns the Vandal war (533-534), but Belisarius only became *consul ordinarius* in 535 (cf. below), and *ex consul ordinarius* from the end of that year. Belisarius may have been reappointed MVM *per Orientem* as early as January 532; Mundus was once again MVM *per Illyricum* in January 532, and Belisarius could have been his immediate successor as MVM *per Orientem*. From the language of Procopius, *BP* II 6.1 (cited below), referring to 540, it is clear that Belisarius held the post of MVM *per Orientem* continuously through the African and Italian wars and did not give it up until 542 (see below).

In 533 he was put in command of the expedition sent to reconquer Africa from the Vandals; Proc. *BP* I 26.1, *BV* I 10.21, *Aed.* vi 5.6, Zach. *HE* IX 17, Vict. Tonn. s.a. 534, Evagr. *HE* IV 16, Zon. xiv 7 (p. 277). He was given supreme authority over his colleagues on the expedition, a position confirmed in writing by the emperor; Proc. *BV* I 11.18 (στρατηγὸν δὲ αὐτοκράτορα ἐφ' ἅπασιν Βελισάριον βασιλεὺς ἔστελλεν, ὅς τῶν ἐφῶν αὐθις καταλόγων ἦρχε), 11.20 (γράμματά τε αὐτῷ βασιλεὺς ἔγραφε, δρᾶν ἕκαστα ὅπη ἂν αὐτῷ δοκῆ ἄριστα ἔχειν, ταῦτά τε κύρια εἶναι ὅτε αὐτοῦ βασιλέως αὐτὰ διαπεπραγμένου), 15.2. The forces under him (ten thousand infantry and five thousand cavalry, drawn from the regular army and the *foederati*, plus a number of barbarian troops, and a large fleet) and his principal officers are enumerated in Proc. *BV* I 11.2-17. In addition he had with him many *bucellarii* (δορυφόροι and ὑπασπισταί); Proc. *BV* I 11.19.

Accompanied by his wife Antonina and the historian Procopius 2 as

his assessor, Belisarius set sail from Constantinople with his army and fleet in mid June 533; Proc. *BV* I 11.31, 12.1-3, Evagr. *HE* IV 16, Nic. Call. *HE* XVII 12, Zon. XIV 7 (p. 277). They put in first at Heraclea Perinthus where they stayed for five days and Belisarius received a large number of horses from the imperial herds in Thrace; Proc. *BV* I 12.6. Thence they sailed to Abydos, where lack of wind delayed further progress for four days; here Belisarius executed two Hun soldiers who had killed one of their colleagues while drunk, in order to emphasise the need for discipline in his army; Proc. *BV* I 12.7-22. At this point, in order to avoid the dispersal of his fleet in the event of bad weather, he had the three ships in which he and his staff (αὐτός τε καὶ ἡ θεραπεία) were sailing specially marked so that they were readily identifiable by day or night; Proc. *BV* I 13.1-4. From there the fleet sailed to Sigeum and then crossed the Aegean to Malea and then to Taenarum-Caenopolis, and so to Methone where they were joined by Valerianus 1 and Martinus 2 with their troops; Proc. *BV* I 13.5-9. Here Belisarius took advantage of the absence of favourable winds to disembark the whole army and to organise properly his commanders and their men; Proc. *BV* I 13.10. While at Methone over five hundred soldiers died after eating infected bread from the supplies on the ships, and Belisarius prevented more deaths by ordering that locally made bread be given to the men instead; he reported the occurrence to the emperor (cf. Ioannes 11 the Cappadocian); Proc. *BV* I 13.11-20. From Methone the expedition sailed to Zacynthus, where it took on board supplies of fresh water, and then crossed the Adriatic; it arrived in Sicily at a deserted spot near Mount Etna on the sixteenth day after a slow passage due to feeble winds; Proc. *BV* I 13.21-2. Uncertain what to do, Belisarius now sent Procopius to Syracuse, ostensibly to purchase supplies, but with secret orders to learn what he could about the Vandals and their movements; Proc. *BV* I 14.1-5. They rendezvoused at Caucana, where Procopius was able to report that the Vandals were totally unprepared; Belisarius gave orders immediately to set sail and the fleet arrived on the following day, after brief stops at Gaulus (Gozzo) and Melita (Malta), at Caput Vada (Ras Kabudia, a headland near Ruspe on the coast of Byzacena); Proc. *BV* I 14.14-17, cf. Coripp. *Ioh.* I 366-70, 387-8 (Ioannes 36 Troglita later landed at precisely the same spot). Before landing Belisarius summoned his leading generals to a conference on his ship to discuss what to do; his proposal to disembark and establish a strong base on land was accepted, and they then disembarked as quickly as possible, some three months after setting out from Constantinople, and by hard work completed on the same day a camp with a stockade and trench, in which the army passed the night; Belisarius also put watchmen on the

ships and placed a protective screen of light, fast vessels around the fleet; Proc. *BV* I 15.1-36, Zon. XIV 7 (p. 277). On the following day he punished some soldiers for stealing fruit and is represented by Procopius as emphasising the need to stay on good terms with the local people and to pay for supplies; Proc. *BV* I 16.1-8. On the same day he sent some *bucellarii* under Boriades with orders to occupy the neighbouring city of Syllectum and not to alienate the inhabitants; they did this on the next day and sent him the keys of the gates; Proc. *BV* I 16.9-11. Having captured a royal messenger, Belisarius gave him gold and entrusted him with delivery to the Vandal rulers of a letter from Justinian addressed to the Vandals justifying the invasion against Gelimer and asking for their support; the man through fear did not deliver the letter; Proc. *BV* I 16.12-15. Belisarius now disposed his forces for the march to Carthage; he sent three hundred *bucellarii* under Ioannes 14 in advance of the main army, with orders to keep always two to three miles ahead; meanwhile his left flank was covered by the Hun allies at about the same distance; he himself kept to the rear of the main army with his best troops, in case the Vandals under Gelimer, coming up from Hermione in south Byzacena, should overtake them; the fleet was to follow them along the coast; Proc. *BV* I 17.1-5, 18.3. At Syllectum Belisarius continued his policy of conciliation towards the local inhabitants so effectively that he secured their full co-operation for the rest of his march to Carthage; Proc. *BV* I 17.6. From Syllectum the army advanced through Leptis (Minor) and Hadrumetum to Grasse, whence Belisarius, after a skirmish between his scouts and those of Gelimer, set off directly for Carthage, sending the fleet round the coast with orders not to approach too closely to Carthage; Proc. *BV* I 17.6-17. On the fourth day (Sept. 13; cf. below) he arrived near Ad Decimum and established the army in a fortified camp about four miles away; Proc. *BV* I 17.17, 19.1. He left the infantry and his wife in the camp and set out with all his cavalry, intending not to join battle but simply to discover the strength of the enemy; the *foederati* were sent ahead and Belisarius followed with his *bucellarii* and the remaining cavalry; Proc. *BV* I 19.11-13. The *foederati* reached the place where Ioannes 14 had shortly before defeated and killed the brother of Gelimer, Ammatas; they learned what had happened, but were then attacked and put to flight by Gelimer himself; they rejoined Belisarius who, after questioning them, advanced against Gelimer, caught the Vandal army in disorder, and routed it, inflicting heavy losses; he was then joined by Ioannes, and by the Huns who had killed Gibamundus, and spent the night at Ad Decimum; Proc. *BV* I 19.14-33, Zon. XIV 7 (p. 277). The date of the battle of Ad Decimum was September 13, the day before the festival of St Cyprian; Proc. *BV* I

21.18.23-4. On the following day (Sept. 14; cf. above) the infantry and Antonina rejoined him, and the army advanced to Carthage; that night was spent outside the city, since Belisarius wanted to avoid the danger of possible ambush and also to deny his soldiers the opportunity of pillaging the city under cover of darkness; Proc. *BV* I 20.1-2. The next day (Sept. 15; cf. above) he disembarked his men from the fleet, which had now arrived in the vicinity, and arranged his army in battle formation as he still feared a trap; then after again urging his men to behave in a civilised and orderly manner towards the local people, he entered Carthage; meeting no resistance, he entered the palace and occupied the throne of Gelimer; Proc. *BV* I 20.17-21, cf. 21.1-10 (the occupation of the city was peaceful and orderly). He investigated allegations of theft during the previous night made against the sailors of his fleet but failed to extract a confession from the naval commander Calonymus; Proc. *BV* I 20.22-5. He also gave promises of safety to those Vandals who had fled for refuge into sacred buildings; Proc. *BV* I 21.11. The capture of Carthage is also mentioned in Evagr. *HE* IV 16, Zon. XIV 7 (p. 277), Nic. Call. *HE* XVII 12, and Jac. Ed., p. 319 = p. 241.

Belisarius began immediately to refortify Carthage, whose old walls had collapsed in many places through neglect; first he surrounded the city with a trench and stockade and then repaired the walls; Proc. *BV* I 21.11-13, 23.19-21, II 1.7.12, *Aed.* VI 5.8. To spy on the enemy he sent twenty-two *bucellarii* under Diogenes 2; Proc. *BV* I 23.5. He learnt of events in Sardinia when messengers from Tzazo to Gelimer fell into his hands unexpectedly; Proc. *BV* I 24.5-6. He now sent Solomon 1 to the emperor to inform him of events in Africa; Proc. *BV* I 24.19. The rulers of the Moorish tribes in Mauretania, Numidia and Byzacena made their submission to Belisarius, promising to fight as his allies and requesting the insignia of office which by tradition they received from the Roman emperor; Belisarius sent them the insignia and large sums of money, but they did not join him, remaining neutral in the war and awaiting the outcome; Proc. *BV* I 25.3-9, II 8.11-15, 11.9.

Gelimer now approached Carthage and made camp nearby but in spite of damaging the aqueduct he failed to draw out the Romans; he tried to incite treason among the Carthaginians and the Arian soldiers in the Roman army and also to win over the Huns, but Belisarius deterred potential traitors by impaling a Carthaginian convicted of the offence and persuaded the Huns to remain loyal by promising them a safe return home with their booty at the end of the war; Proc. *BV* II 1.1-11. Only when all his preparations were made and the circuit wall completed did Belisarius leave Carthage; he first sent out all the cavalry except five hundred and all his *bucellarii* with his standard under the

command of Ioannes 14 with orders only to skirmish with the enemy, and on the following day set out himself with the infantry and the five hundred cavalry; Proc. *BV* II 1.7.12-25, 2.1-2. The cavalry found the Vandal army at Tricamarum, about twenty miles from Carthage, and made camp some distance away; Proc. *BV* II 2.4-5. On the following day when the Vandals came out in battle array, the Roman cavalry drew themselves up to meet them, with the *bucellarii* of Belisarius under Ioannes in the centre; before the battle commenced, Belisarius himself arrived with the five hundred remaining cavalry and joined Ioannes; Proc. *BV* II 3.1-6. The battle of Tricamarum, which ended in victory for the Romans and the capture of the Vandal camp with all their wealth and effectively ended the war, is described by Procopius; *BV* II 3.10-28. It took place in mid December, 533, three months after the fall of Carthage; Proc. *BV* II 3.28.

After the battle the Roman soldiery lost all sense of discipline in their pursuit of spoil and Belisarius feared that they would suffer heavily if the Vandals could reunite against them; he restored some order only on the following day and with difficulty, succeeding mainly with his own followers (οἱ τῆς Βελισαρίου οἰκίας ὄντες); Proc. *BV* II 4.1-8. He now sent Ioannes the Armenian in pursuit of Gelimer, to take him dead or alive; Proc. *BV* II 4.9. He also sent orders to Carthage to give pledges of safety to all Vandals found seeking sanctuary in the area and to disarm them and hold them in Carthage until his arrival; meanwhile he scoured the area, reassembling the rest of his own troops and disarming and sending to Carthage under guard any Vandals he met; only then did he set off in pursuit of Gelimer; Proc. *BV* II 4.9-13. News now reached him of the death of Ioannes the Armenian and he immediately visited his tomb, honouring it with gifts and with the endowment of a regular income; Proc. *BV* II 4.22-5. He then resumed the pursuit of Gelimer and had reached Hippo Regius, when news came that Gelimer had sought refuge on Mount Papua, an inaccessible mountain on the border of Numidia, among Moorish tribes friendly to him; Belisarius therefore decided to return to Carthage where his presence was required and he sent Pharas to blockade the mountain; Proc. *BV* II 4.26-31. At Hippo Regius many Vandal nobles who had taken sanctuary in sacred buildings were given pledges of safety by Belisarius and sent under guard to Carthage; Proc. *BV* II 4.32. Also at Hippo Regius Belisarius took possession of the personal fortune of Gelimer, surrendered to him by Bonifatius; Proc. *BV* II 4.39-41.

Once back in Carthage he began preparations for sending his Vandal captives to Constantinople as soon as spring arrived, and also took steps to secure for the Romans all districts formerly ruled by the Vandals; he

sent Cyrillus to Sardinia and Corsica, Ioannes 16 (the infantry commander) to Caesarea in Mauretania (cf. *BV* II 20.31-2), Ioannes 12, one of his *bucellarii*, to Gadir to occupy Septem, and Apollinarius to the Balearic Islands; Proc. *BV* II 5.1-9. Later he sent an army to assist Pudentius and Tattimuth (in Tripolitana) against the Moors; Proc. *BV* II 5.10. He also tried to occupy the fortress of Lilybaeum in Sicily, claiming that it belonged to the Vandals, but this was opposed by the Goths who denied the claim; Amalasuetha wrote to Belisarius and the matter was referred to Justinian; Proc. *BV* II 5.11-25. The military administration of the recovered African provinces was now organised by a law issued to Belisarius, dated from Constantinople on April 13, 534; *CJ* I 27.2.

In late March, 534, Gelimer decided to surrender and wrote accordingly to Pharas, who informed Belisarius in Carthage; Belisarius sent Cyprianus with pledges of safety for Gelimer and those with him and promises that he would be treated with honour and given wealth; Gelimer was taken to meet Belisarius in the suburb of Carthage called Aclas, where he was staying; Belisarius informed the emperor of the capture of Gelimer and asked permission to bring him to Constantinople; Proc. *BV* II 7.1-17. The capture of Gelimer is also recorded in Joh. Mal. 478-9 (indiction 12, i.e. 533/534), Vict. Tonn. s.a. 534, Jord. *Get.* 81, 171, Zon. xiv 7 (pp. 277-8).

At this point some of Belisarius' generals secretly accused him to the emperor of planning rebellion; this was discovered when one of their messengers was captured; Justinian offered Belisarius the choice of remaining in Africa or returning to Constantinople, and he chose to return in order to demonstrate his loyalty; Proc. *BV* II 8.1-8. The statement of Procopius in the *Anecdota* (18.9), that Justinian summoned Belisarius from Africa after accusing him of rebellion, is a malicious interpretation of these events, forming part of his attack on Justinian.

Belisarius was about to set sail for Constantinople when news came that the Moors had revolted; he could not stay to deal with it himself and so he left Solomon 1 in charge and gave him the larger part of his own *bucellarii* to help in putting down the revolt; Proc. *BV* II 8.20-3.

He returned to Constantinople with Gelimer and the other Vandal prisoners and enormous treasures; Proc. *BV* II 9.1, *BP* II 21.28, Zach. *HE* IX 17 (indiction 12), Joh. Mal. 478-9, Coripp. *Ioh.* III 18-20, Vict. Tonn. s.a. 534, Jord. *Get.* 81, 171, Zon. xiv 7, Nic. Call. *HE* XVII 12, Jac. Ed., p. 319 = p. 341, Bar Hebr., *Chron.*, p. 74. The defeat of Gelimer and the Vandals and the reconquest of Africa by Belisarius are also mentioned in Proc. *BV* I 5.9, *BG* I 5.1, IV 19.7, *Aed.* VI 5.6, Zach. *HE* IX 17, Marcell. com. s.a. 534, *Marcell. com. Addit.* ad a. 535, Coripp. *Ioh.* III 18-20, Vict.

Tonn. s.a. 534, Mar. Avent. s.a. 534, Jord. *Rom.* 366-75, *Get.* 307, 315, Evagr. *HE* IV 16, *Lib. Pont.* 61, Theoph. AM 6026 (an epitome of Procopius), Zon. xiv 7, Cedr. I 649-50 (a very inaccurate summary of Procopius), Paul. Diac. *Hist. Lang.* I 25, *Hist. Rom.* XVI 14, Isid. *Hist. Vand.* 83-4, Isid. *Chron.* 399, Beda, *Chron.* 516, *Patr. Const.* II 17, Suid. A 249, E 3760.

In Constantinople Belisarius was granted the honour of a triumph; he led through the city a procession displaying the spoils and captives from the war, proceeding on foot from his home to the hippodrome where he did obeisance in front of the imperial box; Proc. *BV* II 9.1-3.12, cf. also Mar. Avent. s.a. 534, Jord. *Rom.* 366, Evagr. *HE* IV 17, Zon. xiv 7, Nic. Call. *HE* XVII 12, Cedr. I 649-50, Theoph. AM 6026 (ed. de Boor, pp. 199-200). The treasures and captives are described in Proc. *BV* II 9.4-11. Some of the jewels were later used at the coronation of Justin II; Coripp. *Iust.* II 125. Belisarius was also honoured with the ordinary consulship for 535; Proc. *BV* II 9.15, *BG* I 5.18, Jord. *Rom.* 366, *Get.* 313, 315, Zon. xiv 7, Theoph. AM 6026 (p. 200), Cedr. I 650.

CONSUL ORDINARIUS a. 535: *Fasti*, Rossi I 1055-62, *P. Flor.* III 283, *P. Cairo Masp.* 67123, 67296, 67297, *P. Oxy.* 1893, 1983, *SB* 6266, 6704, 7201, 8029, *Stud. Pal.* XX 141, *P. Ross.-Georg.* III 36, *P. Michael.* 126, *P. Colt.* 18, *P. Erl.* 75, *ACOec.* III, pp. 27, 123, 154, 159, 161, 166, 169, 177, *Marcell. com. Addit.* ad a. 535, 536, 537, Vict. Tonn. s.a. 535, 536, 537, Mar. Avent. s.a. 535, 536, 537, Joh. Mal. 479. He celebrated the consulship in the traditional manner of a triumph, riding on the curule chair borne aloft by the Vandal captives and distributing spoils from the Vandal war to the populace; Proc. *BV* II 9.15-16. See also Bagnall and others, *Consuls*, pp. 604-9.

According to Cedrenus (I 650) and some later Byzantine historians, after the recovery of Africa Belisarius was represented on the imperial coinage with the legend: Βελισάριος ἡ δόξα τῶν Ῥωμαίων. This is certainly not correct but results from a misunderstanding of genuine coins and medallions; see Babelon, *Histoire d'un médaillon disparu*, in *Mém. Soc. Nat. Ant. Fr.* 57 (1898), 295-326, esp. 320-6.

PATRICIUS a. (?532-?)536-565: it is not recorded when Belisarius was made *patricius*. The first contemporary reference to the title is in a consular dating from 536; Rossi I 1057 (p(ost) c(onsulatum) Vvilisari viri ex/cellentissimi cons(ulis) adque patrici). He is styled ὁ πατρικίος in the description of the Nika riot of 532 in *Chron. Pasch.* s.a. 532; he is also styled *patricius* in references to his victory in 534 over the Vandals in Jord. *Get.* 171, 307, Vict. Tonn. s.a. 534 and Mar. Avent. s.a. 534. These accounts were written some years later, however, and their testimony on the title is not conclusive. Also styled *patricius*: Agnellus, *Lib. Pont. Eccl.*

Rav. 62 (cited below, referring to 540), *Mar. Avent. s.a.* 540, *Ep. Arelat. gen.* 41 (= *MGH, Epp.* III, p. 62 = *PL* 69.27 = *Mansi IX* 41) (a. 545 May 22; suggerente gloriosissimo et excellentissimo viro filio nostro patricio Belisario), *Ep. Arelat. gen.* 44 (= *MGH, Epp.* III, p. 66 = *PL* 69.37 = *Mansi IX* 46) (a. 546 Aug. 23; glorioso viro filio nostro patricio Belisario), *Vigilius, Ep.* I, ed. Schwartz (= *Mansi IX* 50, *Vigilius, Ep.* 15) (a. 552 Jan. 28; cited below), *ACOec.* IV I, p. 27 (a. 553 May 1; cited below), *ACOec.* IV I, p. 185 (553 May 25; cited below), *Marini, P. Dip.* 140 = *P. Ital.* 49 (dated 557, but referring back to when Belisarius was once in Rome), *Vict. Tonn. s.a.* 559, *Joh. Mal.* 494, *Theoph. AM* 6051, 6055, 6057, 6058, *Cedr.* I 680, *Zon.* XIV 7 (p. 276), XIV 9 (p. 284), *Joh. Eph. HE* III 1.32, *Lib. Pont.* 60, 61, *Paul. Diac. Hist. Lang.* I 25, *Hist. Rom.* XVI 11, 15, *Beda, Chron.* no. 516.

In 535 Belisarius was sent back to the west to recapture Italy from the Goths; *Proc. BV* II 14.1, *Jord. Get.* 307ff., *Rom.* 368, *Evagr. HE* IV 19, *Lib. Pont.* 60, *Zon.* XIV 8 (p. 279), *Nic. Call. HE* XVII 13. He was again given supreme authority over all his colleagues; *Proc. BG* I 5.4 (στρατηγὸς δὲ αὐτοκράτωρ ἐφ' ἅπασιν Βελισάριος ἦν). He still held the post of *MVM per Orientem* (cf. below). The forces under his command (four thousand men from the regular army and the *foederati*, three thousand Isaurians, two hundred Huns and three hundred Moors) and his principal officers are enumerated in *Proc. BG* I 5.2-4. He was also accompanied by a large force of *bucellarii* (δορυφόροι τε καὶ ὑπάσπιστοι); *Proc. BG* I 5.4. The destination of the expedition was officially announced as Carthage, but Belisarius had secret orders to land in Sicily and, if it could be done without difficulty, to subdue the island, but if not, to sail on to Africa; *Proc. BG* I 5.2.6-7, *Marcell. com. Addit.* ad a. 535.

Belisarius landed in Sicily and immediately occupied Catania, and then quickly gained control of the whole island, with Syracuse and all the other cities apparently submitting without resistance, apart from Panormus which held out briefly; *Proc. BG* I 5.12-17, *BV* II 14.1, *Marcell. com. Addit.* ad a. 535, *Jord. Get.* 307-308, *Rom.* 369, *Mar. Avent. s.a.* 535, *Joh. Mal.* 480. By chance his entry into Syracuse after completing the conquest of Sicily coincided with the last day of his consulship; he celebrated the occasion with a triumphal entrance, applauded by the army and people to whom he threw gold coins, and laid down his consulship there in Syracuse instead of in the senate house at Constantinople, as was traditional; *Proc. BG* I 5.17-19. He then remained in Syracuse for the winter; *Proc. BV* II 14.4, *Anecd.* 1.21.

Shortly after Easter 536 Belisarius was visited in Syracuse by Solomon I and Procopius with an urgent request to return to Africa to put down a military revolt; *Proc. BV* II 14.41-2, cf. 7 (the revolt began at Easter).

Accompanied by Solomon and one hundred picked men from his own *bucellarii*, Belisarius sailed to Carthage which was invested by over eight thousand rebels under Stotzas; *Proc. BV* II 15.9, *Marcell. com. Addit.* ad a. 535. At his arrival the rebels withdrew in disorder; Belisarius then gathered a force of soldiers some two thousand strong and set off in pursuit, overtaking the rebels at Membressa (Medjez el Bab, about forty miles from Carthage) and making camp near the river Bagradas (the Medjerda); *Proc. BV* II 15.10-13. There on the following day a battle ended in victory for Belisarius; in the face of a strong wind the army of Stotzas tried to move to a better position, but Belisarius attacked them while still in disorder and they took to flight; *Proc. BV* II 15.15.40-5, *Coripp. Ioh.* III 311-13. Belisarius chose not to pursue, with his relatively small force, but allowed his men to plunder the rebel camp and then returned to Carthage; there he received news of trouble in the army in Sicily requiring his presence and so, after arranging matters in Africa as well as he could and entrusting Carthage to Ildiger and Theodorus 8, he returned to Sicily; *Proc. BV* II 15.46-9. This expedition to Africa against Stotzas is also recorded in *Jord. Rom.* 369-70.

Back in Sicily, Belisarius received orders from Justinian to expect a summons from Athanasius I and Petrus 6, the imperial envoys to Theodahad; when it came, he was to go to Italy and assume control, in accordance with the agreement made by Theodahad to surrender the country; *Proc. BG* I 6.26-7. However Theodahad broke the agreement, whereupon Belisarius was ordered to go to Italy with all speed and make war on the Goths; *Proc. BG* I 7.26.

Leaving garrisons in Syracuse and Panormus, Belisarius crossed with the rest of his army from Messina to Rhegium, where he received much local support; *Proc. BG* I 8.1-2, cf. *Paul. Diac. Hist. Rom.* XVI 16 (wrongly said to have crossed from Spain to Italy). The local Gothic commander, Ebrimuth, deserted to him and was sent immediately to Constantinople; *Proc. BG* I 8.3, *Marcell. com. Addit.* ad a. 536, *Jord. Rom.* 370, *Get.* 308-9. From Rhegium the army marched through Bruttium and Lucania to Naples in Campania, with the fleet following along the coast; *Proc. BG* I 8.4-5, *Marcell. com. Addit.* ad a. 536, *Jord. Get.* 311, *Lib. Pont.* 60. Naples had a large Gothic garrison; Belisarius camped near the city, with his fleet anchored in the harbour beyond the reach of missiles, and after accepting the surrender of a fort in the suburbs began talks with the inhabitants of the city; *Proc. BG* I 8.6. During the talks, which are described at some length by Procopius, *BG* I 8.7-41, Belisarius won over the Neapolitan representative Stephanus 8 by promising large rewards if he would persuade the people to support the emperor and surrender, but in the end the opposing party, led by Pastor 2 and

Asclepiodotus 2, carried the day and negotiations ended. Belisarius thereupon began a siege, but although he cut the aqueduct he made no progress; his assaults on the wall were ineffective and the citizens had adequate water from wells in the city; Proc. *BG* I 8.42-5. He was already preparing to abandon the siege in order to reach Rome before the winter set in, when the possibility of entering the city through an aqueduct was reported to him by one of his *bucellarii* (ὄπασπιστᾶί), an Isaurian called Paucaris; on his orders Paucaris and other Isaurians cut an opening, and Belisarius then tried once more through Stephanus to persuade the Neapolitans to surrender, warning them that he now had the means to capture the city, but they still refused; Proc. *BG* I 9.8-30. He therefore prepared to attack Naples; he first sent a body of men under cover of night through the aqueduct into the city, distracting the nearest guards by ordering Bessas to engage them in conversation in Gothic; Proc. *BG* I 10.1-12. At the signal from inside the city that his men had cleared two guard-towers of their defenders, Belisarius led an assault on the walls, which his men scaled with ladders; Proc. *BG* I 10.20-3. The city fell to Belisarius, whose men indulged in widespread killing and looting until restrained by him; he endeavoured to restore good relations with the Neapolitans by returning to them their families, slaves and homes, and while placing the Gothic soldiers captured in the city under guard he treated them with honour and kept them from harm; Proc. *BG* I 10.24-37. For a less kindly description of his treatment of Naples, cf. *Marcell. com. Addit.* ad a. 536 (Neapolim vastat), *Jord. Rom.* 370 (tam Gothi qui aderant quam Romanis rebellantibus interfectis urbem plenissime spoliavit), *Get.* 311, *Zach. HE* IX 18, *Lib. Pont.* 60, *Paul. Diac. Hist. Rom.* XVI 16, *Zon.* XIV 8 (p. 281).

Belisarius now placed garrisons in Naples and Cumae and began preparations for the advance on Rome; Proc. *BG* I 14.1-2. He learnt from an envoy from Rome, Fidelis (*PLRE* II, p. 469) that the inhabitants wished to surrender the city to him, and he set out for Rome along the Via Latina; Proc. *BG* I 14.4-6, *Zach. HE* IX 18. He entered Rome on Dec. 9, 536, through the Porta Asinaria at the same time as the Gothic garrison left through the Porta Flaminia; Proc. *BG* I 14.14 (giving the date), *Zach. HE* IX 18, *Marcell. com. Addit.* ad a. 536, *Jord. Rom.* 373, *Get.* 311, *Paul. Diac. Hist. Rom.* XVI 17, *Lib. Pont.* 60 (III id. Decemb.), *Joh. Mal.* 480, *Evagr. HE* IV 19, *Zon.* XIV 8 (p. 281), *Nic. Call. HE* XVII 13.

Belisarius sent the Gothic commander, Leudaris, who had remained in Rome, to Justinian, together with the keys of the gates; Proc. *BG* I 14.15. He began to repair the city walls, which had collapsed in many places; he improved the battlements and constructed a moat, and also imported large quantities of grain in anticipation of a siege, in spite of

the misgivings of the inhabitants; Proc. *BG* I 14.15-17, *Lib. Pont.* 60. He received the submission of part of Samnium from Pitzas and sent him soldiers to help guard the district; Proc. *BG* I 15.1-2. He had previously received the submission of Apulia and Calabria, and now held all of Italy south of Rome and Samnium; Proc. *BG* I 15.3.15, 16.1. He sent Constantinus 3 with a force which included many of his own *bucellarii* to occupy towns in Etruria and sent Bessas (*PLRE* II) to seize Narnia; Proc. *BG* I 16.1-2, *Jord. Rom.* 373.

After the defeat of a Gothic army by Constantinus near Perugia, and the capture of its commanders, Vitigis took stronger action and, learning how small were the forces under Belisarius, assembled a large army and set out to attack him in Rome; Proc. *BG* I 16.5-7.11.19-21, *Jord. Get.* 312. At the news, Belisarius recalled Constantinus and Bessas with most of their troops, leaving in Etruria only the necessary minimum to garrison the main places; Proc. *BG* I 17.1-2. Bessas reported to him that the Goths were approaching rapidly, through Sabine country, and Belisarius tried to delay their arrival by building a tower and manning it with troops at the river crossing (on the Anio; cf. *Bury, LRE*² II, p. 182, n. 1); he hoped for reinforcements from the emperor and needed more time to provision the city; Proc. *BG* I 17.6.13-16. However, during the night following the arrival of the Gothic army, the garrison of the fort fled and on the next day the Goths crossed the river unopposed; Proc. *BG* I 17.18-20, 18.1. On the same day Belisarius approached the bridge with a thousand cavalry, intending to camp there and delay the Goths further, but unaware of the flight of the garrison; Proc. *BG* I 17.18, 18.2, 24.3. On arrival he found the Goths already across the river and was forced to join battle with their cavalry; he exposed himself to great danger by fighting, exceptionally, in the front ranks, but was ably supported by his *bucellarii* and was unhurt; the Romans eventually put the Goths to flight but retreated, when Gothic reinforcements arrived, to a small hill where another engagement took place; thereafter they retreated back to Rome, arriving at the Porta Salaria at dusk, where the citizens, who had heard that Belisarius was dead and could not recognise him, refused to open the gates; Belisarius led another unexpected charge which put his pursuers to flight and immediately returned to the gate, this time gaining admittance; Proc. *BG* I 18.3-29, 24.3. For that night he stationed his army and most of the populace on the city walls to keep watch and made what defensive arrangements he could, putting one of his commanders in charge of each gate; Proc. *BG* I 18.34. He discounted reports that the Goths had entered the city and took steps to avert panic if such rumours should occur again; Proc. *BG* I 18.35-9. He incurred some derision by expressing his confidence that he would defeat the

Goths, but, as he later explained, he had already noticed that the Goths had no answer to his mounted archers; Proc. *BG* I 18.42, 27.25-9.

On the following day the siege of Rome by the Goths began; Proc. *BG* I 19.1. The date is uncertain. The *Liber Pontificalis* gives it as Feb. 21, 537 (perhaps rightly, cf. Hildebrandt, *Hist. Jahrb.* 42 (1922), pp. 239-42); *Lib. Pont.* 60 (Vitigis rex ... regressus est contra Romam VIII kl. mart. et fixit castra ad pontem Molbium et coeperunt obsedere civitatem Romanam). Procopius however says that the siege began at the beginning of March; Proc. *BG* I 24.31 (Μαρτίου ἰσταμένου ἡ πολιορκία κατ' ἀρχάς γέγονεν). It was to last for one year and nine days, ending around the spring equinox in 538 (mid March); Proc. *BG* II 10.13. The siege is also recorded in *Marcell. com. Addit.* ad a. 537, *Jord. Get.* 312 (fourteen months), *Rom.* 374 (one year), *Lib. Pont.* 60 (one year), Paul. *Diac. Hist. Rom.* xvi 17 (one year).

At the beginning of the siege the troops in Rome under Belisarius numbered five thousand at most; Proc. *BG* I 22.17, 24.2. He made arrangements for the defence of the city, himself taking charge of the Porta Salaria and the Porta Pinciana and assigning the Porta Praenestina to Bessas and the Porta Flaminia, which he closed and blocked, to Constantinus 3; the other gates were assigned to the infantry commanders; Proc. *BG* I 19.14-18. The aqueducts, which had already been destroyed by the Goths, were blocked by Belisarius to prevent the enemy from passing through them into the city, and, since their destruction meant that the mills on the Janiculum no longer worked, he organised a system of mills on the river, which ground sufficient flour for the city; Proc. *BG* I 19.13, 18-27, II 9.6. An embassy from Vitigis which had hoped to exploit the discontent with Belisarius in Rome because of the siege was dismissed defiantly by him; Proc. *BG* I 20.5-18. In this he was supported by Fidelis, whom he had, apparently on his own authority, appointed PPO; Proc. *BG* I 20.20 (such a mode of appointment was not normal, but was presumably valid under the special powers conferred on Belisarius; cf. *BG* I 5.4, cited above).

The Goths began to construct siege engines, to which Belisarius replied by placing on the walls various devices for shooting arrows and hurling rocks and for crushing would-be attackers; Proc. *BG* I 21.1-22. The first major assault on the city was on the eighteenth day of the siege (perhaps March 10, cf. Hildebrandt, above); Proc. *BG* I 22.1. Belisarius was involved at first at the Porta Salaria, where he foiled an assault guided by Vitigis himself; as the Gothic siege towers approached he waited until they were well within range, and then ordered his men to kill the oxen drawing the towers, thus rendering them totally immobile and useless; Proc. *BG* I 22.2-9. Vitigis then withdrew from this sector to

attack the Porta Praenestina, but left a large force of archers with orders to keep Belisarius engaged at the Porta Salaria; Proc. *BG* I 22.10. Later Belisarius was called by Bessas and Peranius to help at the Porta Praenestina and the Vivarium, where Vitigis was threatening to break into the city; he abandoned the walls and sent Cyprianus into the Vivarium to resist the Goths as they tried to enter, and then, when they were in disorder, he himself led an unexpected sally and put them to flight; he then set fire to the Gothic siege engines at that point; Proc. *BG* I 23.13-23, 24.4.

After this attack, Belisarius sent to Justinian an account of the situation with an urgent plea for reinforcements; Proc. *BG* I 24.1-17 (purporting to quote the text of the letter), *Marcell. com. Addit.* ad a. 537. In due course he received Justinian's reply that Martinus 2 and Valerianus 1 were already on their way with an army; Proc. *BG* I 24.18-21. Also on the day following the attack he took measures to conserve the food supplies in Rome by ordering all non-combatants to leave the city and go to Naples; Proc. *BG* I 25.2-4. Because there were not enough soldiers to man the walls properly, he employed civilians along with the soldiers, members of the working population who had lost their livelihoods because of the siege, paying them a fixed daily wage and so enabling an adequate guard to be kept on the walls; Proc. *BG* I 25.11-12. There was a risk of treachery with the Goths from elements in Rome discontented with the siege and so Belisarius expelled a number of senators from the city, only allowing them back when the siege was over; he also frequently changed the keys of the city gates and moved the guards around from one post to another; other measures too were devised to prevent slackness among the watch and to maintain maximum alertness; Proc. *BG* I 25.14-17.

At about this time Belisarius deposed the bishop of Rome, Silverius, expelled him from the city on charges of treasonable communications with the Goths, and had Vigilius installed as the new bishop (on March 29); he and his wife Antonina are said to have received orders from Theodora to install Vigilius; they first questioned Silverius on the charges, which were based on a letter forged by Iulianus 6 and Marcus 1, in the Pincian palace; later they summoned him again before them (perhaps on March 21), deposed him and exiled him to Patara in Lycia; when Justinian subsequently ordered Silverius to be returned to Rome for an investigation of the matter, Belisarius surrendered him into the custody of Vigilius, whose men starved him to death; Vigilius is said to have promised Belisarius two hundred pounds of gold for his support; *Liberat. Brev.* 22, *Lib. Pont.* 60, Proc. *BG* I 25.13, *Anecd.* 1.14, 1.27, *Evagr. HE* IV 19, Paul. *Diac. Hist. Rom.* xvi 18, Nic. *Call. HE* xvii 13. For the

dates of this affair, cf. Hildebrandt, *Hist. Jahrb.* 42 (1922), pp. 235-43. The statement in *Lib. Pont.*-60 that Belisarius entered the Pincian palace on May 11 (V id. Mai.) is plausibly referred by Hildebrandt (*loc. cit.*, pp. 241-2) to the first visit of Silverius to Belisarius in the Pincian palace and the date emended to March 11 (V id. Mart.).

Owing to the shortage of soldiers, Belisarius had had to leave the city and harbour of Portus undefended, and it fell to the Goths on the third day after the attack on the city (perhaps March 13); Proc. *BG* I 26.14-19, 27.1. However, twenty days after this (perhaps April 2), the reinforcements under Martinus and Valerianus arrived, comprising sixteen hundred cavalry, and Belisarius was thus encouraged to adopt a more active policy; Proc. *BG* I 27.1-3, *Marcell. com. Addit.* ad a. 537. During the next few days he sent three bodies of mounted archers under members of his bodyguard on sallies against the Goths, with orders to avoid hand-to-hand fighting and use only their bows and to retire to safety the moment that their arrows were spent; in this way, so Procopius claims, the Goths lost about four thousand men; Proc. *BG* I 27.4-14. When the Goths tried twice to retaliate by sending cavalry bands, Belisarius sent superior numbers to surround them and killed most of them, because their horsemen did not use bows; Proc. *BG* I 27.15-23. These successes increased Belisarius' reputation in Rome; Proc. *BG* I 27.25. He continued to attack in this way, although the Goths grew more wary; but demands for a set battle grew among the army and the citizens, until finally they overcame his resistance; Proc. *BG* I 27.29, 28.1-14. As he led his main army out through the Porta Salaria and the Porta Pinciana, he sent a cavalry detachment under Valentinus to the *campus Neronis* and a band of armed volunteer citizens to the Porta Aurelia to divert the attention of the Gothic troops who were stationed in the *campus Neronis*; he intended to fight a cavalry battle only, and added to his normal cavalry many of the infantry who had acquired horses and learnt to use them in warfare; the remaining infantry were entrusted, at their special request, to two of his *bucellarii*, Principius and Tarmutus, with orders to guard the rear of the main army in the event of any retreat; Proc. *BG* I 28.15-29. In spite of these measures, the ensuing battle ended in a heavy defeat for the Roman army, due mainly to the greatly superior numbers of the Goths; Proc. *BG* I 29.16-50. Thereafter Belisarius resumed his successful policy of harassing the Goths with sudden sallies by small bands of cavalry; Proc. *BG* II 1.1. In mid June Euthalius arrived at Tarracina with the soldiers' pay from Constantinople; Belisarius sent him an escort drawn from members of his own bodyguard, and took steps to divert the attention of the Goths by pretending to be preparing to join battle with his whole army; some

fighting did take place involving cavalry near the Porta Pinciana and the *campus Neronis* (cf. Artasires 1), but the ploy worked and Euthalius entered the city with the money (presumably at the Porta Appia, at the opposite side to where the fighting had been); Proc. *BG* II 2.1-24.

After this the Goths tightened the siege and the city began to suffer from hunger and disease; Proc. *BG* II 3.1-11. As conditions worsened, the citizens again urged Belisarius to join battle, but he resisted and declared that reinforcements with fresh supplies were at hand; Proc. *BG* II 3.12-32. He immediately despatched Procopius to Naples to collect all the available grain and soldiers and return with them to Ostia; Proc. *BG* II 4.1-2 (for the date, perhaps September or October, cf. Bury, *LRE*² II, 188, n. 1). On hearing that Procopius had reached Campania without encountering any Goths, Belisarius adopted a new policy of sending cavalry detachments to occupy various neighbouring strongholds with orders to harass the Gothic supply routes and prevent them from importing provisions to their camps; he sent one force to Tarracina, and with it went his wife Antonina who was to go on to Naples and await the issue of events in safety (she had been in Rome with him since the siege began; Proc. *BG* I 18.43); other forces went to Tibur and Albanum, and a force of Huns camped on the Tiber south of Rome near the basilica of St Paul; Proc. *BG* II 4.4-12. Belisarius then remained quietly watchful in Rome and managed to provide some of the citizens with grain; Proc. *BG* II 4.13-14. Later on, when Paulus 5 and Conon 1, by sea, and Ioannes 46, the nephew of Vitalianus, by land, set off from Naples with reinforcements and fresh supplies for Rome, Belisarius staged a surprise manoeuvre through the Porta Flaminia, blocked up since the siege began, which caught the Goths between two Roman forces and caused them heavy losses, so that they retired to the safety of their camps; Proc. *BG* II 5.5-23.

At the approach of these reinforcements, the Goths, who were also suffering from famine and disease, opened talks with Belisarius about ending the siege; Proc. *BG* II 6.1-3. The talks, described by Procopius, *BG* II 6.4-34, ended in the two parties agreeing to an armistice and the exchange of hostages while Gothic envoys went to the emperor; Proc. *BG* II 6.35-6. Belisarius went to Ostia to greet Paulus, Conon and Ioannes, and, ordering them to transport their supplies immediately to Rome, returned to the city; Proc. *BG* II 7.3-4. The date was around mid December, 537; Proc. *BG* II 7.12. Shortly afterwards there was an exchange of hostages with the Goths, whose envoys now left to see the emperor, and a truce of three months began; Proc. *BG* II 7.13.

During the truce the Goths withdrew their garrisons from Portus, Centumcellae and Albanum owing to shortage of provisions, whereupon

the Romans occupied all three places; Gothic protests at this were rejected by Belisarius; Proc. *BG* II 7.16-25. There was now an abundance of soldiers in Rome and Belisarius began to send cavalry forces further afield; among these he sent Ioannes 46, nephew of Vitalianus, with two thousand men in all, to winter at Alba in Picenum with orders not to move so long as the Goths observed the truce but to attack and plunder Picenum if ever they broke it; Proc. *BG* II 7.25-34. At this time he received envoys from Milan, including the bishop Datus, requesting military aid; he promised help but detained them in Rome during the winter season; Proc. *BG* II 7.35-8. Also during the truce Belisarius heard the allegations of theft made against Constantinus 3 by Praesidius; he tried many times to persuade Constantinus to restore the stolen goods, all in vain; he finally attempted to compel him to do so, but Constantinus attacked him; he therefore placed him under arrest, and later had him executed; Proc. *BG* II 8.1-18, *Marcell. com. Addit.* ad a. 538. According to Procopius in the *Anecdota*, he would have released Constantinus had it not been for pressure from Antonina to kill him; Proc. *Anecd.* 1.24-5, 28-9. This execution, described by Procopius as uncharacteristic of Belisarius, is said to have earned him the enmity of the emperor and leading persons of the empire; cf. Proc. *BG* II 8.18, *Anecd.* 1.30. The statement in *Marcell. com. Addit.* ad a. 538 that Belisarius had just returned from a visit to Campania to get supplies when this event occurred is not supported by Procopius but may be correct, since the account in Procopius is selective.

Belisarius discovered that the Goths were planning to enter the city through an aqueduct, on which he therefore placed a heavy guard; an attack on the Porta Pinciana was beaten off, and then a plan to break in to the city by the ill-defended river walls was betrayed to him; Proc. *BG* II 9.1-23. He therefore ordered Ioannes 46 to begin operations in Picenum; Proc. *BG* II 10.1. As the three-month truce came to an end, the Goths had received no word from their envoys, but they were short of provisions and news came that Ioannes had captured Ariminum and was threatening Ravenna; they therefore raised the siege and withdrew, setting fire to their camps around Rome; Proc. *BG* II 10.8.12-13, *Jord. Get.* 312, *Lib. Pont.* 60. The date was around mid March (the spring equinox) 538; Proc. *BG* II 10.13 (on the dates and length of the siege, see above). As the enemy withdrew across the Mulvian Bridge, Belisarius led out what troops remained in Rome and attacked them, causing many to perish as they tried to flee over the narrow bridge; Proc. *BG* II 10.14-20.

As soon as the siege ended, Belisarius sent a thousand cavalry under Ildiger and Martinus to Ariminum with orders for Ioannes and the

cavalry to withdraw from there; they were to be replaced with infantry from Ancona, which had recently been seized for him by Conon; Proc. *BG* II 11.4-8. Ioannes refused to leave and was soon besieged by the main Gothic army; Proc. *BG* II 11.22, 12.1. Belisarius also sent a thousand men under Mundilas, Ennes and Paulus 7 to help Milan; Proc. *BG* II 12.26-8. He himself marched from Rome around the summer solstice (mid June 538) against Vitigis, taking most of the troops in Rome; Proc. *BG* II 13.1. The Tuscan cities of Tuder and Clusium readily surrendered to him with their Gothic garrisons and he sent all of the Goths there to Naples and Sicily before leaving garrisons in each place and marching forward; Proc. *BG* II 13.2-4.

Belisarius had recently been joined by reinforcements under Aratius, and he now heard that a large army had arrived in Picenum under the eunuch Narses 1 accompanied by Iustinus 2 and Narses 2 (the brother of Aratius) and by two thousand Heruli under Visandus, Aluith and Phanitheus; Proc. *BG* II 13.16-18, cf. *BP* I 12.22 (for Narses and Aratius). He and Narses with their armies met near Firmum and discussed the problems arising from the siege of Ioannes in Ariminum; Proc. *BG* II 16.1-13. A messenger from Ioannes reported that he would be forced to surrender within seven days; Belisarius therefore sent the fleet under Ildiger, with Herodianus, Vliaris and Narses 2, to Ariminum, accompanied along the coast road by an army under Martinus which was to burn as many camp fires as possible in order to deceive the enemy about the size of the army, while he and the eunuch Narses marched to Ariminum via an inland route through Urbs Salvia; meanwhile he stationed a thousand men under Aratius near Auximum to detain the Goths there and prevent them taking the Roman armies in the rear; Proc. *BG* II 16.14-24. The strategy was successful and the Goths fled from Ariminum; Proc. *BG* II 17.12-24. When Belisarius reached Ariminum, he found Ildiger there already and the Goths gone; Proc. *BG* II 18.1-2. The relief of Ariminum is also recorded in *Marcell. com. Addit.* ad a. 538, *Jord. Rom.* 375.

An estrangement grew up between Belisarius and Narses the eunuch arising from the refusal of Narses to accept Belisarius as supreme commander, and this led to dissension between them over the proper conduct of the war; Proc. *BG* II 18.3-29, *Zon.* xiv 8 (pp. 281-2). Belisarius promptly sent Peranium with a large force to lay siege to Urbs Vetus and he himself marched on Urbinum; he was followed there by Narses and Ioannes, but on arrival the two armies made camp separately; Proc. *BG* II 19.1-2. As Belisarius made preparations for a siege, Narses withdrew with his army to Ariminum, in spite of the pleas of Belisarius; within a few days however the only spring in Urbinum

dried up and the Goths voluntarily surrendered themselves and the city to Belisarius; Proc. *BG* II 19.4-17, *Marcell. com. Addit.* ad a. 538. The date of the capture of Urbinum was around the winter solstice (mid December 538); Proc. *BG* II 20.1. Belisarius decided not to march against Auximum himself as yet; he instructed Aratius to winter at Firmum and restrain the activities of the Goths in Auximum, and he himself went to help Peranius at Urbs Vetus; Proc. *BG* II 20.1-3. After he had invested the city for a time, the Goths ran out of supplies and eventually surrendered; Proc. *BG* II 20.4-14, *Marcell. com. Addit.* ad a. 538. He also captured the island in the *lacus Volsiniensis* (Lago di Bolsena), presumably about this time; *Marcell. com. Addit.* ad a. 538. He probably spent the winter of 538-539 in Rome; cf. *Marcell. com. Addit.* ad a. 538 (he took Urbinum, Urbs Vetus and the island on his way back to Rome), Proc. *BG* II 21.42 (the army under Martinus and Vliaris, cf. below, set off for Rome).

In late 538 he sent an army under Martinus and Vliaris to relieve Milan, which was besieged by the Goths under Vraias; Proc. *BG* II 21.1, cf. 18.19 and 22 for the date, which was after the relief of Ariminum. After much delay Martinus asked for reinforcements and Belisarius ordered Ioannes and Iustinus to go to Milan; they refused to obey until the order was confirmed by Narses, to whom Belisarius wrote accordingly; Narses gave the order but the delays were so long that before help could arrive the city surrendered and all male civilians were massacred; Proc. *BG* II 21.12-25.38-9. This occurred about the end of winter (Feb./March 539); Proc. *BG* II 22.1 (cf. below).

Probably in March 539 Belisarius had set off (perhaps from Rome, see above) to march into Picenum when news of the disaster at Milan reached him en route; he wrote to Justinian an account of events describing the disagreements with Narses, as a result of which Justinian recalled Narses and made Belisarius supreme commander in the war (αὐτοκράτορα παντὸς τοῦ πολέμου Βελισάριον κατεστήσατο); Proc. *BG* II 22.1-4, Zon. XIV 8 (p. 282). The Heruli who had accompanied Narses to Italy (cf. above) now wanted to return, and they set off in spite of the efforts of Belisarius to persuade them to stay; most left Italy, although some, under Visandus, did eventually remain; Proc. *BG* II 22.5-8.

Later in the year the Gothic envoys detained in Constantinople since the siege of Rome were sent back to Italy by Justinian; Belisarius refused however to allow them to proceed to Ravenna until Vitigis released the Roman envoys Athanasius I and Petrus 6, held captive since 536; Proc. *BG* II 22.22-3. His plan of campaign this summer was to capture Auximum and Faesulae and only then to march on Ravenna; Proc. *BG* II 23.1. He sent Cyprianus and Iustinus to lay siege to Faesulae and other

forces under Martinus, Ioannes 46 and Ioannes 64 (the Glutton) to the Po Valley to prevent Vraias from marching against him from Milan, and then he himself went to Auximum with an army of eleven thousand men; Proc. *BG* II 23.2-5. The date was probably April or May; since Ioannes and Iustinus, followers of Narses, were now clearly obeying Belisarius, enough time must have elapsed since March for messengers to go to Constantinople and then return with the orders recalling Narses and confirming the authority of Belisarius. Cf. also Bury, *LRE*² II, p. 207, n. 1. He surrounded Auximum, beating off an attack on himself and his *bucellarii* while making camp on the east side; Proc. *BG* II 23.9-12. Seeing the strength of the place, he resolved to maintain a tight siege and reduce it by starvation; Proc. *BG* II 23.16. Following a suggestion of Procopius, Belisarius devised a special signal, ordering that infantry trumpets be used to sound the retreat whenever his men, out attacking foragers, were threatened with ambush; Proc. *BG* II 23.17-39.

He now learned through fugitives from the army of Martinus and Ioannes that the Franks under Theodebert had invaded in strength; he wrote to Theodebert immediately, protesting at this breach of treaty arrangements; Proc. *BG* II 25.15.19-23. Theodebert, whose army was suffering badly from disease and hunger, withdrew to Gaul; Proc. *BG* II 25.24, *Marcell. com. Addit.* ad a. 539, *Jord. Rom.* 375.

Meanwhile all Belisarius' efforts to persuade the Goths in Auximum to surrender proved unavailing; Proc. *BG* II 26.15. He attempted to destroy their water supply, and then, when that failed, to pollute it, but they survived on water from a well in the city; he therefore concentrated on tightening the siege and starving them into surrender; Proc. *BG* II 27.1-24. After the Goths in Faesulae surrendered (see Cyprianus), he paraded their leaders before the Goths in Auximum, urging them to abandon all hope of relief from Ravenna; they finally agreed to surrender and Belisarius, still fearing lest the Franks might come to aid the Goths in the war, allowed them to retain half their property and enter the emperor's service; Proc. *BG* II 27.27-34, *Marcell. com. Addit.* ad a. 539 (the city fell in the seventh month of the siege). For the dates of the siege (probably April or May to October or November 539), cf. Bury, *LRE*² II, p. 207, n. 1, and see above.

As soon as possible after Auximum fell, Belisarius took his whole army to Ravenna and laid siege to it (late 539/early 540); his fleet controlled access to Ravenna by sea and so he sent a large force under Magnus I to the river Po to prevent supplies from entering the city by that route; Proc. *BG* II 28.1-6. The arrival of Frankish envoys in Ravenna prompted Belisarius to send envoys of his own to counter them; the result was that Vitigis and the Goths chose to open negotiations for a treaty with the

Romans; none the less Belisarius maintained the siege of Ravenna, sending Vitalius to win over the cities of Venetia and Ildiger to continue guarding both sides of the river Po, until the pressure of hunger should force the Goths to accept a treaty on his terms; Proc. *BG* II 28.7-27.35. Meanwhile he sent one of his followers, Thomas 8, to accept the surrender of the Gothic garrisons situated in the Cottian Alps; Proc. *BG* II 28.28-30. When the emperor's envoys, Domnicus 3 and Maximinus 2, negotiated an agreement with Vitigis by which Italy was to be partitioned between the Goths and the Romans, Belisarius refused to ratify it because he considered total victory to be possible; he defended his attitude before his fellow-commanders, who considered outright victory impossible, and persuaded them to sign a document stating their views; Proc. *BG* II 29.1-16. Soon afterwards the Goths in Ravenna, unhappy with Vitigis and unwilling to subject themselves to the emperor, secretly invited Belisarius to become emperor of the West (βασιλέα τῆς ἑσπερίας Βελισάριον ἀνειπεῖν ἔγνωσαν. πέμψαντες δὲ παρ' αὐτὸν λάθρα ἐδέοντο ἐς τὴν βασιλείαν καθίστασθαι); Proc. *BG* II 29.17-18, Zon. xiv 9 (p. 282). Belisarius is said by Procopius to have had no intention of becoming emperor without the consent of Justinian, to whom he had sworn the most solemn oaths of loyalty; moreover, according to Procopius, he detested the very idea of usurpation; nevertheless he feigned interest in the idea, in order to gain maximum advantage from the situation; Proc. *BG* II 29.19-20. He received further encouragement to accept the offer in a secret message from Vitigis himself; Proc. *BG* II 29.21. His first act was to secure the consent of the imperial envoys and his fellow-commanders for an attempt to capture Vitigis and all the Goths, secure all their wealth and recover all Italy for the empire; Proc. *BG* II 29.22-3. He then contacted the Gothic leaders with instructions to carry out their plan; they sent envoys to the Roman camp, ostensibly on other business but secretly to receive pledges from Belisarius that he would not harm any of the Goths and would be emperor of the Italians and Goths (ὡς... βασιλεὺς τὸ λοιπὸν Ἰταλιωτῶν αὐτὸς καὶ ἴσθρων εἶη), after which they would accompany him and the Roman army into Ravenna; Belisarius swore to everything except to being emperor, which he proposed deferring until in the presence of Vitigis and the Gothic leaders; the envoys accepted this and invited him to enter Ravenna; Proc. *BG* II 29.24-8. He now sent away from Ravenna those Roman generals least well-disposed towards himself, namely Bessas, Ioannes 46, Narses 2 and Aratius, with their followers, allegedly because he could no longer find supplies for them there; then, with the rest of the army, he marched into Ravenna accompanied by the Gothic envoys; he also ordered a fleet of ships laden with corn and other supplies

to sail with all speed to Classis, the harbour of Ravenna; Proc. *BG* II 29.29-31. At the same time Caesena submitted to him; Proc. *BG* II 29.40. The entry into Ravenna took place in May 540; Agnellus, *Lib. Pont. Eccl. Rav.* 62 (et in mense Maio ipso anno ingressus est Belisarius patricius in civitate Classis et ingressus est Ravennam). It is also recorded in *Marcell. com. Addit.* ad a. 540 and *Jord. Rom.* 375.

Once in Ravenna he placed Vitigis under honourable guard and ordered all Goths living south of the Po to return to their homes; Proc. *BG* II 29.35-6. He confiscated for the emperor all the wealth of the royal palace but allowed individual Goths to keep their personal fortunes, in accordance with the agreement; Proc. *BG* II 29.37-8. The remaining Gothic garrisons in Tarbesium (Treviso) and elsewhere in Venetia all submitted to him, their leaders sending envoys and then going in person to Ravenna; the sole exception was Ildibadus at Verona; Proc. *BG* II 29.39-41.

The statement in one source, Agnellus, *Lib. Pont. Eccl. Rav.* 62, that Belisarius then returned to Sicily and laid it waste (dehinc reversus ad Siciliam, depopulavit eam) is certainly wrong; it is probably a fragment from some quite different story, possibly referring to Totila in 550 (cf. Proc. *BG* III 39.2-4).

Soon after the fall of Ravenna Belisarius was recalled to Constantinople; according to Procopius he had been accused, falsely, by some of his fellow-generals of planning rebellion but his recall by Justinian is said to have been due, not to this, but to the need to prepare for the impending war with Persia (cf. below); Proc. *BG* II 30.1-2, Zon. xiv 9 (p. 282). The Goths in north Italy still believed that he would disobey Justinian and remain to rule Italy, and it was only when he made preparations for leaving that they realised their mistake and took steps to choose another king; Proc. *BG* II 30.3-4. They chose Ildebadus who sent envoys to Belisarius urging him to reconsider and offering to submit to him if he did, but he refused and returned to Constantinople; Proc. *BG* II 30.25-30 (around midsummer 540).

On his return he took with him Vitigis, Vitigis' wife, Matasuentha, the children of Ildebadus, the Gothic leaders, and all the royal treasures of the Goths; Proc. *BG* III 1.1-3, *BP* II 4.13, 21.28, *Marcell. com. Addit.* ad a. 540, *Jord. Rom.* 375, 378, *Get.* 81, 313, *Agath.* 1, *proem.* 30, *Joh. Mal.* 480, *Mar. Avent. s.a.* 540, *Evagr. HE* IV 21, *Lib. Pont.* 61, *Paul. Diac. Hist. Rom.* xvi 19, *Nic. Call. HE* xvii 13. He also took back Amalafidas; Proc. *BG* IV 25.11-12. The conquest of Italy and capture of Vitigis are also mentioned in Proc. *BP* II 1.1, *Lib. Pont.* 60, *Paul. Diac. Hist. Lang.* I 25, *Hist. Rom.* xvi 15. The treasures which he brought back were displayed privately to members of the senate, not openly to the public,

and he was not this time accorded the honour of a triumph; nevertheless his fame and popularity with the people were immense, for defeating two such kings, bringing them and the riches of Geiseric and Theoderic to Constantinople and restoring so quickly so much land to the empire; wherever he went the crowds followed him, attended as he was by many Vandals, Goths and Moors; Proc. *BG* III 1.3-7, cf. *BP* I 25.12 (his great popularity was envied by Ioannes 11 the Cappadocian).

He was allegedly recalled from Italy in order to make war on the Persians; Proc. *BP* I 25.11, II 14.8, *BG* II 30.2. Probably in 540 Justinian divided the command of the *MVM per Orientem* between Belisarius and Buzes, allowing Belisarius to retain the territory up to the Euphrates and giving to Buzes that between the Euphrates and the Persian frontier with temporary command of the remainder until Belisarius arrived; Proc. *BP* II 6.1 (ἐτύγχανε δὲ ὀλίγω ἔμπροσθεν βασιλεὺς ἀρχὴν τῆς ἕω τὴν στρατηγίδα διελὼν δίχα, καὶ τὰ μὲν ἄχρι ἐς ποταμὸν Εὐφράτην ἐς τὸ Βελισαρίου ἀπολιπὼν ὄνομα ὡς ζύμπασαν τὴν ἀρχὴν τὰ πρότερα εἶχε, τὰ δὲ ἐνθένδε μέχρι τῶν Περσικῶν ὁρίων τῷ Βουζῆ ἐπιτρέψας, ὃν δὴ ἀπάσης ἐπιμέλειαν τῆς ἕως ἀρχῆς, ἕως Βελισαρίου ἐξ Ἰταλίας ἐπανήκοι, ἐκέλευε). The language of Procopius proves that Belisarius was already in nominal command of the East; he presumably therefore had retained the post of *MVM per Orientem* not only during the war with the Vandals but also while he was recovering Italy from the Goths (cf. above).

Belisarius spent the winter of 540-541 in Constantinople; Proc. *BP* II 14.8. In early spring 541 he was sent against Chosroes and the Persians; Proc. *BP* II 14.8.13, *Marcell. com. Addit.* ad a. 540 (Parthis persistentibus inimicis Belisarius Orientis suscipit expeditum), *Jord. Rom.* 377, Theoph. *AM* 6033 (epitome of Procopius), Agapius, p. 171 = p. 431, cf. Proc. *BP* I 25.12, *Anecd.* 2.1-2 (on this occasion his wife Antonina, who had accompanied him to Africa and Italy, remained behind). In Mesopotamia he gathered his army together and, finding many soldiers without weapons or armour, saw to it that they were properly equipped; he also sent spies into Persia, who came back with reports that the Persian army was away fighting the Huns (it was in fact in Lazica, cf. Proc. *BP* II 15.31-5); he therefore judged the time right to invade; Proc. *BP* II 16.1-4. His army was now increased by the arrival of Arethas with a large force of Arabs, and he received instructions from the emperor to invade Persia; Proc. *BP* II 16.5. He therefore called a conference of his officers at Dara to learn their views about the proposed invasion; all were in favour, although the two *duces* of Phoenice Libanensis, Theoctistus and Rhecithangus, had reservations about leaving their province undefended against the Arabs of Alamundarus (*PLRE* II); Belisarius overruled them, arguing that it was now the summer solstice

when for two months the Arabs were bound by the holy truce not to make war (cf. Hitti, pp. 93-4), and pressed ahead vigorously with his preparations for invasion; Proc. *BP* II 16.6-19.

He advanced from Dara towards Nisibis and camped about five miles from the city; his commanders complained at making camp so far from Nisibis, but he argued that there was more chance of defeating the Persians and taking the city if they could be fought away from the protection of the city walls; all accepted this except Petrus (*PLRE* II, p. 870) who moved closer to the city and was then surprised and routed by a Persian attack; Belisarius, arriving with assistance, prevented further losses and drove back the Persians; the Romans all then withdrew to the camp of Belisarius; Proc. *BP* II 18.1-26, cf. *Anecd.* 2.28 (he defeated Nabedes near Nisibis).

Judging that Nisibis was too strong to be taken, Belisarius led his army forward as far as the fortress of Sisauranon; he made camp there, took up siege positions, and launched an attack on the walls, but was repulsed with heavy losses; Proc. *BP* II 19.1-4. He nevertheless proposed to his commanders that they should continue the siege rather than advance and leave yet more enemy troops in their rear, but should send Arethas and his Arabs, accompanied by some Roman soldiers, to plunder and pillage in Assyria; the plan was approved and he therefore sent Arethas and his followers together with twelve hundred Romans, mostly his own *bucellarii* under their officers Traianus and Ioannes 64 (the Glutton), over the Tigris to pillage Assyria and report back to him on the strength of Persian forces there; Proc. *BP* II 19.5-17, *Anecd.* 2.28. Later he learnt from prisoners that there was a grave shortage of supplies in Sisauranon; he therefore sent one of his close followers, Georgius 4, to negotiate with the besieged, and Georgius succeeded in persuading them to surrender themselves and the fortress to the Romans; Belisarius released unharmed the inhabitants of Sisauranon, who were Christians and of Roman origin, but sent the Persians with their commander Bleschames to Constantinople and razed to the ground the walls of the fortress; Proc. *BP* II 19.19-25, *BG* III 3.11, *Anecd.* 2.18.28, *Zach. HE* x 7 index (de Belisario qui descendit et Sisaraun arcem terrae Persarum expugnavit). The siege had lasted for some considerable time and many of the Roman soldiers, unused to the climate, had fallen ill; in addition no news had come from Arethas and those with him; there was therefore a general desire among the army and its commanders to return home and Belisarius gave way; sending the sick on in front, he followed with the army back to Roman territory as quickly as possible; Proc. *BP* II 19.30-46, cf. *Anecd.* 2.18-19, 3.1 (he allegedly hastened his return on hearing of the approach of his wife Antonina). He was called back to

Constantinople by the emperor, where he spent the winter 541 to 542; Proc. *BP* II 19.49.

Procopius records allegations that Belisarius had refused to advance more than one day's march from the Roman frontier because of family matters concerning Antonina and had thereby sacrificed an opportunity to achieve great things in Persia to his private concerns; Proc. *Anecd.* 2.21-5. He alleges that Belisarius had fallen out with his wife and that therefore after his return from the Persian campaign he placed her under guard, treating her with ignominy and actually contemplating her murder; this so alarmed the empress Theodora that she ordered him to bring Antonina to Constantinople where the empress then pursued a vendetta against Antonina's enemies without protest from Belisarius; finally he was forced against his will into a reconciliation with his wife; Proc. *Anecd.* 3.1.4.7-12.30.

In spring 542 Chosroes invaded Euphratensis; as soon as the news reached Constantinople, Belisarius was sent post-haste (ἵπποισι τοῖς δημοσίοις ὀχούμενος) to the east by Justinian; as he approached, he was urged by the Roman commanders Iustus 2, Buzes and others to join them in Hierapolis where they had sought refuge, but he preferred to go to Europum on the Euphrates; there he gathered an army and made camp, and wrote to the commanders in Hierapolis to join him, which they did leaving only Iustus behind with a garrison; Proc. *BP* II 20.1.20-8, 21.1. At Europum Belisarius received Abandanes, an envoy from Chosroes, with an elaborately staged display of military strength, so impressive that the envoy urged Chosroes to avoid battle; about this time Chosroes decided to return home (probably on account of the plague, cf. Stein, *Bas-Emp.* II 497 with n. 1), and Belisarius ordered his men to remain quiet and not interfere with the Persians as they crossed the river and began their withdrawal; Proc. *BP* II 21.1-22. He then with his army crossed the river himself and continued negotiations with Chosroes, promising that envoys from Constantinople would soon arrive to confirm peace terms and asking him to withdraw peacefully; Chosroes accepted this on condition that a hostage be given, and Belisarius therefore sent a prominent citizen of Edessa, Ioannes 30; Proc. *BP* II 21.23-7, *Anecd.* 12.6-7. Chosroes had meanwhile taken and sacked Callinicum, but as soon as he received the hostage, he returned home; Proc. *BP* II 21.33. The achievement of Belisarius in securing the retreat of the Persian king and his large army without a battle and with insignificant forces himself is said by Procopius to have won him great admiration; Proc. *BP* II 21.28-9, 26.46. This success is mentioned also by Agapius, p. 171 = p. 431. Nevertheless he is said by Procopius to have incurred some accusations of negligence or cowardice for

not pursuing Chosroes after the attack on Callinicum; Proc. *Anecd.* 3.30-1.

During the summer of 542, Justinian fell ill of the plague and was thought likely to die; later in the year Belisarius and Buzes were accused by Petrus and Ioannes 64 (the Glutton) of declaring their refusal to accept any new emperor appointed in Constantinople during their absence, if Justinian were to die; Theodora took personal offence at this and summoned them to Constantinople to have the matter investigated; Proc. *Anecd.* 4.1-6. No evidence of misconduct was found against Belisarius, but, supposedly as the result of pressure from Theodora, he was dismissed from office and replaced by Martinus (Βελισάριον δὲ βασιλεὺς, καίπερ οὐδενὸς τῶν κατηγορουμένων ἀλόντα, ἐγκειμένης τῆς βασιλίδος παραλύσας ἧς εἶχεν ἀρχῆς Μαρτίνον ἀντ' αὐτοῦ τῆς ἐφᾶς στρατηγὸν κατεστήσατο); his *bucellarii* (δορυφόροι τε καὶ ὑπασπισταί) and any skilled soldiers on his staff were distributed by lot among various officials and palace eunuchs, and his friends and many former attendants were forbidden to associate with him; Proc. *Anecd.* 4.13-15. The wealth which he had accumulated in the east was seized by Theodora; Proc. *Anecd.* 4.17. Elsewhere, Belisarius is said to have been summoned back to Constantinople from the Persian war in order to be sent to Italy; Proc. *BP* II 21.34, *BG* III 9.23, *Jord. Rom.* 377. However the fact of his disgrace is confirmed by *Marcell. com. Addit.* ad a. 545-3: Belisarius de Oriente evocatus in offensam periculumque incurrens grave et invidiae subiacens rursus remittitur ad Italiam (cf. below). During this period he lived in Constantinople as a private citizen (ιδιώτης ἐν Βυζαντίῳ); although in reduced circumstances and apparently in some fear of assassination, he still had some attendants and enjoyed access to the palace, if not actually to the imperial presence; Proc. *Anecd.* 4.16.20-1. He was eventually restored to favour and recovered most of his fortune, supposedly thanks to Theodora who contrived to make it appear that he owed it all to Antonina; Proc. *Anecd.* 4.18-31. His daughter Ioannina was now betrothed to a grandson of Theodora, Anastasius 8; Proc. *Anecd.* 4.37, 5.18 (allegedly a device to get possession of Belisarius' wealth).

Belisarius now asked to be reappointed *MVM per Orientem* and to be sent again to fight the Persians (Βελισάριος μὲν οὖν ἀρχὴν τε ἀπολαβεῖν τὴν οἰκείαν ἡξίου καὶ στρατηγὸς τῆς ἐφᾶς ἀποδειχθεὶς πάλιν ἐπὶ Χοσρόην καὶ Μήδους ἐξηγήσεσθαι τῷ Ῥωμαίων στρατῷ), but this was not granted, allegedly because Antonina complained that she had been insultingly treated by him in that region and would not allow him to go there again; Proc. *Anecd.* 4.38.

COMES SACRI STABULI a. 544-549; instead he was appointed *comes sacri stabuli* (ἄρχων τῶν βασιλικῶν καταστάς ἵπποκόμων) and sent to Italy;

Proc. *Anecd.* 4.39. He was relieved of this post after his return in 549; Greg. Tur. *HF* III 32 (Belisarium vero comitem stabuli, quasi pro humilitate, quod prius fuerat, posuit) (see below). He returned to Italy to resume the war against the Goths in 544; Proc. *BG* III 9.23, 10.1, *BP* II 21.34, *Marcell. com. Addit.* ad a. 545.3, Jord. *Rom.* 380, Evagr. *HE* IV 21, Nic. Call. *HE* XVII 13. He was again explicitly given supreme authority over his colleagues to conduct the war as he wished, apparently with powers to reach whatever settlement with Totila he thought right; Proc. *BG* III 21.25 (Justinian stated ὅτι δὴ αὐτοκράτορα τοῦ πολέμου πεποίηται Βελισάριον, κύριός τε διὰ τοῦτο ἐκεῖνος εἶη τὰ πρὸς Τουτίλαν ὅπως βούλοιο διοικήσασθαι; these words however amount to a refusal by Justinian even to consider a negotiated settlement and indicate that he sought only a military solution; they should not therefore be pressed too hard as evidence that Belisarius actually had plenipotentiary authority).

Belisarius no longer had his large force of *bucellarii* to accompany him on campaigns (see above), and the troops who had served with him in the east were still required there for the continuing war with Persia; he was therefore short of troops, and went on a recruiting drive at his own expense (χρήματα προίεμενος) throughout Thrace, accompanied, at the emperor's wish, by the MVM *per Illyricum* Vitalis 1, recently returned from Italy; they assembled about four thousand fresh volunteers and went to Salona, intending to proceed to Ravenna to continue the war from there; Proc. *BG* III 10.1-4, cf. III 13.14 (it was Vitalis who persuaded him to go to Ravenna). Procopius reports a rumour (ὡς φασί) that Belisarius had promised to defray all the expenses of the war from his own resources and to ask no money from the emperor; Proc. *Anecd.* 4.39. He certainly spent his own money on recruiting fresh soldiers, but once in Italy he had frequently to write to Justinian pleading for more money and resources with which to continue the war (see below).

From Salona he sent Valentinus 1 with fresh troops and supplies to relieve the beleaguered garrison in Hydruntum; Proc. *BG* III 10.6.12. Then he sailed with his whole fleet to Pola, where he remained for a while putting the army in order; Proc. *BG* III 10.13. While at Pola he welcomed five men purporting to be envoys from Bonus 2 in Genoa, to whom he promised to come shortly with help; in fact the men were spies sent by Totila to learn what forces Belisarius had brought; Proc. *BG* III 10.14-18. He then sailed on with his whole force to Ravenna; Proc. *BG* III 11.1, Jord. *Rom.* 380. From there he sent troops under Thurimuth and Vitalis into Aemilia to try to win over towns there; Proc. *BG* III 11.10. He himself remained in Ravenna; Proc. *BG* III 11.18. Later on he sent Thurimuth, Ricilas and Sabinianus with a thousand men to help

Magnus 1 in Auximum; Proc. *BG* III 11.19. After this failed, he planned to occupy Pisaurum; since the gates had been removed, he secretly had the measurements taken and made new ones, and ordered Thurimuth and Sabinianus to fit them quickly and hold the town, which they did; Proc. *BG* III 11.33-6. He had perhaps sent Bessas to Rome; *Marcell. com. addit.* ad a. 545.3. He then sent Artasires 1 and Barbation to Rome to assist Bessas, with orders to avoid making sallies against the enemy; Proc. *BG* III 11.37. This was in 545; Proc. *BG* III 11.39. Later the same year he sent Ioannes 46 (nephew of Vitalianus) to the emperor with a letter summarising the state of affairs in Italy and urgently requesting more men, money and supplies of arms and horses; although urged to return quickly, Ioannes remained in Constantinople for several months; Proc. *BG* III 12.1-11, *Anecd.* 5.9, *Marcell. com. Addit.* ad a. 545. The shortage of funds was so acute that Belisarius was forced to raise money wherever he could; one consequence is said to have been the surrender of Spolegium to the Goths by Herodianus 1, who found the pressure from Belisarius for money unbearable; Proc. *Anecd.* 5.4-6, cf. *BG* III 12.16 (there was a rumour - φασί - that this was why Herodianus surrendered Spolegium).

Late in 545 Belisarius decided to leave Ravenna, where he was in no position to further the Roman cause, and try to occupy places near Rome from which to help the city, now under threat from Totila; Proc. *BG* III 13.13, Jord. *Rom.* 380. He left Iustinus 2 in command at Ravenna and himself proceeded with only a few men through Dalmatia to Epidamnus (Dyrrachium); there he sent a report on the present state of affairs to Justinian and remained quiet awaiting reinforcements from Constantinople; Proc. *BG* III 13.19, *Marcell. com. Addit.* ad a. 547, Jord. *Rom.* 380. Meanwhile he sent a force under Valentinus and Phocas 2, one of his δορυφόροι, to reinforce the garrison at Portus and to harass the besieging army at Rome where possible; Proc. *BG* III 15.1.

He was joined at Epidamnus by Ioannes 46 and Isaac 1 with an army, probably early in 546; Proc. *BG* III 13.20-1, 18.1, Jord. *Rom.* 380. For the date of these events, cf. Proc. *BG* III 13.1.19-22, 15.1, and Stein, *Bas-Emp.* II 578 with n. 2. He planned to sail directly to the vicinity of Rome while Ioannes would land in Calabria and join him overland; Proc. *BG* III 18.1-4, *Marcell. com. Addit.* ad a. 547. Sailing from Epidamnus, he was forced by adverse winds to put in at Hydruntum, but soon left there and landed at Portus; Proc. *BG* III 18.5-8.11. He may have put in at Sicily en route; *Marcell. com. Addit.* ad a. 547, Jord. *Rom.* 380. In Portus he remained inactive awaiting the arrival of Ioannes, but the latter, after recovering Apulia and Calabria and then Lucania and Bruttium, declined to march to Rome because of the presence of a Gothic force in

Capua and instead withdrew to Apulia; Proc. *BG* III 18.29. The refusal of Ioannes to join Belisarius now or later was ascribed by Procopius in the *Anecdota* to his fear that Antonina, wife of Belisarius, had received orders from Theodora to murder him; the empress had been angered by his recent marriage to Iustina, the daughter of Germanus (*PLRE* II); Proc. *Anecd.* 5.7-14. Belisarius next tried to transport supplies to Rome by river; he left Isaac in Portus with strict orders to guard it well as it was the only place of refuge available in the whole area, and then proceeded up river; he had already overcome the barriers placed across the river by the Goths and opened the way to Rome when news came that Isaac had been captured; the shock seems to have temporarily rendered him speechless (ἐξ ἀφασίας ἐμπέπτωκεν) but he quickly withdrew to try and save Portus; Proc. *BG* III 19.1-31. On reaching Portus he found the city safe but Isaac in enemy hands after making an attack on the Goths; after this shock, Belisarius fell ill of a fever which lasted a long time and of which he nearly died; Proc. *BG* III 19.32-3.

Meanwhile Rome fell to the Goths, on 17 Dec. 546; *Marcell. com. Addit.* ad a. 547, Proc. *BG* III 20.14ff. Some time later Totila decided to destroy Rome and had already begun the work when Belisarius heard of his plans and wrote to dissuade him; Totila changed his mind and left Rome to march against Ioannes, leaving his main army however close by in order to restrict Belisarius' freedom of movement from Portus; Proc. *BG* III 22.7-18. Later, Belisarius took a thousand men from Portus to see the state of affairs in Rome; he was ambushed by the Goths near the city but after hard fighting defeated them and withdrew to Portus; Proc. *BG* III 23.8-11. Soon afterwards he marched on Rome with most of his troops, leaving only a small garrison in Portus; the city had been unoccupied for forty days, since the withdrawal of Totila, and Belisarius met no opposition when he reoccupied it; within twenty-five days he built temporary fortifications to replace those torn down by Totila, and restocked the city with food, so that many Romans still in the neighbourhood returned to live there; Proc. *BG* III 24.1-7, *Marcell. com. Addit.* ad a. 547 (Rome was deserted for forty days), *Jord. Rom.* 380, *Mar. Avent. s.a.* 547. This probably occurred in April 547; cf. *Stein. Bas-Emp.* II 586 with n. 3. Owing to shortage of skilled craftsmen, however, he was not able to replace the gates before Totila arrived in haste with all his forces; Proc. *BG* III 24.8-9, *Jord. Rom.* 381. Nevertheless all the Gothic attacks on the walls and gateways were driven off and eventually Totila withdrew to Tibur; Proc. *BG* III 24.10-31, *Marcell. com. Addit.* ad a. 547, *Jord. Rom.* 381. Belisarius then constructed gates for the city and sent the keys to the emperor; Proc. *BG* III 24.34 (midsummer

547). The capture of Rome by Belisarius is also mentioned in *Joh. Mal.* 485, *Theoph. AM* 6043, *Cedr.* I 659.

He wrote frequent letters to Justinian describing the situation and urging him to send more troops; Proc. *BG* III 27.1. Eventually he received a reply from the emperor that a large force was on its way (under Valerianus I) and ordering him to join it in Calabria to carry on the war; Proc. *BG* III 27.12. The date was around December 547; Proc. *BG* III 27.14. Belisarius selected nine hundred of his best men, seven hundred cavalry and two hundred infantry, and, leaving Conon in Rome in command of the remainder, set sail via Sicily for Tarentum; Proc. *BG* III 27.16-17, 28.1, *Jord. Rom.* 381. He was forced by bad weather to put in at Croton; there he remained with Antonina and the infantry, intending to summon Ioannes 46 and his army to join him; the cavalry under Phazas he sent up to the passes leading into the district, thinking that they could more easily find supplies for themselves and their horses there and moreover could repel any approach by the Goths; Proc. *BG* III 28.3-6. The cavalry however were routed (cf. Phazas) and Belisarius immediately took to his ships again and was borne by the wind to Messina in Sicily; Proc. *BG* III 28.18.

He was in Hydruntum with Antonina when the reinforcements under Valerianus arrived, about June 548; it was about this time that he sent his wife to Constantinople to use her influence with the empress to obtain better provisions for the war; however she learnt on her arrival that Theodora had died (28 June 548; *Joh. Mal.* 484, *Theoph. AM* 6040); Proc. *BG* III 30.1-4. Meanwhile Belisarius summoned Ioannes to Hydruntum and set sail from there with Ioannes, Valerianus and a large fleet to the relief of Rusciacae which was besieged by Totila; a violent storm scattered the fleet, which reassembled at Croton and put out again for Rusciacae; this time a landing was prevented by the Goths and the fleet returned to Croton; Proc. *BG* III 30.9-14. It was now decided that Belisarius should leave the army under Ioannes and Valerianus and return to Rome, to organise matters there and to arrange for provisions; Proc. *BG* III 30.15.

While he was in Rome, he was recalled to Constantinople; Antonina had been urging Justinian to recall him from Italy and there was a renewed threat of war with Persia which is said to have led Justinian to agree; Proc. *BG* III 30.25, 36.4, *Jord. Rom.* 382, *Evagr. HE* IV 21, *Nic. Call. HE* XVII 13. Elsewhere, Belisarius is said to have himself asked the emperor to recall him; Proc. *Anecd.* 5.16-17. Perhaps Belisarius had abandoned hope of persuading Justinian to finance the war adequately after the death of Theodora, and sought relief from a hopeless task. Before leaving Rome he garrisoned the city with a force of three

thousand men under Diogenes 2; Proc. *BG* III 36.1. He had also left a garrison at Rhegium under Thurimuth and Himerius 2; Proc. *BG* III 37.20. The city of Perusia, after a long siege, fell to the Goths while Belisarius was still on his way back to Constantinople; Proc. *BG* III 35.2, *Anecd.* 5.17. The verdict recorded by Procopius on the second Italian campaign of Belisarius is one of failure; unlike the first campaign most of his plans had failed; for five years he had never been able to secure a base in Italy from which to wage war but had been compelled always to operate around the coasts, sailing from one fortified coast town to another; he not only failed to recover lost ground but in addition lost Rome itself at one stage; Proc. *BG* III 35.1, *Anecd.* 4.42-5, 5.1-3. The recall of Belisarius is attributed, wrongly, by Gregory of Tours, to defeats which he suffered in Italy south of the Po at the hands of the Frank, Buccelinus (Butilinus); he is said, because of them, to have been replaced by Narses 1; Greg. Tur. *HF* III 32. The account given by Gregory is confused; Buccelinus invaded Italy in 539 but did not cross the Po again until 553, while Narses, in Italy first in 538 to 539, did not return until 552.

Belisarius travelled back to Constantinople via Illyricum; Proc. *BG* III 32.19. Meanwhile, a conspiracy to murder Justinian had been formed; the conspirators, Artabanes 2, Arsaces and Chanaranges, delayed the execution of their plans until after Belisarius should reach the city, when they hoped to despatch the emperor, Belisarius and Marcellus 3 at one stroke; however, as he drew near to the capital, the plot was revealed to Justinian by Marcellus and the conspirators were seized; Proc. *BG* III 32.38-42. Belisarius had probably left Italy in early 549 and arrived in Constantinople by April at the latest; cf. Stein, *Bas-Emp.* II 590, n. 4 from p. 589. He now relinquished the post of *comes sacri stabuli*; Greg. Tur. *HF* III 32 (and cf. above).

After his return to Constantinople, he took up permanent residence there; he was extremely rich and highly respected for his earlier achievements; Proc. *BG* III 35.3. He was accorded first place in dignity, although technically others outranked him both as patricians and as consuls; Proc. *BG* IV 21.2-3 (ἦν τε τῶ ἀξιώματι πρῶτος ὁ Βελισάριος Ῥωμαίων ἀπάντων, καίτοι τινὲς αὐτῶν πρότεροι ἀνάγραπτοί τε ἐς πατρικίους γεγόνασι καὶ ἐς αὐτὸν ἀναβεβήκεσαν τῶν ὑπάτων τὸν δίφρον. ἀλλὰ καὶ ὡς αὐτῶ τῶν πρωτείων ἐξίσταντο πάντες, αἰσχυρόμενοι κατὰ τῆς ἀρετῆς τῶ νόμῳ χρῆσθαι καὶ τὸ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ δικαίωμα περιβάλλεσθαι).

MVM PER ORIENTEM ET ?COMES PROTECTORVM c. 549-?551: on his return he was treated with great honour by the emperor, who henceforth sent him on no more expeditions but kept him in Constantinople, even

when the death of Germanus (*PLRE* II) in 550 left a major expedition to Italy leaderless; however he apparently made him MVM *per Orientem* once more and then also conferred on him a title, possibly honorific, of commander of the imperial bodyguard (στρατηγὸν τῆς ἐξῶς ὄντα, τῶν βασιλικῶν σωματοφυλάκων ἄρχοντα καταστησάμενος, αὐτοῦ κατεῖχεν); Proc. *BG* IV 21.1. He certainly held both titles before June 551, and may have received the second one in late 550, after the death of Germanus, though the argument for this is not compelling; cf. Proc. *BG* IV 21.4 and Stein, *Bas-Emp.* II 822. The identification of his second title is not certain; the office of *comes excubitorum*, an active post, was held at this period by Marcellus 3; the titles of *comes domesticorum* and *comes protectorum* (for the latter, cf. *CIL* V 8120, 7 (a consular diptych) and *PLRE* II, Anonymus 4) were both now purely honorific and either may have been conferred on Belisarius; cf. Stein, *Bas-Emp.* II 822-3, Excursus Q. He had apparently laid aside both titles by 552, since the evidence from that year suggests that he no longer held any office (see below).

The betrothal (cf. above) of their daughter Ioannina to Anastasius, grandson of Theodora, had been against the wishes of Belisarius and Antonina, and they are said to have refused in spite of pressure from the empress to return from Italy to allow the marriage to take place; Proc. *Anecd.* 5.19. After Theodora died Antonina broke off the engagement and Belisarius concurred with her action on his return to Constantinople; Proc. *Anecd.* 5.23-4. By this action he is said by Procopius to have encouraged malicious gossip that he was dominated by his wife; Proc. *Anecd.* 5.24-7.

The continued presence of Belisarius in Constantinople and his high position in affairs of state is attested in 551 to 553 in documents relating to the Fifth Ecumenical Council and the Three Chapters controversy. Late in 551, probably in late August or September (cf. Stein, *Bas-Emp.* II 648-50), he was one of the 'memorati iudices' sent by Justinian to persuade pope Vigilius, who had sought asylum in the church of SS Peter and Paul, to return to the palace of Placidia with promises on oath that he and his fellow-bishops would be unharmed; this mission was successful, but Belisarius had no success later on when he was sent with other 'gloriosi iudices' (they were Cethegus, Petrus 6, Iustinus 5, Marcellus 3 and Constantinus 4) on Jan. 28, 552, to Vigilius in the church of St Euphemia in Chalcedon, where the pope had sought asylum again, to persuade him to return to Constantinople; Vigilius, *Ep.* I (ed. Schwartz), pp. 1-2 (styled 'ex consule atque patricius'). On May 1, 553, Belisarius was one of seven prominent men sent to try to persuade Vigilius to attend the Fifth Ecumenical Council; *ACOec.* IV I, p. 27 (the seven were Liberius, Petrus 6, Patricius 4 and Constantinus 4 'cum

gloriosissimis patriciis Belisario, Cethego et Rustico'). Vigilius refused, but on 25 May 553 he summoned Belisarius and Cethegus 'gloriosissimos patricios' with Iustinus 5, Constantianus 2 and three bishops to convey to Justinian his judgement on the Three Chapters, the so-called *Constitutum*: they declined to do so; *ACOec.* iv i, p. 185.

In 559, although apparently by now elderly and frail, Belisarius was sent by Justinian to lead an action against the Huns under Zabergan who had plundered Thrace and were threatening Constantinople; Agath. v 15.7, 16.1, Theoph. AM 6051. For the date, cf. Joh. Mal. 490, Theoph. AM 6051, Vict. Tonn. s.a. 559. The Huns were encamped within twenty miles of Constantinople, at Melantias on the river Athyras; Agath. v 14.5. Belisarius donned his armour again after many years and from the ensuing action, the last one in which he took part, he is said to have won as great a renown as from his successes against the Vandals and Goths; Agath. v 15.8-9, cf. Suid. Γ 77. The forces available to him were meagre; he had scarcely more than three hundred experienced soldiers under him, the remainder coming from the civilian population of the city and the countryside, without arms or experience of warfare; many countryfolk, whose fields had been plundered, flocked to join him, but among those who followed him many are said to have gone more as sightseers than as soldiers; Agath. v 16.2-3. He gathered every horse which could be found in the area and armed the people; Theoph. AM 6051. Then he led them out and made camp not far from the city, in the village of Chettus; Agath. v 16.1, Theoph. AM 6051. There he constructed a broad ditch around his camp; Agath. v 16.4, Theoph. AM 6051. He sent out scouts to discover the numbers and movements of the enemy; Agath. v 16.4. He captured and killed some of the Huns; Theoph. AM 6051, Cedr. i 678. During the night he had a large number of fires lit over the plain, to give the impression to the enemy that his army was much larger than it actually was; Agath. v 16.5, cf. Theoph. AM 6051 (he ordered the cutting down of trees, presumably as fuel). According to Agathias, his troops were showing signs of over-confidence and he gave them a warning of the dangers of this; Agath. v 16.6-18.11. The Huns sent two thousand cavalry to attack the camp, but Belisarius, warned by his scouts, was ready and caught them in an ambush in a narrow place where their superior numbers were no help; they were overwhelmed in the disorder and were routed with heavy losses; according to Agathias the Huns lost around four hundred men, the Romans none; Agath. v 19.2-20.1, Theoph. AM 6051, Cedr. i 678, Vict. Tonn. s.a. 559. Belisarius then withdrew his forces and shortly afterwards, instead of being allowed to pursue the enemy, was recalled by the emperor and returned to Constantinople much against

his will; his success was highly popular with the people but many of those in authority were allegedly jealous of it; Agath. v 20.3-6.

In Nov. 562 two of Belisarius' staff, the banker Isaac 4 and the ὑποπρίτων Paulus 18 were accused of involvement in a plot to murder Justinian; Joh. Mal. 494 (the plot was revealed on Nov. 25), Joh. Mal. fr. 49 (*Exc. de ins.*, p. 174). In confessions extracted from them under torture, Belisarius himself was named as privy to the plot; he was formally accused in a *silentium* held in the imperial palace on Dec. 5, 562, and was ordered to be deprived of his servants and placed under house arrest; he accepted the judgement without protest; Joh. Mal. 494, Joh. Mal. fr. 49 (*Exc. de ins.*, pp. 174-5), Theoph. AM 6055, Cedr. i 679, Zon. xiv 9 (p. 284). A late and legendary tradition asserted that he was blinded by Justinian and made to sit in the Lausus palace with a begging bowl; *Patr. Const.* ii 17 (and see below). Later on, however, he was exonerated and on July 19, 563, was restored to favour with all his dignities; Theoph. AM 6055 (καὶ τῇ 19' τοῦ Ἰουλίου μηνὸς ἐδέχθη Βελισάριος ὁ πατρικίος, ἀπολαβὼν καὶ πάσας αὐτοῦ τὰς ἀξίας), Cedr. i 679.

Belisarius died in March 565; Theoph. AM 6057, Cedr. i 680.

In religious affairs Belisarius appears to have taken no great interest in doctrinal issues. He took part in the baptism of Theodosius 8; Proc. *Anecd.* i.16. He was largely responsible for the deposition of pope Silverius in March 537 and his replacement by pope Vigilius (cf. above). He is mentioned in two letters written by pope Vigilius in the 540s in connection with the church at Arles. According to the first, written to the bishop of Arles, Auxanius, he interceded with Justinian and Theodora to secure confirmation of certain privileges for the bishop of Arles; *Ep. Arelat. gen.* 41 (= *PL* 69.27 = *Mansi* ix 41 = *MGH, Epp.* iii, p. 62) (a. 545 May 22). According to the second, written to the new bishop of Arles, Aurelianus, he facilitated the despatch of a message from Aurelianus to Justinian and forwarded the reply to Vigilius as soon as it arrived; *Ep. Arelat. gen.* 44 (= *PL* 69.37 = *Mansi* ix 46 = *MGH, Epp.* iii, p. 66) (a. 546 Aug. 23). In the manoeuvres in connection with the Fifth Ecumenical Council of 553 the role of Belisarius was that of an imperial commissioner employed to persuade Vigilius to act in accordance with the wishes of the emperor, no doubt in part because of their former connections. To commemorate his victory over the Vandals, he offered to St Peter's at Rome, through Vigilius, from the Vandal spoils a golden jewelled crucifix weighing one hundred pounds, on which a record of his victories was inscribed, and two large silver gilt candlesticks 'qui stant usque hodie ante corpus beati Petri apostoli'; in addition he gave generously to the poor; he also founded a *xenodochium*

in the Via Lata at Rome and a monastery of St Juvenal near Horta by the Via Flaminia, 'ubi possessiones et dona multa largitus est'; *Lib. Pont.* 61 (*V. Vigili* 1-2) (= Paul. Diac. *Hist. Rom.* xvi 19), cf. *Lib. Pont.* 112 (*V. Stephani* v, in *Lib. Pont.*, ed. Duchesne, vol. II, p. 192) (the golden cross - crux aurea illa famosissima quam Belasarius patricius ad honorem beati Petri principis apostolorum instituit - survived until 885 when it disappeared during the sack of the papal palace following the death of pope Hadrian III; cf. *Lib. Pont.*, ed. Duchesne, vol. II, p. 197, n. 10). In a confused version of the truth, possibly arising from a misunderstanding of the inscription on the cross, it was later thought that Belisarius, after conquering Italy, was then sent to reconquer Africa from Guntarith 'rex Guandalorum' (cf. Guntharis) and after this visited Rome and made his offerings from the Vandal spoils; *Lib. Pont.* 61 (= Paul. Diac. *Hist. Rom.* xvi 19).

In appearance he was a fine handsome figure of a man; Proc. *BG* III 1.6 (= Suid. B 233). In his conduct he is said to have been mild-mannered and affable to people whom he encountered while out and about in Constantinople; Proc. *BG* III 1.7. He was generous to the soldiers who served under him, rewarding those who did well and compensating those who suffered injury or loss; Proc. *BG* III 1.8. He was also considerate of the peasants and farmers through whose lands his armies passed, and took care that his men did not damage or steal but paid for whatever they needed; Proc. *BG* III 1.8-10, Zach. *HE* IX 2. In a speech put in his mouth by Procopius early in the campaign in Africa, he is represented as urging his soldiers not to alienate the support of the local population by stealing; Proc. *BV* I 16.1-8. At the start of the same expedition two Huns who had killed a comrade in a drunken rage were executed by him apparently as an example to the rest of his army; Proc. *BV* I 12.8-22 (cf. 11-21, a speech on the need for justice put in his mouth by Procopius, possibly reflecting Belisarius' real sentiments). In his earlier years at least he had a reputation for freedom from avarice; Zach. *HE* IX 2 ('nec pretii adpetens erat'). Later, in Italy in the 540s, according to Procopius in the *Anecdota*, he became extremely avaricious, but this behaviour is explicitly related to the fact that he did not receive adequate supplies from Justinian for the conduct of the war (and it could therefore be ascribed, not to a desire for personal gain but to the need to pay for the war); Proc. *Anecd.* 5.4 (ἐγένετο δὲ φιλοχρήματος ἐν τούτῳ τῷ χρόνῳ πάντων μάλιστα καὶ κέρδους αἰσχροῦ ἐπιμελητῆς ἀκριβέστατος ἄτε οὐδὲν ἐκ βασιλέως κεκομισμένος). Nevertheless Belisarius did amass an enormous personal fortune (see below).

He is described by Procopius as very shrewd and gifted with the ability to choose the best course of action in difficult situations; amid the

perils of war he showed bravery, even daring, but avoided unnecessary risks and always retained coolness of judgement; he did not become depressed in adversity nor elated in success; he avoided indulgence and was never seen drunk; Proc. *BG* III 1.13-15. His troops respected his ability as well as his power and gave him their obedience; Proc. *BG* III 1.18-19. Procopius contrasts his soundness of judgement and devoted work in the interests of the state favourably with the behaviour of the other generals who remained behind in Italy when Belisarius was recalled in 540; Proc. *BG* III 1.22-3. This description is in general agreement with the picture of Belisarius presented by Procopius elsewhere throughout his history. That Belisarius possessed rare qualities as a tactician and a general, with outstanding abilities for making effective use of inadequate resources, plus a fair amount of luck, is clear not only from many passages in Procopius but also from his last engagement in 559, against the Huns (cf. above). Nevertheless he did on occasion expose himself recklessly to danger, as in 537 near Rome (cf. Proc. *BG* I 18.4), or allow his better judgement to be overridden by pressure from others (cf. Proc. *BP* I 18.24-5, *BG* I 28.1-3). On one occasion at least he seems to have panicked, in 546 when he heard of the capture of Isaac (see above) and thought that his base at Portus had been captured together with his wife Antonina; however he does seem at this time to have been in ill-health.

He earned a great reputation for his military achievements and was highly honoured in his retirement; Proc. *BG* III 35.3. His victories in Italy and Africa were represented in mosaic on the ceiling of the Chalce, the entrance hall to Justinian's new palace; Proc. *Aed.* I 10.16. In the *Vita Eutychii* of Eustratius, Belisarius is described in glowing terms; Eustrat. *V. Eutych.* 7 (= *PG* 86.2.2281) (τοὺς ἐν ἀνδραγαθίαις διαπρέψαντας ἅπαντας ὑπερβαλλόμενος κατὰ κράτος). A late source claims that a gilt, radiate (ἡλιοκέφαλος) statue of Belisarius stood in the Chalce; *Enarr. Brev. Chron.* 44a = *Patr. Const.* II 28 (supposedly from 'Papias') (this can hardly be correct; presumably a statue of Apollo was wrongly identified with Belisarius).

He was extremely wealthy; Proc. *BG* III 1.18, 35.3. He was able to maintain the largest body of armed followers ever known and from his own household equipped seven thousand cavalry, all, according to Procopius, first class soldiers; Proc. *BG* III 1.18-20. Procopius quotes a saying current in Rome during the siege of 537-538 that the power of Theoderic was being destroyed by the household of one man; Proc. *BG* III 1.21. His wealth is described as large enough for an emperor, and Justinian and Theodora are said to have been troubled by its size and to have accused Belisarius of having secretly kept for himself the greater

part of the wealth of Gelimer and Vitigis while surrendering to them only an insignificant portion; they were deterred however from taking action against him because of his great reputation and his services to the state; Proc. *Anecd.* 4.33-5. He owned a property at Panteichium in Bithynia, which had come to him by inheritance (already by 533); Proc. *BG* III 35.4. He also owned the suburban villa of Rufiniana in Bithynia (by 541); Proc. *BP* I 25.21. Later he acquired the house formerly owned by Ioannes II the Cappadocian; *Marcell. com. Addit.* ad a. 544 (domus eius datur Belisario). After his death his property was incorporated into the estate of Marina; Theoph. AM 6057, cf. Zon. XIV 9 (p. 284) (ἡ τούτου περιουσία τοῖς βασιλικοῖς ἀπονεύετο θησαυροῖς).

Belisarius remained faithful to his wife, to whom he seems to have been devoted; Proc. *BG* III 1.11-12. She accompanied him on many of his expeditions (see above and cf. Antonina) and her power over him was evidently considerable; the execution of Constantinus 3 is attributed to her influence by Procopius in the *Anecdota* (cf. above). Her hold over him was such that her own infidelities went unpunished; after she and Belisarius had adopted Theodosius 8, the young man became her lover while they were in Africa; the affair continued and became notorious but Belisarius remained blind to the scandal until later on in Syracuse three servants revealed it to him after binding him by solemn oaths not to betray them to Antonina; he gave orders to his followers to execute Theodosius, but the young man got away to Ephesus and the story was betrayed to Antonina, who persuaded Belisarius that the allegations were false; she then had the three servants killed while Belisarius, now in Italy, invited Theodosius to return; Proc. *Anecd.* 1.15-27. Theodosius refused to come while his enemy, Photius 2, son of Antonina, was still there; Photius departed and Theodosius then rejoined Antonina and Belisarius in Italy and later accompanied them to Constantinople (in 540); Proc. *Anecd.* 1.31-5. Theodosius now withdrew again to Ephesus, and Belisarius joined with Antonina in urging him to return; he refused but in 541 as soon as Belisarius and Photius had left Constantinople for the campaign against Persia he returned to Antonina; Proc. *Anecd.* 1.36-42. Photius immediately informed Belisarius, and they exchanged oaths of mutual loyalty to punish Theodosius; late in 541 Antonina went to rejoin Belisarius on the eastern front and Theodosius returned to Ephesus; Belisarius, withdrawing his forces from the campaign in Persia, placed Antonina under arrest and, allegedly, considered killing her; meanwhile Photius went to Ephesus and seized Theodosius; Belisarius was now ordered by Theodora to return to Constantinople with Antonina, where the empress began to persecute and torture friends of Belisarius and Photius, and forced Belisarius into a reconciliation with

his wife; Proc. *Anecd.* 2.1-25, 3.1-12. Although Photius was imprisoned and tortured before finally escaping, Belisarius did nothing to help him; Proc. *Anecd.* 3.30, 4.41 (he was still passionately in love with Antonina - καταστάς ἐκτόπως εἰς αὐτὴν ἐρωτόληπτος). His conduct on this occasion was allegedly excused on the grounds that he feared the empress, but later on after the empress' death when he supported the act of his wife in breaking off the betrothal of their daughter he was considered to be clearly under her domination; Proc. *Anecd.* 5.24-7 (and see above).

The head of his household at one time was Paulus 13 the Cilician; Proc. *BG* III 36.16. In 539 the post was held by Theodosius 4; Proc. *BG* II 28.8. Another who once served under him and who held him in the highest esteem was Alexander, the father of the future patriarch Eutychius; Eustrat., *V. Eutych.* 7 (= *PG* 86.2.2281) (Alexander, it is said, χεῖρ ἦν δεξία τοῦ τηρικαῦτα στρατηγοῦ).

Belisarius is named in an acclamation inscribed at Cyrrhus; *IGLS* I 145 (+ Βιβλισαρίου στρατελάτου αὔξει νίκη +). It is contemporary with two other inscriptions, *IGLS* I 146 and 147, the first honouring Justinian and Theodora and the second the *domesticus* Eustathius 3. All three were built into the wall over the gate of the citadel at Cyrrhus; they may date from 542 when Belisarius was in that area. He is also named on an arch of the aqueduct of Trajan at Vicarello (Belisarius acquisivit...); *Not. Scav.* IV (1879-80), p. 378 (the aqueducts of Rome were broken by Vitigis in 537, cf. Proc. *BG* I 19.13, and this inscription seems to be evidence of repairs by Belisarius). He possibly owned two seals, Zacos I 117a and b (obv.: bust of Virgin and child; rev.: cruciform monogram (58) of Βελισαρίου; the style of the bust resembles that on a seal of Justinian, Zacos 4).

His campaigns and victories in Persia, Africa and Italy are also mentioned in *Patr. Const.* II 17, Paul. Diac. *Hist. Lang.* I 25, *Hist. Rom.* XVI 11, Suid. A 112, A 249, B 233, B 456, E 1163, Π 2479, Π 2797, Nic. Call. *HE* XVII 10.

Procopius narrates an omen which occurred shortly before Belisarius left for Africa and which foretold his coming good fortune; the vines on his estate at Panteichium had produced an abundant crop of grapes, from which much wine was duly produced; this was stored in large jars in the ground to mature, but the fermentation was so strong that the wine overflowed the jars and enabled the servants to fill a large number of amphoras with the excess wine; this occurred not once but several times before they informed Belisarius, who thereupon gathered his friends together to show them the phenomenon; this was interpreted as a sign of his future success; Proc. *BG* III 35.4-8.

In later Byzantine times legends grew up concerning his various disgraces, his supposed blinding and reduction to the status of a beggar, and his subsequent rehabilitation; cf. *Patr. Const.* II 17, Tzetzes, *Chil.* (ed. Kiessling), p. 94 and, for a detailed discussion, see Börje Knös, *La Légende de Bélisaire dans les pays grecs*, in *Eranos* 58 (1960), pp. 237-80.

Belisarius 2 former tribunus; ?candidatus VI

+ M(e)m(oria) Belesari OPH(?) KAN[...]/ex trib(uno) (e)t Gerontia; Feissel, *Recueil*, no. 75 Beroea (Macedonia). The meaning of OPH is obscure. KAN may perhaps be *candidatus*. Gerontia was presumably his wife.

Belisarius 3 ?v.c., banker (in Egypt) 604

Son of Cosmas, native of Heracleopolis; in 604 he was ὁ λαμπρό-(τατος) Βελισάριος τραπεζίτης τοῦ ἐνδόξου οἴκου Στρατηγίου; *P. Erl.* 73.9-13 Heracleopolis (dated 29 March 604). Strategius 10 was perhaps a member of the Apion family and Belisarius was banker for his estates. Also mentioned in *Stud. Pal.* III 66.3 [...] ἀπὸ τοῦ λαμπρο(τάτου) κυρίου Βελι[σ]αρίου τραπεζί(ι)του; undated, perhaps from Heracleopolis and *P. Vars.* 31.1 (δι(ᾶ) Βελισαρίου τραπεζίτου; undated, from the Fayum).

Bella wife of Gislaadus (in Gaul) M VI

Wife of Gislaadus; cured of long-standing blindness by Radegundis in person at Poitiers, where she had gone 'de Francia'; Ven. Fort. *V. S. Radegundis* xxvii 64. 'Francia' here presumably alludes to northern and north-eastern Gaul, where the Franks first settled; cf. e.g. *Greg. Tur. HF* IV 14, and Dalton, II, p. 520.

Bellator *qui et Mustelus*

Benedictus (*CIL* VI 31960) V/VI; *PLRE* II.

Benjamin wealthy Jew (at Tiberias) 630

A wealthy Jew living at Tiberias, in 630 he was host for a time to Heraclius; shortly afterwards he accepted baptism; *Theoph. AM* 6120.

Benilus military commander (in Lazica) 550-551

Brother of Buzes; *Proc. BG* IV 9.5. Therefore brother also of Cutzes, and perhaps son of Vitalianus (*PLRE* II). See stemma 13. On the name, see Detschew, p. 51.

COMMANDER in Lazica a. 550-551: one of the Roman commanders

already in Lazica when Bessas arrived (in 550); *Proc. BG* IV 9.5 (the others were Babas, Odonachus and Vligagus). In spring 551 he and Vligagus commanded nine thousand men, the largest concentration of Roman troops in Lazica; they were encamped near the mouth of the river Phasis with Varazes; *Proc. BG* IV 13.10 (ἤρχον δὲ αὐτῶν Βενίλος τε καὶ Οὐλίγαγος). At the approach of the Persian army under Mermeroes, they retreated across the Phasis; *Proc. BG* IV 13.28 (οἱ τοῦ Ῥωμαίων στρατοῦ ἄρχοντες). He was presumably one of the Roman commanders described as hiding (from the Persians) near the Phasis later in 551: at the approach of winter they began making camp there, but again dispersed when Mermeroes marched against them; *Proc. BG* IV 16.6.18-19.

Beppolenus I dux (in Gaul) 579-590

He apparently had two sons, one killed in Rennes in 586 or 587, *Greg. Tur. HF* VIII 42; and one who married the widow of Wiliulfus in or after 587, *HF* IX 13. Cf. Anonymus 109.

dux a. 579-590: dux, *Greg. Tur. HF* V 29 (near Rennes, in 579), VIII 31 (at Rouen, in 585), 42 (in 586, first with Fredegundis, then under Guntram), IX 13 (in 587), X 9 (near Brittany, in 590; cf. *Fredegar. IV* 12 dux Francorum). He served under Chilperic from 579 to 584 and then under Chlotharius and Fredegundis (cf. below) until 586 when he deserted to Guntram but was given command still in the area subject to Chlotharius (still a minor) until his death in 590; see further below.

In 579 after the Bretons ravaged the district around Rennes Beppolenus attacked them and put parts of Brittany to fire and the sword, but he only provoked them to further activity; *Greg. Tur. HF* V 29. In 585 he was in Rouen with Fredegundis and Ansoald when the bishop Praetextatus was murdered; *Greg. Tur. HF* VIII 31. He served under Fredegundis who was hostile to him and treated him with great disrespect; *Greg. Tur. HF* VIII 42 (dum a Fredegunde Beppolenus dux valde fatigaretur nec iuxta personam suam ei honor debitus impenderetur), X 9. Because of this he left her (in 586) and gave his allegiance to Guntram, who appointed him *dux* over the cities technically subject to king Chlotharius, including Rennes and Angers (accepta potestate ducatus super civitates illas, quae ad Chlotharium Chilperici regis filium pertinebant); with a large retinue he proceeded to Rennes, which refused to receive him, and then to Angers, where he exacted supplies from the citizens by force; he alarmed Domegisclus, but came to terms with him; at this time Fredegundis seized much of his property in the territory still ruled by her son; Beppolenus returned to Rennes to subject it to Guntram and left his son there, who shortly afterwards was killed

with many prominent men by the people of Rennes; Greg. Tur. *HF* viii 42.

In 590 he and Ebracharius were put in command of the army sent by Guntram to repress the Bretons who were raiding around Nantes and Rennes; they advanced over the Vilaine and Oust, quarrelling all the way (cf. Ebracharius), and then, while Beppolenus was guided by a priest to meet Warochus and the Bretons, Ebracharius with many of their troops left him; he encountered the Bretons, augmented by Saxons from Bayeux whom Fredegundis sent disguised as Bretons to fight him, and after three days of fighting was finally overcome by Waroch and killed; Greg. Tur. *HF* x 9, 11 (collusion against him by Waroch and Fredegundis), Fredegar. iv 12 (Beppolenus dux Francorum factione Hebracharii itemque ducis a Britannis interficitur).

Beppolenus 2 brother of Vrsinus (in Gaul) E/M VII

Son of Chrodolenus, brother of Vrsinus and Chaimesdes; inherited family property with Vrsinus; Marini, *P. Dip.* 60 (a. 628).

Berchildis queen of Dagobert M VII

One of the three *reginae* of Dagobert; Fredegar. iv 60. See Nantechildis and Wulfegundis.

Beretrudis wife of Launebodis M VI

Of noble (Frankish) family; Ven. Fort. *Carm.* ii 8, line 27 (cui genus egregium fulget de stirpe potentum). Wife of Launebodis, whom she helped build the church of St Saturninus at Toulouse; Ven. Fort. *Carm.* ii 8, lines 24-5. They had a daughter; Greg. Tur. *HF* ix 35. Noted for her charity and piety, she founded nunneries and built churches and left them bequests in her will; Ven. Fort. *Carm.* ii 8, lines 29-33, Greg. Tur. *HF* ix 35.

She died in 589, leaving her daughter as heir to her estates (which included one near Poitiers, cf. Waddo 2); Greg. Tur. *HF* ix 35.

Bergantinus: comes patrimonii (in Italy) c. 527; patricius 538; *PLRE* ii.

Bersabous (Βερσαβούς) Persian; friend of Chosroes M VI

A prominent Persian and close friend of king Chosroes, he was taken prisoner in Armenia by Valerianus 1 (in 541/547) and sent to Constantinople, where he remained for several years while Chosroes offered large sums for his ransom; released by Justinian in 551 when Isdigousnas promised to persuade Chosroes to withdraw Persian troops from Lazica; Proc. *BG* iv 15.8-11. Cf. Justi, p. 67.

Berta wife of Warnacharius E VII

Second wife of Warnacharius 2 and stepmother of Godinus 2, whom she married after Warnacharius died in 626; Fredegar. iv 54. See further Godinus.

Bertchramnus bishop of Bordeaux 577-585

Son of Ingeltrudis and brother of Berthegundis; Greg. Tur. *HF* ix 33. Related to Guntram through the king's mother, Ingundis 1; Greg. Tur. *HF* viii 2.

Bishop of Bordeaux a. 577-585; Greg. Tur. *HF* v 18 (a. 577), 47, 49 (a. 580), vii 31, viii 2, 7, 20 (a. 585), *Conc. Gall.* 511-695, pp. 218, 220. In 585 he attended the Council of Mâcon and died shortly after his return to Bordeaux; Greg. Tur. *HF* viii 20, *Conc. Gall.* 511-695, pp. 238, 248.

Mentioned in verses by Venantius Fortunatus; *Carm.* iii 17 (de Bertechramno episcopo, cum elevaretur in curram).

Bertefredus Frankish noble L VI

A Frankish noble under Childebert, in 581 he and Vrsio, opponents of Brunichildis, attacked her supporter, Lupus, sacked his property and forced him to flee to Guntram's court; Greg. Tur. *HF* vi 4. In 587 he and Vrsio joined Rauching in a plot to murder Childebert and take control of his kingdom; after the death of Rauching they took refuge with many followers on an estate of Vrsio in the Woëvre; Bertefredus, offered his life by Brunichildis, who was godmother to his daughter, refused to desert Vrsio; Greg. Tur. *HF* ix 9. Later in 587 Bertefredus escaped when Childebert's army under Godegisel attacked and killed Vrsio; he fled for sanctuary to the oratory of the house at Verdun where bishop Ageric lived, but was there killed by the king's soldiers; Greg. Tur. *HF* iv 12, 33, cf. Fredegar. iv 8 (one of the *optimates* of Childebert executed for plotting his murder). See further Vrsio.

Bertethrudis Frankish queen; wife of Chlotharius II E VII

Regina; wife of Chlotharius II; Fredegar. iv 43, 44 (in 613), *Gesta Dagoberti* 2. She died in 618, much lamented; Fredegar. iv 46 (Bertethrudis regina moritur, quam unico amore dilexerat Chlotharius, et omnes leudes bonitatem eius cernentes vehementer amaverant).

Mother of Dagobert I; *Gesta Dagoberti* 2.

Bertha Frankish princess; wife of Aethelbert of Kent L VI/E VII

A Christian, wife of Aethelbert of Kent, she was a Frankish princess; Bede, *HE* i 25. cf. Greg. *Ep.* xi 35 (a. 601 June; addressed 'Bertae

reginae Anglorum'). She is the (unnamed) daughter of Charibert and Ingoberga who married the son of a king of Kent; Greg. Tur. *HF* iv 26, ix 26.

Bertharius 1 Frankish cubicularius under Theoderic II 612

Comes; sent by Theoderic with Baudulfus in 609 to expel St Columbanus from Luxeuil after his illegal return there from exile in Besançon; when Columbanus refused to go, they left some men to remove him by force and departed; Fredegar. iv 36.

Cubicularius; after the defeat of Theodebert at Zülpich in 612 Bertharius was sent to capture him; he brought him back to Theoderic at Cologne and received as reward Theodebert's horse with its royal trappings; Fredegar. iv 38.

Probably not to be identified with Bertharius, 'homo Scarponinsis', who assassinated Chrodoald 2 for Dagobert at Trier in 624; Fredegar. iv 52.

Bertharius 2 Frank; comes palatii 642

A Frank from the district beyond the Jura, saved from death by his son Chaubedo in Sept. 642 at the battle of Autun while attacking Willibadus; Fredegar. iv 90 (comes palatii, Francus de pago Ultra-Iurano). He served under Clovis II.

Berthefledis daughter of Charibert M/L VI

Daughter of Charibert, she lived in the nunnery founded at Tours by Ingeltrudis; in 589 when Ingeltrudis went to visit Guntram Berthefledis left the nunnery and went to Le Mans; according to Gregory she had no interest in her religious duties but lived for eating and sleeping (gulae et somno dedita et nullam de officio Dei curam habens); Greg. Tur. *HF* ix 33.

Berthegundis daughter of Ingeltrudis M/L VI

Daughter of Ingeltrudis, sister of bishop Bertchramnus of Bordeaux; in 585 she had been married for about thirty years; from c. 580 her mother wanted her to be abbess of the nunnery which she had founded at Tours but she was prevented by her marriage; later (after c. 585) she and her mother quarrelled over her father's estates and in 590, after her mother's death, in defiance of Ingeltrudis' will, she obtained from Childebert the property of her father and mother and also whatever her mother had donated to the nunnery at Tours, which, according to Gregory, she stripped to the bare walls; Greg. Tur. *HF* ix 33, x 12.

Berthichildis nun; ?Frankish princess M VI

Subject of verses by Venantius Fortunatus; *Carm.* vi 4. She was a nun and evidently wealthy (cf. lines 23-4 *distribuis censum nulli sua vota negando, divitiasque tuas omnibus esse facis*). The poem occurs in a group (*Carm.* vi 1-6) otherwise devoted to royal persons.

Berthoara daughter of Theodebert I M VI

MS variants: Bertrada, Berhtrada.

Daughter of Theodebert I; a Catholic, pious and charitable; following her wishes the bishop of Mainz, Sidonius, constructed a baptistry; Ven. Fort. *Carm.* ii 11, lines 9-15.

Bertoaldus 1 maior domus (of Theoderic II) 603-604

He was a Frank (genere Francus); Fredegar. iv 24.

MAIOR DOMVS of the palace of Theoderic II a. 603-604: maior domus palatii erat Theoderici (in 603); Fredegar. iv 24. In 604 he was sent with a force of three hundred men to levy taxes from the area between the Seine and the sea, allegedly as part of a plot by Brunichildis and Protadius to destroy him (ut Bertoaldus potius interiret); Fredegar. iv 24-5. Chlotharius sent an army against him and, outnumbered, Bertoald retired to Orléans where he was besieged by Landericus and Meroveus 2; shortly afterwards a relieving army of Theoderic's approached and distracted the besieging force near Étampes, but Bertoald was killed with his men after advancing too close to the enemy; Fredegar. iv 25-6.

He was 'moribus mensuratus, sapiens et cautus, in proelio fortis, fidem cum omnibus servans'; Fredegar. iv 24.

Bertoaldus 2 dux of the Saxons E VII

Dux Saxonorum; killed, supposedly in single combat, by Chlotharius II in a battle near the Weser, during a rebellion led by the Saxons against the Franks; *Lib. Hist. Franc.* 41. Since Dagobert was already king, the date must lie between 623 and 629.

Berulfus dux (in Gaul) 580-585

COMES (in Gaul) a. 565/580: he was a comes who once invited Venantius Fortunatus to dine; Ven. Fort. *Carm.* vii 15 (title: de Berulfo comite). The date is after Venantius came to Gaul (c. 565) and before Berulfus became dux.

DUX a. 580-585: he was dux under Chilperic and Childebert II and commanded Tours, Poitiers, Angers and Nantes; Greg. Tur. *HF* v 49 (in 580, at Tours), vi 12 (in 581, at Tours), 31 (in 583, over Tours, Poitiers, Angers and Nantes), viii 26 (in 585, under Childebert, over Tours and Poitiers).

In 580 he and the *comes* Eunomius, claiming that an attack by Guntram was imminent, imposed military rule on Tours; they also kept a close watch on bishop Gregory of Tours, against whom Leudastes had made allegations of treason, and advised him to escape to the Auvergne with the most valuable of the church treasures; some time later Berulfus failed in an attempt to capture Leudastes but seized his property and sent it to Chilperic; Greg. Tur. *HF* v 49. In 581 he went to the border region between Tours and Bourges to forestall threatened incursions from Bourges; Greg. Tur. *HF* vi 12. In 583 he led an army drawn from Tours, Poitiers, Angers and Nantes on an invasion of the territory of Bourges; Greg. Tur. *HF* vi 31.

In 585, with Tours now subject to Childebert, Berulfus was dismissed and replaced as *dux* over Tours and Poitiers by Ennodius 2 (Berulfus autem qui his civitatibus ante praefuerat); he and his follower Arnegisel were arrested by Rauching who plundered their property and found it to contain treasures once owned by Sigibert; for this they were condemned to death by Childebert but after intervention by a bishop (possibly Gregory of Tours himself) were granted their lives and released, although not given back their property; Greg. Tur. *HF* viii 26. The date of his arrest was probably 585, although Gregory appears to assign it to the time when Berulfus was on his way to take up the post of *dux* (i.e. in or before 580); the involvement of Rauching and of Childebert makes this unlikely, since Tours was under Chilperic in 580.

Bessas: MVM vacans (Italy) 535-546; MVM per Armeniam 550-554; patricius; *PLRE* II.

Betharius bishop of Chartres E VII

A native of Rome, of noble family; *V. Betharii* 2 (*MGH, Scr. Rer. Mer.* III, p. 614) (urbis Romae oriundus fuit et secundum saeculi dignitatem nobili stemmate procreatus). After serving first as chaplain (archicapellanus) at the court of Chlotharius II he became bishop of Chartres; *V. Betharii* 5-6 (pp. 615-6). He was dead by 614, when his successor (Theodoaldus) attended the Council of Paris; *Conc. Gall.* 511-695, p. 281.

Bet(t)o comes (under Theoderic II, in Burgundy) 607

One of three *comites* sent by Brunichildis and Theoderic to arrest bishop Desiderius of Vienne (in 607); *Passio S. Desiderii* 8 (*MGH, Scr. Rer. Mer.* III, p. 641) (intra fores ecclesiae sacerdos Dei et martyr Effane Gaissefredo Betone comitibus ab impiis custodia mancipatur).

Possibly identical with Bettus.

Bettus Frankish envoy c. 598

Envoy sent with Bosus (see Boso 2) by the Frankish king Theoderic II to Maurice, while Maurice was on campaign against the Avars; Theoph. Sim. vi 3.6-8. For the date, c. 598, cf. Whitby, p. 162, nn. 15, 16.

Possibly identical with Betto.

Bezina Moor; ?praefectus gentis 548

A Moorish ally of the Romans, with Ioannes 36 Troglita in 548; possibly *praefectus gentis*; Coripp. *Ioh.* vii 279-80 (omnia castra simul praefectus Bezina ducit conveniens, agrosque suis pecuaribus implet), viii 126. In both passages he is named with Cutzinas, Iaudas and Ifisdaias, which implies that he was a major ally. Cf. Ioannes Troglita.

Bigor (*CIL* viii 2245 + 17671 = *AE* 1895, 115 = D 9350): see Victor 7.

Bilichildis regina; wife of Theodebert II E VII

Formerly a slave-girl of Brunichildis, purchased from traders; she became the wife of Theodebert II and was highly regarded in Austrasia; she and Brunichildis were at odds with one another; Fredegar. iv 35 (s.a. 608). In 610 she was murdered by Theodebert, who then married Theudechildis; Fredegar. iv 37.

Billulfus relative of Grasulfus M/L VI

Relative (parens) of Grasulfus 1; he conveyed letters between Grasulfus and king Childebert II in 575/581; *Ep. Austras.* 48 (*MGH, Epp.* III, pp. 152-3).

Bindoes Persian noble L VI

For the name, see Justi, p. 370, s.n. Windōē, no. 3.

Son of Aspabed (cf. Aspebedes); Theoph. Sim. iv 3.5. Maternal uncle of Chosroes II and brother of Bistam; Theoph. Sim. iv 3.5, Sebeos II, pp. 13-14, XII, p. 40, Thomas Artsruni II 3, Moses Daxsurançi II 17, Anon. Guidi, p. 16 = 16.

An opponent of Hormisdas, he was imprisoned by him, then released by conspirators and took part in the overthrow of Hormisdas and the accession of Chosroes; Theoph. Sim. iv 3.5-11, 3.14, Theoph. AM 6080, Sebeos II, pp. 11-13, Moses Daxsurançi II 17, Anon. Guidi, p. 16 = 16. In Feb. 590 (for the date, see Higgins, pp. 29-30, 44-5) he commanded the centre of Chosroes' army when it was defeated by Bahram; Theoph. Sim. iv 9.2. He later fell into Bahram's hands; Theoph. Sim. iv 12.2.

Later he was released by conspirators who planned to kill Bahram; the attempt failed and he escaped to Azerbaijan where he mustered an army to help Chosroes; Theoph. Sim. iv 14.12-15.2 (he contacted Ioannes 101 Mystacon in Armenia).

He accompanied Ioannes Mystacon to join the army sent by the emperor Maurice to restore Chosroes; Theoph. Sim. iv 8.7. In autumn 591 he took part in the battle of Blarathon where Bahram was defeated; Theoph. Sim. v 9.6, Sebeos III, p. 21. His support for Chosroes is also recorded in Theoph. AM 6080, Thomas Artsruni II 3, Moses Dasxurançi II 17.

Perhaps in 594 (cf. Bistam) his arrest was ordered by Chosroes for his part in the death of Hormisdas and he was executed; Theoph. Sim. v 15.1, Sebeos XII, p. 40, Moses Dasxurançi II 17, Anon. Guidi, p. 16 = 16.

Bistam

Persian noble L VI

For the name, see Justi, p. 371, s.n. Wistaxma, no. 8.

Son of Aspabed (cf. Aspebedes); he was a maternal uncle of Chosroes II and brother of Bindoes; Theoph. Sim. iv 3.5, Theoph. AM 6080, Sebeos II, pp. 11, 14, XII, p. 40, Thomas Artsruni II 3, Moses Dasxurançi II 17, Anon. Guidi, p. 16 = 16.

A leading opponent of Hormisdas, he took part in his overthrow and in the accession of Chosroes (early 590); Theoph. Sim. iv 3.5, Theoph. AM 6080, Sebeos II, pp. 11, 14, Anon. Guidi, p. 16 = 16. After the army of Chosroes was defeated by Bahram Chobin (Feb. 590), Bistam was sent to gather support for Chosroes in Azerbaijan and Armenia; Theoph. Sim. iv 12.10, 14.5-6 (he met Ioannes 101 Mystacon).

He took part in the campaign to restore Chosroes, fought in the battle of Blarathon (summer 591) and led the pursuit of Bahram after the battle; Sebeos III, p. 21, Thomas Artsruni II 3, Theoph. Sim. v 11.4, 11.7.

In 594, after the arrest and execution of his brother, he fled and rebelled against Chosroes; he escaped when his forces were defeated at Reh (or Rai) (near Azerbaijan, cf. Macler, p. 40, n. 3) and assembled a further army, planning to march westwards to overthrow Chosroes, but was tricked and assassinated by an ally; Sebeos XII, pp. 40-1, XIII, p. 42, xv, pp. 43-4, Noeldeke, *Tabari*, pp. 478ff., *Hist. Nest.* II 60, 65 (in the fifth year of Chosroes' reign), Anon. Guidi, p. 16 = 16.

Bitipten

Moor; son of Ifisdaias 546/547

Son of Ifisdaias; Coripp. *Ioh.* iv 546, 550-2. A Roman ally, with his father, he presumably also fought under Ioannes 36 Troglita in the defeat of Antalas (late 546/early 547).

Blach (Βλάχ)

Hun king before 528

King of a section of the Sabirian Huns; husband of Boa who succeeded to his throne on his death (before 528); Joh. Mal. 430-1, Theoph. AM 6020, Joh. Nik. 90.62, Cedr. I 644.

Bladastes

dux (in Gaul) 581-585

He married the daughter of Leuba; Greg. Tur. *HF* VIII 28.

dux a. 581-585; he was *dux* under Chilperic and after Chilperic's death under the pretender Gundovaldus 2; Greg. Tur. *HF* VI 12 (in 581), 31 (in 583), VII 34 (in 585), VIII 28.

In 581 he attacked Vasconia (cf. Dalton, II, p. 555) for Chilperic but lost most of his troops; Greg. Tur. *HF* VI 12, Fredegar. III 87. In 583 he and Desiderius 2 governed territories of Chilperic, apparently in south-west Gaul, from where they attacked Bourges (see Desiderius for details); Greg. Tur. *HF* VI 31.

After Chilperic's death in late 584 Bladastes supported Gundovaldus; Greg. Tur. *HF* VII 28, 34. He was besieged with him in Comminges in 585, and made good his escape on the eve of its capture; Greg. Tur. *HF* VII 34, 37. He took refuge with Garacharius in a church of St Martin, and they were presented to Guntram at Orléans on July 6, 585, by Gregory of Tours with a plea for pardon; they were rebuked for disloyalty but pardoned and given back their property; Greg. Tur. *HF* VIII 6.

BLANCA

v.c. (in Sicily) 599

Vir clarissimus, at Syracuse in 599; Greg. *Ep.* IX 236. See further Pascasinus.

Bleda

Gothic commander 542

Βλέδων (acc.); Proc. Bledam (acc.); *Marcell. com. Addit.* Blidin (acc.); Greg. The name may be of Hunnish origin; see *PLRE* II, p. 230 (Bleda) and cf. also Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica*² II 90.

Bleda, Rudericus and Vliaris 2 were *comites* of Totila and his most loyal supporters; Greg. *Dial.* II 14 (cited under Rudericus). The three men are described by Procopius as the most warlike (τοὺς μαχιμωτάτους) of the Goths; Proc. *BG* III 5.1.

In 542 they commanded the Gothic army which besieged Florence and defeated the Romans at Mucellis; Proc. *BG* III 5.1, *Marcell. com. Addit.* ad a. 542, and see further Ioannes 46 and Rudericus. Probably later in the same year they accompanied Riggo on his visit to St Benedict at Monte Cassino; Greg. *Dial.* II 14.

Bleschames (Βλησχάμης) Persian officer; in Italy 542

A Persian and a man of note (ἀνὴρ δόκιμος); in 541 he commanded the Persian garrison at Sisauranon; on its surrender to Belisarius he and his men were sent to Constantinople; Proc. *BP* II 19.3.24. Shortly afterwards he and his men were sent to Italy by Justinian to fight the Goths; Proc. *BP* II 19.25, *BG* III 3.11 (some of his Persians were under Artabazes near Verona, probably in spring 542). Cf. Justi, p. 69.

Boa (Βώα) Hun queen 528

Wife of Blach, whom she succeeded on his death as ruler of a section of the Sabirian Huns; mother of two sons; she allied herself to the Romans and, perhaps in 528 (see Stein, *Bas-Emp.* II 283), destroyed an army of Huns allied to Persia, killing one king (Glom) and sending another (Tyranx) to Constantinople; Joh. Mal. 430-1 (ῥήγισσα ἐκ τῶν Σαβείρων Οὐννων), Theoph. AM 6020, Joh. Nik. 90.61-5, Cedr. I 644.

Boantus ?Frankish noble 585

Executed for disloyalty to Guntram in 585 at Chalon, where he owned a *domus*; his estates were confiscated; Greg. Tur. *HF* VIII 11. Nothing further is known about him.

Bobila Gallo-Roman lady E/M VII

Daughter of Agylenus and widow of Severus, she was a wealthy landowner near Cahors who gave generously to the church there while Desiderius was bishop; she is styled 'senatrix Romana'; *V. Desid. Cad.* 28 (*MGH, Scr. Rer. Mer.* IV, p. 585). Mentioned as 'materfamilias' in the correspondence of Desiderius; *Desid. Cadurc. Ep.* II 11, 13.

Austregildis *quae et* Bobilla

Bobo I dux (in Gaul) 580-584

Son of Mummolenus 2, he was married by 584; Greg. Tur. *HF* VI 45. Presumably a native of Soissons and brother of Bodegisel 2 (cf. *HF* X 2).

dux (under Chilperic) a. 580-584; in late 580 near Paris Bobo and Desiderius 2 *duces* arrested Chilperic's son Chlodovechus on orders from the king; Greg. Tur. *HF* V 39. In late 584 (Sept./Oct.) he and his wife, with other *virī magnifici* (Ansoaldus, Domegiselus and Waddo 2), escorted Chilperic's daughter Rigunthis from Paris on her journey to marry Reccared in Spain; he went 'quasi paranymphus', i.e. he was to give her away at the ceremony; Greg. Tur. *HF* VI 45 (styled 'dux'). He was evidently one of Chilperic's closest associates. He presumably reached Toulouse with Rigunthis (cf. *HF* VII 9) but his fate after Chilperic's death is unrecorded; perhaps he fled after the princess' treasure was seized by Desiderius (cf. *HF* VII 27 *ad fin.*, and see Cuppa).

Possibly identical with Babo.

Bobo 2 dux (of the Auvergne) 639

Dux Arvernus; in 639 he went on Sigibert's campaign against Radulfus, commanding part of Adalgiselus' army; he and Innowales attacked Radulfus' camp and were killed in the battle; Fredegar. IV 87.

He was owner of a *villa* at Lagny-sur-Marne jointly with Tacilo; *Gesta Dagoberti* 37. See Tacilo.

Bobolenus referendarius of Fredegundis 585

On the name, see Förstemann 218.

Referendarius of Fredegundis; in 585 he killed Domnola with whom he disputed ownership of a vineyard; Greg. Tur. *HF* VIII 32. In 587 king Guntram sent Antestius to Angers to punish those responsible and the property of Bobolenus as the chief culprit was confiscated; Greg. Tur. *HF* VIII 43. The vineyard was perhaps in the vicinity of Angers.

Bochanus (Βώχανος) Turkish military leader 576

In 576 he was sent with a large Turkish force by Tourxanthus to help Anagaeus against the Romans in the Bosphorus region; Men. Prot. fr. 43. Cf. Valentinus 3, and see Stein, *Stud.*, p. 59.

Bochas (Βώχας) officer of Belisarius' bodyguard 537

A Hun (Μασσαγέτης); officer (δορυφόρος) of the bodyguard of Belisarius; Proc. *BG* II 2.10. A young man still in 537 (νεανίας), he fought in an action in June outside the Porta Pinciana (see Artasires 1 and cf. Belisarius, p. 201); Proc. *BG* II 2.9-14. On his return from this, late in the day, he was sent to assist Martinus 2 and Valerianus 1 in the *campus Neronis*; the Goths retreated but he was wounded badly in the pursuit, and though escorted safely back to Rome died of his wounds three days later; Proc. *BG* II 2.19-24.32.

Bodegiselus I dux (in Gaul) M/L VI

Addressee of panegyrical verses written by Venantius Fortunatus; Ven. Fort. *Carm.* VII 5 (De Bodegisilo duce). The date was in 565/566; see Meyer, p. 43.

Husband of Palatina; Ven. Fort. *Carm.* VII 6 (De Palatina, filia Galli Magni episcopi, uxore Bodegisili ducis). They had sons; Greg. Tur. *HF* VIII 22.

dux (under Sigibert and ?Childebert II), in Provence before 565/566, and in Austrasia a. 565/566-?585; dux; Ven. Fort. *Carm.* VII 5 (title, cited above; cf. 5, line 2 dux Bodegisile), VII 6 (title, cited above) (both

in 565/566), Greg. Tur. *HF* VIII 22 (in 585). He was formerly *dux* of Marseilles (presumably the part of Marseilles and Provence subject to Sigibert, cf. Dalton, I, p. 144) and then, in 565/566, was *dux* (under Sigibert) in Austrasia; Ven. Fort. *Carm.* VII 5, lines 19-24 (Massiliae ductor felicia vota dedisti rectoremque suum laude perenne refert; hic tibi consimili merito Germania plaudit, cuius ad laudem certat uterque locus. De bonitate tua lis est regionis utraeque: te petit illa sibi, haec retinere cupit) (he was therefore in office in 'Germania' (on which see Meyer, p. 43, n. 1) when Venantius wrote). He perhaps retained the title until his death in 585 (see below).

His administration of justice was praised by Venantius, who remarks on his knowledge of the law; Ven. Fort. *Carm.* VII 5, lines 25-8. 35-6 (qui patrias leges intra tua pectora condens implicitae causae solvere fila potes).

He died an old man (plenus dierum) in 585 and his sons inherited his property intact; Greg. Tur. *HF* VIII 22.

Bodegiselus 2 envoy of Childebert II 589

Son of Mummolenus 2 of Soissons; envoy of Childebert II to Constantinople in 589; on their way there he and his fellow-envoy Evantius were murdered in Carthage; Greg. Tur. *HF* X 2. Cf. Grippio. In spite of his name he was a Gallo-Roman (Grippio is identified as 'genere Francus'). Presumably brother of Bobo 1.

Bodianus ex praefectis M VI/M VII

Βοδιανοῦ ἀπὸ ἐπάρχων; Zacos 762 (seal; obv.: +BO/ΔΙΑ/NOV; rev.: ΑΠΟ/ΕΠΑΡ/ΧΩΝ). On a similar seal, mentioned by Zacos, the name was read [E]βοδιανοῦ; Rostowtsew-Prou, *Catalogue*, p. 295, no. 893.

Bodicus comes Britannorum 560/577

Comes Britannorum (i.e. ruler of Bretons; see Warochus); father of Theodericus 1; Greg. Tur. *HF* V 16. See further Maclivius.

Fl. Boethius; consul 522; *PLRE* II.

Boethius 1 PPO Africae 556/561

Addressee of a letter from Pelagius I on the financial difficulties caused for the church by over twenty-five years of continuous warfare in Italy; funds for the clergy and the poor, he says, could be obtained only from overseas (de peregrinis insulis aut locis) (presumably this accounts for the letter to Boethius); Pelag. I, *Ep.* 85 (addressed 'Boetio praefecto praetorio Africano'). The date indicated is 562 or later, which is after Pelagius died. Presumably Pelagius did not mean the figure to be taken

literally. Boethius held office during Pelagius' papacy, 556/561, presumably either preceding or succeeding Ioannes 69.

He was perhaps identical with the son of the philosopher Boethius (cf. *PLRE* II, p. 232, Boethius 3).

BOETHIVS 2 cl. p. (at Rome) 566-577

Cl(arissimus) p(uer); son of Argentea and, apparently, Eugenius 2, grandson of Micinius; he died on Oct. 25, 577, aged eleven years, nine months, twenty-three days, and was buried on the Vatican; *CIL* VI 8401 = Rossi I 1122 = *ILCV* 3778 (a large tablet found when the old Vatican basilica was demolished). He presumably lived from Jan. 2, 566 to Oct. 25, 577.

Fl. Boethus (*IGLS* V 2229) V/VI; *PLRE* II.

Boherda father of Odericus M VI

Father of Odericus v.c.; Marini, *P. Dip.* 121 = *P. Ital.* 36, line 65. He was dead by the date of this document (575/591); cf. Odericus.

Bonākīs military commander (of Heraclius) 609

The name is spelt Bonākīs (or Konākīs) in the Ethiopic text, and is presumably a corruption of the original, which seems irrecoverable.

He was a military commander in Libya and Egypt under Heraclius during the revolt against Phocas in 609; Joh. Nik. 107.3 (p. 541 Zotenberg). Sent by Heraclius to Pentapolis with three thousand Roman troops and a force of barbarians, he there united with Nicetas 7 and together with Leontius 28 they captured the town of Kabsain; Joh. Nik. 107.3.12-13 (pp. 541-43). They then advanced against Alexandria, defeated the forces of Phocas, killed the commander (Anonymus 116) and secured Alexandria; Joh. Nik. 107.14-17 (p. 543). Bonākīs assembled his own troops at Alexandria and secured the fleet at Pharos; Joh. Nik. 107.22 (p. 544). He then took control of Lower Egypt on behalf of Heraclius with little opposition until the arrival of Bonosus 2; Joh. Nik. 107.24 (p. 544). When news came of Bonosus' approach, he took his troops from Alexandria to Nikiu and attacked Bonosus and Paulus 54 somewhere near the stronghold of Manūf; his army was routed and he himself was taken captive and killed; Joh. Nik. 107.34-7 (pp. 545-46), cf. 110.12 (p. 553) (his defeat was a setback to the cause of Heraclius).

Bonifatius 1 secretary of Gelimer 533

A native of Byzacena, he served in Gelimer's household (οἰκία) as a secretary (γραμματεὺς); described as very loyal to Gelimer; Proc. *BV* II

4.33. He was employed by Gelimer to confiscate the properties of his victims (multorumque substantias per Bonifatium tollit); Vict. Tonn. s.a. 533. Entrusted by Gelimer at the start of the Vandal war with the royal treasures (loaded on a ship in the harbour of Hippo Regius) and ordered to take them to Spain if the Vandals were defeated, he was prevented from sailing by stormy weather and subsequently surrendered the treasures to Belisarius, while retaining his own property and stealing a large sum also from Gelimer's treasure; Proc. *BV* II 4.34-41.

BONIFATIVS 2 v.c. (in Sicily) LVI

Vir clarissimus; in 593 he visited Rome with complaints against bishop Victor of Palermo, alleging *inter alia* that he had been wrongfully excommunicated by him; he returned with Gregory's instructions that two leading clerics of Palermo investigate the matter; Greg. *Ep.* III 27 (a. 593 April).

Probably not identical with the Bonifatius against whom grave charges were laid in Sicily in 593; Greg. *Ep.* III 49 (a. 593 July; this man is alluded to by Gregory as 'Bonifatio vero quodam' and so is unlikely to have been a *vir clarissimus*).

BONIFATIVS 3 vir magnificus (in Africa) LVI

Summoned from Africa to Rome by Gregory in 594 to answer for his faith; he had been ill; styled 'magnitudo vestra'; Greg. *Ep.* IV 41 (a. 594 Aug.; addressed 'Bonifatio viro magnifico Africae'). What dignity or office he held is not recorded.

Bonifatius 4 numerarius (West) LVI

Numerarius; he died in 598 in Sicily, leaving a widow whom he commended to Gregory's care; he left part of his estate to the *xenodochium* situated near St Peter's at Rome; Greg. *Ep.* IX 63 (a. 598 Nov./Dec.; Bonifatium quondam numerarium), 130 (a. 599 April; quondam Bonifatii numerarii).

See also Laurentius 5. Bonifatius' accounts for the ninth and tenth indictions were to be scrutinised (*Ep.* IX 130). He was presumably therefore *numerarius* from 590 to 592.

Bonifatius 5 ?landowner (in Sicily) 598

Greg. *Ep.* IX 39 (598 Oct.). See Anastasius 18 and Ianuaria.

BONITVS vir gloriosus (in Sicily) 598

Described as 'homo litteratus'; he and Gregory were old acquaintances in 593; in reply to a request from Quertinus to support Bonitus' candidacy for the praetorship of Sicily (*epistulam gloriae vestrae*

suscipimus, in qua scripsistis, ut pro glorioso filio nostro Bonito agere debeamus, quatenus praeturae illi amministratio committatur), Gregory is reluctant to impose such a burden on him but will agree if such is Bonitus' own wish; Greg. *Ep.* IX 6 (a. 598 Sept./Oct.).

Bonosus 1 scribo 602

A *scribo*, sent in 602 to serve under Petrus 55 on the Danube frontier; he prepared transports for a Roman force under Guduin 1 to cross the Danube; Theoph. Sim. VIII 5.10-11 (ἀνὴρ δὲ οὗτος τῶν σωματοφυλάκων τοῦ βασιλέως ἐπιφανής, ὃν σκρίβωνα εἶωθε τὰ πλήθη ἀποκαλεῖν τοῦτον γὰρ ἐδέησε κατ' ἐκείνο καιροῦ διακονεῖσθαι Πέτρῳ τῷ στρατηγῷ), Theoph. AM 6094.

BONOSVS 2 comes Orientis 609-610

HONORARY CONSVL a. 609: *V. Theod. Syc.* 142 (Βουνοῦσσοσ δὲ ὁ ἀνήμερος ὑπατος).

COMES ORIENTIS a. 609-10: appointed κόμης ἀνατολῆς by Phocas in 609 and sent with the MVM Cottanas to put down Jewish and other risings at Antioch, Jerusalem and other cities in the east; their first attempts at restraint failed and they then gathered troops and crushed the risings with great brutality; Theoph. AM 6101, Cedr. I 712, *Chron. Pasch.* s.a. 610, Sebeos XXI, pp. 55-6, Joh. Nik. 105.3-6 (a 'general', he was 'like a fierce hyena') (p. 540 Zotenberg), 109.13 (p. 559), Mich. Syr. x 25, *Doct. Iac.* I 40 (he 'punished and murdered the Greens' at Antioch), III 1, Antiochus Strategios, trans. Conybeare, pp. 503-4 (= *Capt. Hieros.* III 11).

While in Caesarea (in Palestine) he learned that Alexandria had fallen to the rebel army of Nicetas 7 and received orders from Phocas to go to Egypt to secure the country for the emperor; Joh. Nik. 107.23-4 (p. 544 Zotenberg). He was already known and hated in Alexandria, where he had sent wild beasts and instruments of torture, on Phocas' orders (presumably for punishing opponents of Phocas); Joh. Nik. 107.10-11.19 (pp. 542-3). He possibly sailed from Ptolemais (= Acre, in Phoenice) (cf. Joh. Nik. 107.30 (p. 545)); then he occupied Pelusium before advancing to the relief of Athribis (see Marcianus 10 and Christodora); near Athribis he united his forces with those of Paulus 54 and together they defeated the Heraclian army under Bonākīs near Manūf; Nikiu surrendered and Bonosus proceeded to execute or exile many who had joined the rebellion; Joh. Nik. 107.34-44 (pp. 545-6). He now sent Paulus by water against Alexandria and himself set out with his army (dated in the seventh year of Phocas, a. 609, Joh. Nik. 107.49); near Alexandria a battle took place with Nicetas, and Bonosus

was completely defeated and his army routed; he escaped with a few followers to Kariūn (Chaereum); there he was joined by Paulus and made his way to Nikiu; Joh. Nik. 107.46–109.1 (pp. 547–9). Here he gathered more boats and continued for a while to harass the area around Alexandria, also planning unsuccessfully to assassinate Nicetas; finally Nicetas moved against him and occupied the fort of Manūf, whereupon Bonosus abandoned Egypt and fled first to Palestine, where he had a very hostile reception, and then to Constantinople to join Phocas; Joh. Nik. 109.1–13 (pp. 549–50). On these events in Egypt, see further Butler, *Conquest of Egypt*, pp. 14–27.

In early October 610, when the fleet of Heraclius reached Constantinople, Bonosus was sent by Phocas to oppose his landing; his own troops, including apparently members of the Green party, seem to have turned against him, and he fled, though not before either he or they had set fire to the Harbour of Caesarius; he escaped by boat to the Harbour of Iulianus where he was cornered and killed in the water by an *excubitor*; his body was taken to the Forum of the Ox and burnt; *Chron. Pasch.* s.a. 610 (the *excubitor*), Joh. Ant. fr. 218f (attacked by the Greens), *Doct. Iac.* 140 (attacked by the Greens), *Nic. Brev.*, p. 5, Joh. Nik. 109.28 (Phocas 'sent the imperial chariots to Bonosus in order that he might march against him') (p. 551), 110.1 ('the men of the chariots slew Bonosus') (p. 552), 110.7 (his body cremated) (p. 553), Antiochus Strategios, trans. Conybeare, p. 504 (= *Capt. Hieros.* iv 1–5). His accumulated wealth was allegedly thrown into the sea by Phocas together with the imperial treasury; Joh. Nik. 110.4 (p. 552).

According to the *Doctrina Jacobi*, members of the Blue faction fled from the east to Rhodes where they were beaten on the grounds that they were followers of Bonosus; *Doct. Iac.* v 20. The date presumably was 609 or 610.

In 609 while en route to the east Bonosus visited Theodore of Syceon for a blessing; he already had a fearsome reputation and the bystanders were terrified when the saint grabbed his hair and pulled his head down to receive the blessing; however he is said to have taken it all in good part, including the saint's reprimands, and to have given money for charitable distribution; *V. Theod. Syc.* 142.

Bonus 1 quaestor Iustinianus exercitus 536–537 (?553)

Described by Agathias as a clever and capable man (ἄνδρα συνέσεως τε ἐς ἄκρον ἤκοντα καὶ λίαν ἀγαθὸν τὰ τε πολιτικά καὶ πολέμια); Agath. I 19.1.

QVAESTOR IVSTINIANVS EXERCITVS a. 536–537 (?553): appointed on 18 May 536; *Just. Nov.* 41 (= *Iuliani Epitome* 38) (haec constitutio quendam

virum magnificentum Bonum nomine quaestorem exercitus fecit). In office a. 537 Sept. 1; *Just. Nov.* 50 (addressed Βόνω τῷ ἐνδοξοτάτῳ κοιαιστῳρι Ἰουστινιανῷ exercitus). He was in Italy in 553 and apparently still held this office (Βόνον τὸν στρατηγὸν τὸν ἐκ Μυσίας τῆς πρὸς τῷ Ἰστρῳ ποταμῷ παρατεταμένης); after the recovery of Luca by Narses I in late 553, Bonus was left in command there with a substantial force; Agath. I 19.1. He had presumably accompanied Narses on the expedition to Italy in 552.

Bonus 2 army officer (in Italy) 544

Cousin (or nephew) (ἀνεψιός) of Ioannes 46 (nephew of Vitalianus); in 544 he commanded the Roman garrison in Genoa (φρουρᾶς ἄρχων τῆς ἐν Γενούῳ); *Proc. BG* III 10.14. For the fake letter sent in his name by Totila, see *Belisarius*, p. 212.

Bonus 3 ?comes patrimonii per Italiam ?561

During the reconquest of north Italy Bonus and Pamphronius were sent to the Frank Amingus as envoys by Narses I to arrange for the Roman army to cross the river Attisus (Adige) without involving the Franks in warfare; Bonus is described as προεστῶτα τῆς αὐτοῦ βασιλείως περιουσίας; *Men. Prot.* fr. 8. The office which Bonus held was perhaps that of *comes patrimonii per Italiam*; cf. Ioannes 70. The date is uncertain; the preceding and succeeding fragments of Menander concern events in 559 and 561, and within that time Narses is recorded in north Italy in 561 (cf. Narses, p. 924).

Bonus 4 MVM (per Illyricum?) 568–569/570

MAIOR DOMVS (?) of Iustinus 4; he was given special responsibilities by Iustinus for guarding the Danube frontier against the Avars, probably in 561 (cf. Stein, *Bas-Emp.* II 543–4 with 544, nn. 1 and 2); *Men. Prot.* fr. 9 (Βόνον γὰρ τὸν πρωτοστάτην τοῦ θητικοῦ καὶ οἰκετικοῦ τῆ τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἀπένειμε φυλακῆ). On his office, see Stein, *Stud.* p. 32, n. 12, *Bas-Emp.* II 475, n. 1.

MVM (PER ILLYRICVM?) a. 568–569/70: ὁ στρατάρχος, ὁ στρατηγός, at Sirmium in 568; *Men. Prot.* fr. 27, fr. 28. Still in command on the Danube in 569/570; *Men. Prot.* fr. 33.

Probably in spring 568 he was in command in Sirmium during the siege by the Avars; during a battle there he was badly wounded (cf. Theodorus 28) and for a time did not attend when talks opened with the Avars; when they began to suspect that he was dead, however, he took part in spite of his wound; he agreed to their offer to withdraw from Sirmium in return for a gift, but only if the emperor Justin gave his

approval; Men. Prot. fr. 27. Later in the year, he sent an Avar embassy on to Constantinople but talks there broke down and Bonus was rebuked by Justin for allowing through an embassy whose proposals were unacceptable and was instructed to prepare for war with the Avars; Men. Prot. fr. 28. Perhaps in 569/570 he received orders from Tiberius I to guard the river crossings after negotiations with Apsich I broke down; Men. Prot. fr. 33. For the dates, see Stein, *Stud.* pp. 10–13.

He is recorded as warning his men on some unknown occasion about the Avar use of war-cries and drums to alarm their enemies and telling them to reply in kind; Suid. E 2310 = Men. Prot. fr. 31. Possibly identical with the Bonus named in Suid. E 498 and Y 743.

Bonus 5 patricius and MVM (?) 622–626 (–627)

Wrongly called Βώνουος in Theoph. AM 6113. Possibly identical with Bonus 7 and/or 8.

He had a son, Ioannes 259, who was illegitimate (sent as hostage to the Avars in 622); Nic., *Brev.*, p. 17.

Bonus was the subject of a panegyric by Georgius Pisides, written c. June 626; Georg. Pisid. *Bon. Pat.* For the date, see Sternbach, *Wien. Stud.* xiii, 44ff., and cf. Pertusi, *Stud. Pat. et Byz.* 7, 171. He is said to be better known as a peacemaker than a man of blood; Georg. Pisid. *Bon. Pat.* 8–9 (οὐκ εἰς φόβους γὰρ τεχνικόν σε τοξότην, ἀλλ' εἰς τὸ σφῶζειν οἶδε τεχνίτην μέγαν). Described as a man of wisdom and experience; Theoph. AM 6113 (ἀνδρὶ ἐχέφρονι καὶ τὰ πάντα συνετῷ καὶ πεπειραμένῳ). He may have accompanied Heraclius when the latter sailed from Carthage to overthrow Phocas in 610; see below, and cf. Georg. Pisid. *Bon. Pat.* 6 (σύνοπλος of Heraclius).

In April 622, when Heraclius sailed to the east for the war with Persia (on Monday, April 5; Theoph. AM 6113), Bonus was left in Constantinople to run the government and to look after the emperor's sons, together with the patriarch Sergius and other high officials; he was apparently to act as the emperor's deputy; Nic., *Brev.*, p. 15 (Βώνον τὸν πατρίκιον ἐγχειρίζει τὰς τῶν πραγμάτων διοικήσεις), Georg. Pisid. *Bon. Pat.* title (εἰς Βόνον πατρίκιον καὶ τοποτηρητὴν τοῦ βασιλέως, cf. 5–7 (ἀντεισφορᾷ δὲ σήμερον τῶν κρειττόνων σοι, τῷ συνόπλῳ, κοσμικὴν ἀγωνίαν ὁ κοσμορύστης Ἡρακλῆς ἐπιτρέπει), 10–11 (ἐντεῦθεν ὑμᾶς τοὺς ἀγῶνας εἰκότως τοὺς ἀντὶ πάντων ἐκτελεῖν ψηφίζεται), Theod. Sync., 302.29–30 (δημοσίων πραγμάτων τὸν φύλακα – Βόνος δὲ ἦν οὗτος, ὁ παρὰ πᾶσι βοώμενος), 303.33–4 (ὃν ὁ σοφὸς καὶ μέγας βασιλεὺς κατέλιπεν τῶν πραγμάτων τῆς πόλεως ἐπιμελητὴν τε καὶ φύλακα), 303.39–40 (ὁ μὲν φύλαξ τῶν βασιλέως πραγμάτων, also 305.16 and similarly 307.15, 312.22), 312.10–11 (τὸν ἐκ βασιλέως τοῦ μεγάλου

κελευσθέντα ποιῆσθαι τὴν τῶν πραγμάτων διοίκησιν), cf. Theoph. AM 6113 (= Cedr. I 718) (Heraclius left his son and the patriarch Sergius διοικεῖν τὰ πράγματα σὺν Βωνόσω – sic), Zon. xiv 16 (he and Sergius were τῶν κοινῶν πραγμάτων διοικητᾶς), *Orat. hist.* (PG 92.1349C), *Utilis Narratio* (PG 92.1356C). A contemporary source described him as one of the most trusted followers of Heraclius; Theod. Sync., 304.4 (τὸν ἐαυτοῦ πιστότατον φύλακα).

PATRICIUS a. 622–626 (–627): in 622, Nic., *Brev.*, p. 15, Theoph. AM 6113 (= Cedr. I 718), Zon. xiv 16, *Patr. Const.* II 72; in 626, Georg. Pisid. *Bon. Pat.* title (cited above), *Chron. Pasch.* s.a. 626 (ὁ ἐνδοξότατος πατρίκιος καὶ μάγιστρος; cf. below). Presumably *patricius* until his death in 627 (below).

MAGISTER (᾽ΥΤΡΙΒΙΣΤΡΟΥ ΜΙΛΙΤΙΑΣ, ΠΡΑΕΣΤΑΛΙΣ; a. 626: μάγιστρος τῶν ἐνόπλων ταγμάτων, Georg. Pisid. *Bell. Avar.* 314; ὁ στρατηγός, Theod. Sync., 307.39, 312.39; ὁ πανεύφημος μάγιστρος (twice) and ὁ εὐκλεέστατος μάγιστρος (and see above), *Chron. Pasch.* s.a. 626; μάγιστρος, *Chron. Pasch.* s.a. 627, *Patr. Const.* III 83. Although μάγιστρος usually denotes the *magister officiorum*, the evidence of Theodorus Syncellus and Georgius Pisides suggests that Bonus was MVM (in spite of Georg. Pisid. *Bon. Pat.* 8–9, cited above), probably an MVM *praesentalis*, since he was at Constantinople. However Bonus was apparently in a unique position as the emperor's deputy and may have combined military and civil responsibilities. For a contrary view, see Haldon, *Byzantine Praetorians*, pp. 444–6.

In 626 when the intention of the Avars to attack Constantinople became clear, Bonus received instructions from Heraclius concerning the defence of the city; Theod. Sync., 302.28–30. The date was July 626; cf. Barišić, *Le siège de Constantinople par les Avars en 626*, in *Byz.* 24 (1954), p. 378. He took all possible measures; Theod. Sync., 303.34–5, cf. *Orat. hist.* (PG 92.1349C). He strengthened the walls and prepared for war; Theod. Sync., 303.39–304.4 (urged on by letters from the emperor), cf. *Utilis Narratio* (PG 92.1356C). Immediately prior to the siege he and the other imperial authorities in the city rejected proposals put forward by the khan of the Avars (cf. Athanasius 10); *Chron. Pasch.* s.a. 626, cf. Barišić, *op. cit.*, p. 379.

He conducted the defence of the city during the Avar siege; Georg. Pisid. *Bell. Avar.* 313–22, Zon. xiv 16. The siege began on Tuesday, July 29, and ended on Thursday, Aug. 7, the tenth day; Theod. Sync., 305.13–14, *Chron. Pasch.* s.a. 626, and see Barišić, *op. cit.*, pp. 379–89. On the first day Bonus drew up his forces, regular troops and civilian levies, ready for battle; Theod. Sync., 305.16–18, cf. Zon. xiv 16 (he had raised civilian levies). During the early days he tried several times without

success to persuade the khan to raise the siege; *Chron. Pasch.* s.a. 626. He is recorded on the fourth day (see Barišić, *op. cit.*, p. 383) as praising a sailor who devised a way of burning the Avar siege towers; *Chron. Pasch.* s.a. 626. On the fifth day he, the patriarch and the emperor's son sent a final fruitless embassy to the khan only to learn that the Avars were now planning to receive reinforcements from the Persians at Chalcedon; they led the people in prayers; Theod. Sync., 307.11-40 (during the night). On the tenth day, during the final assault, Bonus, following information received, stationed his boats in the Golden Horn and gave a signal from Blachernae which drew the enemy boats, manned by Slavs and others, into a trap; Nic., *Brev.*, p. 18. Afterwards he was shown the severed heads of many of the slain; Theod. Sync., 312.9-11. After the Avar defeat on this day Bonus personally ordered back within the safety of the walls the crowds which began to pour out of the city; Theod. Sync., 312.22-8 (praised by Theodorus for this display of prudent generalship - στρατηγικῆς προμηθείας).

That night and the following day (Aug. 8) Bonus stood outside the Golden Gate with the patriarch and crowds from the city to watch the smoke and flames from the siege engines, fired by the Avars themselves, rising over the city and to give thanks to God; Theod. Sync., 312.3-313.4. Also on the day after the siege (see Barišić, *op. cit.*, p. 389) Bonus was approached by the khan for talks but refused, saying that his authority to negotiate had now lapsed with the imminent arrival of the emperor's brother; *Chron. Pasch.* s.a. 626.

Bonus died in 627 and was buried on May 11 in the church of St John of Studion, near the Golden Gate; *Chron. Pasch.* s.a. 627 (ἔτελεύτησε Βόνος ὁ τῆς αἰοιδίου μνήμης, γενόμενος μάγιστρος).

He built a reservoir at Constantinople which was named after him, close to the site of his own house; *Patr. Const.* II 72 (allegedly when he came from Rome - ἀνελθὼν ἀπὸ Ῥώμης; possibly this is a reminiscence of the journey of Heraclius from Africa to overthrow Phocas in 610), III 83, III 165. On its location, see Janin, *Const. Byz.*, pp. 200-1.

Bonus 6 (honorary) consul VI/VII

Βόνου ὑπάτου; Zacos 294, Dumbarton Oaks seal 58.106.1229 (two similar seals; obv.: cruciform monogram (44) of Βονου; rev.: +/VΠA/TOV).

Bonus 7 magister VI/VII (?E VII)

Βόνου μαγίστρου; Zacos I 295a and b, Dumbarton Oaks seal 58.106.4615 (several similar seals; obv.: cruciform monogram (44) of Βόνου; rev.: cruciform monogram (213) of μαγίστρου). Possibly identical with Bonus 5.

Bonus 8 patricius VI/VII (?E VII)

Βόνου πατρικίου; Zacos I 296, Fogg Art Museum 2753 (two similar seals; obv.: cruciform monogram (44) of Βόνου; rev.: square monogram (250) of πατρικίου).

Possibly identical with Bonus 5. Perhaps the same man also owned other seals, Zacos I 2866, Constantopoulos, *Molybdoboulla*, no. 452a, which read; obv.: +Θεο/τοκε β/σηθει; rev.: +Βον/ω πατ[ρ]/ικίω.

Bonus 9 praefectus VI/VII

Βόνου ὑπάρχου; Zacos 293 = Dumbarton Oaks seal 55.2.4 (obv.: square monogram (43) of BONOVI; rev.: square monogram (337) of VΠAΡΧOVI). For a similar seal, see Schlumberger, *Sigill.*, p. 510 (where however it is interpreted as: Βόνου ἀπὸ ὑπάρχων).

Bonus 10 ex praefectis M VI/M VII

Βόνου ἀπὸ ἐπαρχῶν; Zacos 2865 (seal; obv.: +BO/NOVI; rev.: AΠO/ΕΠAΡ/ΧΩN). For two similar seals, see Mordtmann, *ΕΦΣ VII* (1872-73), p. 69, no. 4, with plate I/4, and Stamata Xenaki, *BZ* 18 (1909), p. 181, no. 1.

Fl. Soterius Marianus Michaelius Gabriellus Ioannes Theodorus Nicetas Theodorus Bonus Eutropius Olympius Ioannes

Boocolabras fugitive from the Avars 582

The name, according to Theophylact, meant a *magus* or priest; described as a Σκύθης ἀνὴρ, he fled from the khan of the Avars after sleeping with one of his wives and attempted to return to his original tribe, the Turks who lived in the east next to the Persians, through Roman territory; he was caught while crossing the Danube and sent to the emperor, and became a pretext for further warfare between the Romans and the Avars; Theoph. Sim. I 8.2, and cf. Men. Prot. fr. 66 (alluding to the khan Baian's demand for one of his subjects who fled to the Romans after sleeping with his wife; the date was in 582, immediately after the fall of Sirmium). The story is connected in Theophylact with the resumption of war in 586; cf. Comentiolus I, p. 322.

On the name (an Avar word meaning *dux*), see the references in Wirth, in Theoph. Sim. (ed. de Boor), *Addenda*, p. xvii (note on p. 4, line 22).

Boraides cousin of Justinian M VI

Cousin of the emperor Justinian; Proc. *BP* I 24.53, *BG* III 31.17.

Brother of Iustus 2; Proc. *BP* I 24.53. Brother also of Germanus (*PLRE* II, p. 505); Proc. *BG* III 31.17. He was married and had a daughter (see below). On the name, cf. Detschew, p. 80.

On the last day of the Nika revolt (Jan. 18, 532) he and Iustus dragged Hypatius (*PLRE* II, p. 580) from his throne in the hippodrome and delivered him and Pompeius (*PLRE* II, p. 899) to Justinian; Proc. *BP* I 24.53.

He died in 548 and left the greater part of his estate to his brother Germanus and to Germanus' sons (Iustinus 4 and Iustinianus 3); he was survived by his wife and daughter but left to his daughter the minimum required by law; Justinian then annoyed Germanus by championing the cause of the daughter; Proc. *BG* III 31.17-18, 32.18.

Boran daughter of Chosroes II; ruler of Persia 630/631

Βοράνης; Theoph. Bōrān (or similar); Anon. Guidi, *Chron. Iac. Edess.*, Mich. Syr., Agapius, *Hist. Nest.*, Thomas Artsruni (Born). Bbor; Sebeos. Baram; *Chron.* 1234, civ, Bar Hebr., *Chron.*, p. 93, Cedr. I 735.

Daughter of Chosroes II; she ruled Persia for a while after the death of Shahrbaraz; she herself then died, possibly murdered; Theoph. AM 6120, Cedr. I 735, Anon. Guidi, p. 30 = p. 26, *Chron. Iac. Edess.*, p. 327 = p. 252, Mich. Syr. XI 3, Sebeos XXVIII, p. 89, Thomas Artsruni II 3, *Chron.* 1234, civ, *Hist. Nest.* II 93-4, Bar Hebr., *Chron.*, p. 93, Agapius, p. 453.

Described by Sebeos and Thomas Artsruni as wife of Shahrbaraz, by Anon. Guidi as wife of Siroes (= Cavades II, cf. Bore), and by Agapius as daughter of Shahrbaraz.

Succeeded by Hormisdas III (Theoph., Cedr.), or by her sister Āzarmīdukht (Bar Hebr., Mich. Syr., *Chron.* 1234, Agapius), or by three rival claimants, Mihr-Chosroes, Āzarmīdukht and Isdigerdes (*Hist. Nest.* II 94). The situation in Persia was very confused with rival claimants to the throne in different parts of the kingdom and this is reflected in the confusion in the sources; cf. Noeldeke, *Tabari*, pp. 388-95, Christensen, *L'Iran sous les Sassanides*², pp. 498-9.

Bore wife of Cavades II E/M VII

A Roman lady, wife of Cavades II *qui et* Siroes, mother of Ardashir III; *Hist. Nest.* II 92.

Boriades bodyguard of Belisarius 533

Bodyguard of Belisarius, by whom he was sent to occupy Syllectum immediately after their landing in Africa (in 533), with orders to win the support of the inhabitants; this he succeeded in doing; Proc. *BV* I

16.9-11 (τῶν δορυφόρων ἓνα βοριάδην ἅμα τῶν ὑπασπιστῶν τισιν ἔστειλεν).

If he and Justinian's cousin Boraides were identical, Procopius would presumably have noted the fact.

Boso I referendarius (in Gaul) ?c. 566/567

An acquaintance of Venantius Fortunatus, who addressed verses to him asking for his help and seeking to be commended by him to the king; Ven. Fort. *Carm.* VII 22 (ad Bosonem referendarium). The king may have been Sigibert and the occasion shortly after the arrival of Venantius at his court; cf. Koebner, p. 16.

Boso 2 dux (in Gaul) 585, 589

In 585 he was one of the commanders of king Guntram's army which besieged the pretender Gundovaldus in Comminges; he and Villo captured Gundovaldus and put him to death; Greg. Tur. *HF* VII 38, Fredegar. IV 2 (dux).

In 589 he was sent by Guntram with Antestius to capture the cities of Septimania; growing careless through over-confidence (cf. Austrovaldus) he was ambushed by the Visigoths under Claudius 2 near Carcassonne and routed with heavy losses; Greg. Tur. *HF* IX 31, Joh. Bicl. s.a. 589 (Bosone duce), Fredegar. IV 10 (neglegentia Bosonis, qui caput exercitus fuit).

Possibly identical with the envoy Βόσος (?Boso) sent by Theoderic II with Bettus to offer Maurice military aid against the Avars in c. 598 (cf. Whitby, p. 162, nn. 15, 16); Theoph. Sim. VI 3.6-8. Both Guntram and Theoderic ruled Burgundy.

Boso 3 ?Frankish notable 626

Son of Audolenus, from Etampes (de pago Stampinsi); accused of adultery with queen Sichildis and executed in 626 by Arnebertus on the orders of Chlothar II; Fredegar. IV 54. Presumably a Frankish notable at the court of Chlothar II.

Guntchramnus Boso

Bottas gloriosissimus (in Egypt) 621

A document from Oxyrhynchus records payment to a man who delivered fine bread to Βοττᾶ τῷ ἐνδοξ(ο)τάτῳ in the Thebaid; *P. Oxy.* 1921 (a. 621). Possibly a Persian; cf. lines 3, 4 and 6 (λόγῳ τῶν Περσῶν) and see Tzimein.

Boudis (Corinth VIII 1,207) V/VI; *PLRE* II.

Bousas siege warfare expert 587

A soldier expert in siege warfare, living near Appiaria; when the Romans refused to ransom him after his capture by the Avars, he taught the Avars how to build siege engines; Theoph. Sim. II 16.1-10, Theoph. AM 6079 (ὁ τῆς πόλεως, = Appiaria, μαγγανάριος, but called only στρατιώτης in Theoph. Sim.).

Boutzius M/L VI

Owner of a seal; Zacos 2789 (obv.: cruciform monogram (45) of Β8ΤΖΙδ; rev.: 447/ZI4).

The name recalls that of Buzes.

Braducius Persian interpreter 548

In 548 he accompanied the Persian envoy Isdigousnas to Constantinople; the envoy was treated with unusual honour by the Romans and Braducius also was allowed to eat at the emperor's table, a unique honour for an ἑρμηνεύς; Proc. BP II 28.41-2. He did not accompany Isdigousnas on his second embassy in 550; Procopius records the rumour that Chosroes had had him executed on suspicion of betraying the interests of Persia; Proc. BG IV 11.8-9.

Bregantinus (patricius: Ep. Austras. 19): PLRE II, p. 225, Bergantinus.

BRITIANVS comes (?Arvernorum) before 555

Husband of Caesaria, father of Palladius 3, and father-in-law of Firminus 1; alluded to in c. 573 as 'quondam comes'; Greg. Tur. HF IV 39. He was probably a native of the Auvergne, and may have held the post of comes Arvernorum. He was apparently already dead by 555; cf. Greg. Tur. HF IV 13 and see Kurth, *Ét. franq.* I 191ff. Cf. Stroheker, no. 73.

Brodulfus (Fredegar. IV 55, 56, 58); see Produlfus.

Brumachius Frankish envoy M VI

Husband of Frigia; prominent in public life, he was sent on an embassy but died in Italy on his way home; he was forty years old; his wife brought his body back for burial; Ven. Fort. Carm. IV 20 (epitaphium Brumachi; cf. lines 2-4 Brumachius quondam fulsit in orbe potens. Quem sensu, eloquio legati nomine functum, dum remeat patriae, sors inimica tulit).

Brunichildis queen of the Franks c. 567-613

A Visigothic princess, daughter of Athanagildus and Golsuintha;

Greg. Tur. HF IV 27, 38, IX 1, Ven. Fort. Carm. VI 1, lines 111.117-19.124-8. Younger sister of Galsuintha; Greg. Tur. HF IV 28, Ven. Fort. Carm. VI 5, lines 281-2, 289, 303. In c. 566/567 she married the Frankish king Sigibert; Greg. Tur. HF IV 27, Lib. Hist. Franc. 31, Fredegar. III 57, Paul. Diac. Hist. Lang. II 10, cf. Ven. Fort. Carm. VI 1 and 1^a (verses composed to celebrate the marriage). According to Fredegarius, her original name was Bruna, later changed to Brunichildis; Fredegar. III 57, 59.

Mother of Childebert (born in 570); Greg. Tur. HF V 1, IX 1, 20, Ven. Fort. Carm. X 7, X 8, line 23, X 11, line 25, App. Carm. VI, Fredegar. III 72, 78, Lib. Hist. Franc. 32, Paul. Diac. Hist. Lang. II 10. She had two daughters, Ingundis 2, Greg. Tur. HF VIII 21; and Chlodosinda, Greg. Tur. HF IX 20; and cf. also Greg. Tur. HF V 1 (her daughters mentioned in 576), Ven. Fort. Carm. X 8, line 25 (her daughter, = Chlodosinda, and daughter-in-law, = Faileuba). Grandmother of Theodebert and Theoderic (cf. below).

Originally an Arian, she became a Catholic on her marriage; Greg. Tur. HF IV 27.

A description of her is given by Gregory of Tours, HF IV 27: puella elegans opere, venusta aspectu, honesta moribus atque decora, prudens consilio et blanda colloquio.

When Sigibert was killed in 575 she was in Paris with their children; Childebert was taken into the care of Gogo and her daughters were exiled to Meaux while she herself was exiled by Chilperic to Rouen; Greg. Tur. HF IV 51, V 1. There she was visited by Chilperic's son Merovech and married him, though Chilperic rapidly intervened to separate them; Greg. Tur. HF V 2, and see Merovech. She subsequently left Rouen to live in Austrasia; Greg. Tur. HF V 14, 18.

In 580 she sent the bishop of Châlons-sur-Marne on an embassy to Spain on business of hers (propter causas Brunichildis reginae; its nature is not specified, but was presumably connected with her daughter Ingundis); Greg. Tur. HF V 40.

In late 584, after the death of Chilperic, and again in 585 she was the target of assassination attempts engineered by Chilperic's widow Fredegundis; Greg. Tur. HF VII 20, VIII 28-9 (together with Childebert). She was bitterly hostile to the Visigothic king Leovigild because of the fate of her daughter Ingundis and tried to obtain support from the nobles of Austrasia, without success; Greg. Tur. HF VIII 21, 28. She encountered much hostility from Guntchramnus Boso; Greg. Tur. HF IX 8. She and Childebert were the object of further plots by Rauching, Visio and Bertefredus; Greg. Tur. HF IX 9.

In 587 she was present with her daughter Chlodosinda and her

daughter-in-law Faileuba when Guntram and Childebert regulated affairs between them by the Treaty of Andelot; Greg. Tur. *HF* ix 10, 20, Fredegar. iv 7. Under this Cahors was given to her by Childebert; Greg. Tur. *HF* ix 11, 20.

In 589, in connection with proposals for a marriage between Chlodosinda and the new Visigothic king Reccared, she sent to Reccared a valuable gold and jewelled salver and other precious objects (cf. Ebregeiselus); Greg. Tur. *HF* ix 28. In this year she and Faileuba were the objects of another plot (cf. Septimina and Sunnegisel); Greg. Tur. *HF* ix 38.

After the death of Childebert (late 595/early 596) Brunichildis became virtually ruler through her grandsons Theodebert and Theoderic; Paul. Diac. *Hist. Lang.* iv 11. In c. 596 she bought off the Avars when they attacked Thuringia; Paul. Diac. *Hist. Lang.* iv 11. There was continual warfare in these years between Chlotharius II under Fredegundis and Childebert, Theodebert and Theoderic under Brunichildis in which Brunichildis suffered heavy defeats in 593 (cf. Wintrio) and 596 (cf. Chlotharius II). In 598 she had Wintrio assassinated; Fredegar. iv 18. In 599 there was such opposition to her among the Austrasian nobility that she was forced to leave and join Theoderic in Burgundy; Fredegar. iv 19. This did not prevent Theodebert and Theoderic from joining forces in 600 to inflict a crushing defeat on Chlotharius; cf. Fredegar. iv 20, *Lib. Hist. Franc.* 37, Paul. Diac. *Hist. Lang.* iv 15.

In 602 Brunichildis had Aegyia executed, supposedly in order to seize his property; Fredegar. iv 21. In 603 she was responsible for the exile of bishop Desiderius of Vienne and after his return in 607 encouraged Theoderic to have him stoned to death; Fredegar. iv 24, 32. She had her lover Protadius appointed *patricius* in 604 and *maior palatii* in 605 and after his assassination she contrived the downfall of those chiefly responsible, Vncelenus and Wulfus; Fredegar. iv 24, 27, 28, 29.

In 605 she urged Theoderic to make war on his brother Theodebert; Fredegar. iv 27. She exercised great influence over Theoderic and contrived to end his marriage with the Visigothic princess Ermenberga; Fredegar. iv 30 (in 607 and 608). She resisted the influence of Columbanus on Theoderic and worked to turn her grandson against him; Fredegar. iv 36.

When Theoderic died (in 613) Brunichildis was at Metz with Theoderic's four sons where she planned to make Sigibertus king; she was strongly opposed in Burgundy whose leading nobles planned to kill her and give the kingdom to Chlotharius; Fredegar. iv 40, 41. She was arrested and delivered to Chlotharius, who accused her of responsibility

for the deaths of ten Frankish kings and had her cruelly put to death; Fredegar. iv 42.

The Chronicle of Fredegarius represents a Burgundian tradition which was hostile towards Brunichildis and paints her in dark colours; in iv 36 she is alluded to as a second Jezebel wielding a sinister influence over Theoderic. She is alleged to have prevented her son Childebert from marrying Theodelinda and to have ensured that her grandson Theodebert married her former slave Bilichildis; Fredegar. iv 34, 35.

She was the addressee of several letters from pope Gregory; Greg. *Ep.* vi 5 (a. 595 Sept.), 55, 57 (a. 596 July), viii 4 (a. 597 Sept.), ix 212, 213 (a. 599 July), xi 46, 48, 49 (a. 601 June 22), xiii 7 (a. 602 Nov.). She is mentioned in Greg. *Ep.* xiii 9, 11, 12, 13 (a. 602 Nov.). All are addressed 'Brunigildae reginae Francorum' or similar or allude to her in similar terms.

In addition to the two poems by Venantius Fortunatus celebrating her marriage to Sigibert (*Carm.* vi 1 de domno Sigibertho rege et Brunichilde regina, 1^a de Sigibertho rege et Brunichilde regina), he also addressed two poems to Brunichildis and Childebert on the birth of her grandchild; *Carm.* x 7 (ad Childeberethum regem et Brunichildem reginam), 8 (ad eosdem in laude). He also wrote a poem, *App. Carm.* vi (de Brunichilde regina), which alludes to her son as ruler of Gaul and her daughter as ruler of Spain (i.e. c. 580).

Bruten

Moorish chief 546-548

One of the Moorish leaders in winter 546/547 who fought with Antalas against Ioannes 36 Troglita and were defeated; Coripp. *Ioh.* iv 631, v 159-198. Called 'praefectus' at *Ioh.* v 193, implying that he had the title of *praefectus gentis*, but since he was fighting the Romans the word here probably means no more than 'chief'. In summer 547 when Carcasan revived the Moorish cause Bruten joined him; Coripp. *Ioh.* vi 127. He fought in the battle of the Plains of Cato in 548; Coripp. *Ioh.* viii 384.

Bryzacijs (Βρυζάκιος)

Persian officer 591

Persian officer under Bahram Chobin, captured in 591 by the Romans, mutilated, and sent to Chosroes, who exhibited him at a banquet and had him murdered for the amusement of the guests; Theoph. Sim. v 5.6-10. Cf. Justi, p. 71.

Bulgar

?dux Narbonensis 610/612

Author of six extant letters; *Ep. Wisig.* 11-16 (= *MGH, Epp.* iii, pp.

677ff.). Three were written to an unnamed Frankish bishop or bishops (*Ep. Wisig.* 11-13), two to Visigothic bishops (*Ep. Wisig.* 14-15) and one to the Visigothic king Gundemar (*Ep. Wisig.* 16). All were written in the reign of Gundemar (a. 610-612).

He may have had the title of *comes*; cf. *Ep. Wisig.* 11, lemma (Bulgarani comiti ad episcopum Franciae directa).

Under Witteric (a. 603-610) he fell into disgrace, was stripped of his property and sent into exile; at this time he received help and encouragement from bishops Agapius and Ilergius (of Egara) and from Sergius (future metropolitan of Narbo); later Witteric recalled him and restored him to favour, and he was himself present at the death of Witteric (April 610); *Ep. Wisig.* 14-15 (letters of gratitude to Agapius and Sergius, recalling the bad times).

Under Gundemar he served in Septimania, evidently in high office, and was deeply concerned at rumours that the Avars had been invited to attack Theodebert by Brunichildis and Theoderic; *Ep. Wisig.* 11-12. After the detention of Gothic envoys (Tatila and Guldrimir) by Theoderic he refused to hand back certain places occupied by the Visigoths (Iubiniacum and Cornelianum) until they were released; *Ep. Wisig.* 13. Possibly *dux Narbonensis*; cf. Garcia Moreno, pp. 37-9.

His letter to Gundemar is a consolation on the death of Gundemar's wife Hildoara; *Ep. Wisig.* 16.

Fl. Bulicus (*CIL* vi 31979) V/VI; *PLRE* II.

Bulmitzis bodyguard of Ioannes Troglita 546-548

One of the *armigeri* of Ioannes 36 Troglita in Africa, from 546 to 548; Coripp. *Ioh.* v 279-80. In winter 546/547 he fought at the defeat of Antalas; *Ioh.* v 339-43 (his name, occurring in 343, is restored, rightly, in 339). In summer 547 he fought with other bodyguards of Ioannes (Ariarith, Dorotis and Ioannes 38) at Marta; *Ioh.* vi 649-55. He also fought in the battle of the Plains of Cato in summer 548; *Ioh.* viii 607-9.

Burgoaldus Frankish envoy 602

Burgoaldus and Warmaricarius were sent by Brunichildis and Theoderic (from Burgundy) to Constantinople to negotiate peace with the empire; en route they visited pope Gregory at Rome to enlist his support and discuss secret matters; Gregory wrote to Brunichildis and Theoderic in November 602 to report on their meeting; *Greg. Ep.* xiii 7 (to Brunichildis; 'illustribus filiis nostris, vestrae vero excellentiae famulis ac legatis Burgoaldo et Warmaricario'; also styled 'magnifici viri'), 9 (to Theoderic; 'viris illustribus famulis vestris Burgoaldo et Warmaricario filiis nostris').

The overthrow of Maurice must have occurred while the embassy was still on its way.

Burgolenus son of Severus; in Gaul L VI

On the name, see Förstemann 348.

Son of Severus 3, brother of Dodo; accused of treason with his brother, in or after 578, and executed (see Dodo); *Greg. Tur. HF* v 25. He was dead by 585; *Greg. Tur. HF* viii 32.

Husband of Domnola and father of Constantina; *Greg. Tur. HF* viii 32, ix 40.

Busa scribo 595

Sent by Maurice from Constantinople to Rome, with thirty pounds of gold which he distributed to the clergy, the poor and others (confamulus meus Busa detulit scribo); he also gave the troops their pay (per praedictum confamulum meum scribonem) in the presence of Castus; *Greg. Ep.* v 30 (a letter of thanks from Gregory to Maurice, dated a. 595 March 12).

Butilinus I Alaman; commander of Franks (in Italy) 553-554

Βουτιλίνος; Agath. Βουσελίνος; Evagr. Buccelenus, Buccellinus; Mar. Avent., *Greg. Tur.*, *Greg.*

Brother of Leutharis; Agath. I 6.2, II 2.1-3, 4.9, Paul. Diac. *Hist. Lang.* II 2. They were Alamanni, very influential with the Franks, and were made rulers of their own people by Theodebert; Agath. I 6.2 (δύναμιν δὲ παρὰ Φράγγοις μεγίστην εἰχέτην, ὡς καὶ τοῦ σφετέρου ἔθνους ἠγεῖσθαι, Θεουδιβέρτου πρότερον παρασχόντος). This suggests that by 547 one or both of the brothers was *dux Alamannorum*.

Allegedly joint commander with Mumolenus of Theodebert's army which invaded Italy in 539; Ionas, *V. Iohannis Abbatis Reomaensis* 15 (cited under Mumolenus). The muddled account in *Greg. Tur. HF* III 32 (see below) may allude to this event; it should be noted that Gregory does not mention Mumolenus, which implies that Ionas had an independent and perhaps superior source for his information.

After the death of Theia (late 552), the Goths visited the court of Theodebald seeking an alliance against the Romans; the king allegedly did not support the idea, but it was welcomed by Butilinus and Leutharis; Agath. I 6.2. Supposedly confident of capturing Italy and Sicily and contemptuous of Narses I, they assembled an army of Alamanni and Franks, seventy-five thousand strong according to Agathias, and prepared to invade Italy; Agath. I 7.8-9. They crossed the river Po in summer 553; Agath. I 11.2, cf. Narses, p. 920, for the date.

Butilinus is styled ὁ τῶν Φράγγων ἡγεμῶν, Agath. I 14.5; dux Francorum, Mar. Avent. s.a. 555, s.a. 568, cf. Paul. Diac. *Hist. Lang.* II 2 (dux); στρατηγός, Agath. II 4.1, 9.11.

The Franks occupied Parma and Butilinus defeated and killed the Herul leader Fulcaris close by; Agath. I 14.4-15.6. The main force of the Franks was at Parma and probably remained there for the winter 553/554; cf. Agath. I 15.9, 18.2-3, 22.7.

In spring 554 the Frankish host moved slowly south harrying and plundering as it went; on reaching Samnium Butilinus and Leutharis divided their forces, and Butilinus, with the larger number, overran Campania, Lucania and Bruttium as far as the Straits of Messina, causing great damage and taking much plunder; Agath. II 1.3-4, 7-11. In Campania he is recorded to have entered the monastery of Libertinus at Fundi in search of plunder but to have left empty handed; Greg. *Dial.* I 2.

As spring changed to summer Leutharis wrote to propose that they return home with their booty; Butilinus refused and chose to remain, according to Agathias because he had promised to aid the Goths against the Romans and they were encouraging him to believe that he would be offered the crown; Agath. II 2.1-2. After reaching the Straits of Messina, he returned to Campania, apparently hoping to decide the issue in a battle with Narses as soon as possible; near Capua he made camp on the banks of the river Casilinum (the Volturnus), which he fortified; Agath. II 4.1-10.

For subsequent events and the battle of Casilinum, in which Butilinus was killed and his army wiped out (Agath. II 9.11), see Narses, p. 921. His campaigns, defeat and death are also briefly recorded in Mar. Avent. s.a. 555, s.a. 568, Evagr. *HE* IV 24, Greg. Tur. *HF* IV 9, Paul. Diac. *Hist. Lang.* II 2 (naming the place of his defeat as Tannetum). In Greg. Tur. *HF* III 32, a very muddled account (and cf. Fredegar. II 62), he is credited with conquering Italy and Sicily for Theodebert, defeating both Belisarius and Narses (and cf. above).

Butilinus 2

candidatus E VII

A *candidatus* living near to Constantinople early in the reign of Heraclius; he mistreated a widow over a boundary dispute and killed her son and was executed by Heraclius; Nic. *Brev.* 8 (οὐ τὸ ἐπώνυμον Βουτηλίνος ἐτύγχανεν, τὴν δὲ ἀξίαν ἣν κανδιδάτον Ῥωμαίος κικλήσκειν ἕθος).

Buzes

MVM (in Lazica) 554-556

Native of Thrace; Proc. *BP* I 13.5.

Brother of Cutzes; Proc. *BP* I 13.5, Zach. *HE* IX 2. Brother also of Benilus; Proc. *BG* IV 9.5. He was uncle of Domnentiolus (son of his sister); Proc. *BG* III 39.3, Zach. *HE* IX 4-5. Possibly son of Vitalianus (*PLRE* II, p. 1171); Joh. Mal. 441, but cf. Cutzes. See stemma 13. He and Cutzes were still young men in 528; Proc. *BP* I 13.5. On the name, see Detschew, p. 95. Cf. also Boutzios.

DVX (PHOENICES LIBANENSIS) at Palmyra a. 528: in 528 Buzes and Cutzes commanded the troops stationed in Lebanon; Proc. *BP* I 13.5 (οἱ τῶν ἐν Λιβάνῳ στρατιωτῶν ἤρχον τότε). They were the two *duces* who were based at Damascus and Palmyra in Phoenice Libanensis; cf. Cutzes. Cutzes was at Damascus (Joh. Mal. 441), and so Buzes was at Palmyra.

In 528 he and Cutzes were sent with an army to reinforce Belisarius at Minduos (sic; it was probably at Tanurin, cf. Belisarius, p. 183); the Romans were defeated by the Persians; Proc. *BP* I 13.5-8.

In June 530 (Theoph. AM 6022) Buzes was in command of cavalry with Pharas and the Heruli on the left wing at the battle of Dara; Proc. *BP* I 13.19-20.25-7, 14.37-43, Zach. *HE* IX 3. Among his personal attendants at the time was Andreas I; Proc. *BP* I 13.30-1.

In the following year when the battle of Callinicum took place (19 April 531, Proc. *BP* I 18.15), Buzes was ill in Amida; he had sent his army with Domnentiolus to the city of Abhgāršāt (site unknown); Zach. *HE* IX 4. Later the same year, in September or October (Zach. *HE* IX 6), he and Bessas (*PLRE* II) were in Martyropolis in command of the garrison; they were besieged by a strong force of Persians and were in increasing difficulties when the siege was raised just in time in consequence of the death of Cavades; Proc. *BP* I 21.5-8.27, Zach. *HE* IX 6.

In 539 (Proc. *BP* II 3.56) after the death of Sittas, Buzes was sent against the Armenians; Proc. *BP* II 3.28 (Βούζην βασιλεὺς ἐπὶ τοῦς Ἀρμενίους ἐκέλευσεν ἰέναι). He assassinated the Arsacid Ioannes 28, father of Artabanes, after which the Armenians turned for help to Persia; Proc. *BP* II 3.29-31.

MVM (PER ORIENTEM) a. 540 (-?542): in 540 Justinian divided the command of the MVM *per Orientem* between Belisarius and Buzes, giving Buzes the territory between the Euphrates and the border with Persia together with temporary command of the remainder until the arrival of Belisarius from Italy (which was in spring 541, Proc. *BP* II 14.8); Proc. *BP* II 6.1 (ἐτύγχανε δὲ ὀλίγω ἔμπροσθεν βασιλεὺς ἀρχὴν τῆς ἐῶ τὴν στρατηγίδα διελὼν δίχα, καὶ τὰ μὲν ἄχρι ἐς ποταμὸν Εὐφράτην ἐς τὸ Βελισαρίου ἀπολιπὼν ὄνομα..., τὰ δὲ ἐνθένδε μέχρι τῶν Περσικῶν ὀρίων τῷ Βούζη ἐπιτρέψας, ὃν δὴ ἀπάσης ἐπιμέλεσθαι τῆς ἐφῶς ἀρχῆς, ἕως Βελισαρίου ἐξ Ἰταλίας ἐπανήκοι, ἐκέλευε).

Buzes was present in Hierapolis when the Persian invasion of 540 took place; after the fall of Sura (in mid-summer) he withdrew from Hierapolis with the best troops, promising to harass the Persians if they besieged the city, but then disappeared so that neither the Hierapolitans nor the Persians could find out where he had gone; Proc. *BP* II 6.2-8. Later in 540 he was in Edessa where he prevented the citizens from ransoming the captives whom Chosroes had taken at Antioch; Proc. *BP* II 13.6.

In 541 he was with Belisarius and the other Roman commanders at Dara and was prominent among those pressing for an immediate invasion of Persia; Proc. *BP* II 16.16. Presumably he accompanied the campaign which ensued, which failed to take Nisibis but captured the fortress of Sisauranon before withdrawing; Proc. *BP* II 18-19. See Belisarius, p. 209.

In 542 he took refuge with Iustus 2 and others in Hierapolis when Chosroes again invaded; Proc. *BP* II 20.20. Joint author of a letter to Belisarius asking him to join them in Hierapolis; Proc. *BP* II 20.21-3. Presumably one of the ἄρχοντες who went to join Belisarius when he went to Europum instead; Proc. *BP* II 20.28. Cf. Belisarius, p. 210.

Later in 542 Buzes and Belisarius were accused by Petrus (*PLRE* II, pp. 870-1) and Ioannes 64 of declaring their refusal to accept any new emperor chosen at Constantinople without them, if Justinian, who had caught the plague, were to die; Theodora took offence at them for this and had them recalled to Constantinople where, on her orders, Buzes was imprisoned in an underground chamber in the women's quarters in the palace; there he remained for two years and four months until she released him, and ever thereafter he suffered from weak eyesight and ill-health; Proc. *Anecd.* 4.1-12. The plague struck Constantinople in summer 542, and Buzes presumably returned there with Belisarius after that year's campaign in the east; Proc. *BP* II 21.34, and cf. Stein, *Bas-Empr.* II 759 with 841, Excursus x. His imprisonment therefore probably lasted from late 542 until early 545.

?HONORARY CONSVL a. 542: at the time of his downfall he is described by Procopius as ἀνὴρ ἐξ ὑπάτων γενόμενος; Proc. *Anecd.* 4.8. Unless this phrase refers to his ancestry (possibly through Vitalianus, cf. above), he was an honorary consul.

In late summer or autumn 548 Buzes and Constantianus were told by Germanus (*PLRE* II) of the conspiracy of Artabanes; Proc. *BG* III 32.41. Later (early 549, cf. Belisarius) he, Constantianus, Marcellus 3 and Leontius 5 under oath defended Germanus himself in a consistory in the palace on charges of complicity in the plot; Proc. *BG* III 32.45.

In spring 549 (on the date, see Aratius) Buzes was one of the

commanders sent with ten thousand cavalry to aid the Lombards against the Gepids; Proc. *BG* III 34.40 (the others were Aratius, Constantianus and Ioannes 46). The campaign ended abruptly when the Lombards and Gepids made peace; Proc. *BG* III 34.45.

MVM (in Lazica) a. 554-556: στρατηγός; Agath. II 18.8, III 2.8, 6.4, 7.10, 20.8. Appointed in 554 with Bessas, Martinus 2 and Iustus 4 to command the army in Lazica; Agath. II 18.8 (στρατηγοῦς ἐπέστησε, sc. Justinian, τοὺς ἀρίστους. Βέσσας τε γὰρ καὶ Μαρτίνος καὶ Βούζης ἠγεῖτο, ἄνδρες ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα γεγεννημένοι καὶ πολέμους συχνούς ἀγωνισάμενοι). After the dismissal of Bessas (554/555), Buzes ranked third of the commanders in Lazica, after Martinus and Iustus; Agath. III 2.8. In September or October 555 he and Iustus accompanied Martinus and Rusticus to meet Gubazes, to discuss, as they thought, an attack on the Persians in Onoguris; Agath. III 3.8. The assassination of Gubazes at the meeting shocked him, but he did not protest as he thought that Justinian had ordered it; Agath. III 4.7. Later in 555, as the Romans prepared to march against Onoguris, news arrived that the Persians were sending reinforcements; Buzes advised that they be dealt with first, before the Romans attacked Onoguris, but he was overruled; Agath. III 6.4-8. During the Roman defeat at Onoguris (late 555), he guarded a bridge crossing and enabled many Roman soldiers to cross to safety; Agath. III 7.10. Early in 556 he was left with an army at Nesus (an island about 25 miles upstream from the mouth of the Phasis) to defend it against the Persians; Agath. III 20.8. Later the same spring he and Iustus were ordered to remain at Nesus while an expedition against the Misimiani took place; Agath. IV 13.2. He is not recorded again.

According to Procopius (referring to events in 528), Buzes was inclined to be headstrong; Proc. *BP* I 13.5. He is described by Agathias, on his appointment to Lazica, as experienced in war; Agath. II 18.8 (cited above).

(By)z(a)n(tia) wife of Florentius ?VI

Wife of Florentius 4; buried in Odessus; Beshevliev, *Spätgr. u. spätlat. Inschr. Bulg.*, no. 95 Odessus. Her name is much restored - [Bu]z[α]v[τία].

Caballarius

Gothic envoy 541

A close associate of Erarich, sent by him as envoy to Justinian in 541; while he was in Constantinople, Erarich was murdered; Proc. *BG* III 2.16-18. Cf. Erarich.

Caboses (al-Nu'mān III Abū Qābūs) Persian Arab chief L VI

For his identity, see Rothstein, *Die Dynastie der Lahmīden in al-Hīra* pp. 102–7, and cf. Naamanes 2.

Son of Alamundarus (*PLRE* II), brother of Ambrus 2; a Lakhmid, he was an ally of Persia and an enemy of the Romans and of Alamundarus; after Arethas (the Ghassānid) died he engaged Alamundarus in warfare and was defeated; Men. Prot. fr. 17, Joh. Eph. *HE* III 6.3 (= Mich.Syr. x 8), Bar Hebr., *Chron.*, pp. 79–80, and see Alamundarus, p. 35. The date was 570.

Cacco Lombard dux of Friuli c. 610–?

Son of Gisulfus 2 and Romilda and brother of Taso 1, with whom he was jointly *dux* of Friuli; Paul. Diac. *Hist. Lang.* IV 37, 38 and see Taso.

...vius Caecilianus (*ILCV* 128) V/VI: *PLRE* II.

Caesara (Fredegar. IV 9): see Anaulfus and Shirin.

Caesaria: hypatissa 519/538; *PLRE* II.

Caesaria: patricia E/M VI; *PLRE* II.

Caesaria wife of Britianus M VI

Wife of Britianus and mother of Palladius 3; Greg. Tur. *HF* IV 39. Mother-in-law (socrus) of Firminus 1; Greg. Tur. *HF* IV 13. She was living in Clermont in 555 (cf. Firminus) and in 572/573 (cf. Palladius). Cf. Stroheker, no. 79.

Caesarius 1 vir gloriosissimus E/M VI

A native of Antioch, said to have often served with distinction in public office (ἐν ἀρχαῖς πολιτικαῖς πολλάκις εὐδοκιμήσας), he was miraculously cured with oil from the monastery of Euthymius in the time of Stephanus (512–533/535); Cyr. Scyth. *V. Euth.* 47. Possibly the public offices which he held were municipal and local rather than imperial.

Ὁ ἐνδοξότατος, he visited the monastery and received a fragment of the true cross, under Thomas (533/535–542); Cyr. Scyth. *V. Euth.* 48.

Caesarius 2 patricius; ?MVM per Spanias c. 615

Patricius; *Ep. Wisig.* 3 title (Caesarius deo volente patricius, venerator vester). His correspondence with king Sisebut to end hostilities between Byzantines and Visigoths in c. 615 is extant; *Ep. Wisig.* 3, 5, 6 (from

Caesarius to Sisebut), 4 (from Sisebut to Caesarius; he is styled 'vestra gloria').

His rank and authority suggest that he was the *magister militum per Spanias*. Cf. Thompson, *Goths in Spain*, pp. 162, 329.

Caesarius 3 ?honorary consul or ex praefectis VII

Καίσαριω ἀπὸ... (?); Zacos 1525 (seal; obv.: cruciform monogram of Θεοτόκε βοήθει; rev.: ΚΑΙ/ΚΑΡΙΩ/ΑΠΟ/...; the title was probably ἀπὸ ἐπάρχων or ἀπὸ ὑπάτων).

Caisus (Qays) Arab chief and phylarchus 528–531

Grandson of Arethas the Kindite (*PLRE* II, p. 139), brother of 'Amr (Ambrus) and Yazīd (Iezīdus), father of Mu'āwiyah (Mavia); Nonnosus (= Phot. *Bibl.* 3 = *FHG* IV, p. 179). His father was Salama; cf. I. Kawar, *BZ* 53 (1960), pp. 59, 71–2. He is described as of phylarchic family (γένους μὲν ἦν τοῦ φυλαρχικοῦ); Proc. *BP* I 20.10 (probably meaning, not simply that it provided the chiefs of the Kinda and Ma'add, cf. below, but that the Romans appointed phylarchs from it).

PHYLARCHVS of the Arab tribes of Kinda (Kindites) and Ma'add (Maddeni) a. 528–531: he was probably *phylarchus* of the Kindites and Maadeni (Maddeni) from 528, when the death of his grandfather Arethas left the position vacant, until his resignation in 531. On the first of three embassies to him recorded by Nonnosus, he was visited by Nonnosus' father Abramius (*PLRE* II, p. 3), under Justinian, and made a peace treaty, also sending his son Mu'āwiyah to Constantinople as hostage; perhaps this was the occasion of his appointment. He is styled by Nonnosus φύλαρχος τῶν Σαρακηνῶν and described as ruler of the tribes of Kinda and Ma'add (δύω γενῶν ἠγεῖτο τῶν παρὰ τοῖς Σαρακηνοῖς ἐπισημοτάτων, Χινδηνῶν καὶ Μααδηνῶν).

In late 530/early 531 (for the date, see Iulianus 8) Caisus was visited by Nonnosus on an embassy from Justinian; Nonnosus tried without success to persuade him to go to Constantinople; Nonnosus. This embassy was probably part of a wider mission led by Iulianus 8; Caisus had killed a relative of Esimiphaeus, the king of the Himyarites, and taken refuge in the wilderness; the Romans wanted the Himyarites to restore him as phylarch and send a joint force of their own and the Maadeni against Persia; Proc. *BP* I 20.9–10 (Iulianus visited the Himyarites ὅπως Κάισον τὸν φυγάδα φύλαρχον Μααδηνοῖς καταστήσωσιν). Caisus is described in Proc. *BP* I 20.10 as a good soldier.

He did not go to Constantinople, but in 531 was visited by a third embassy, led again by Abramius, and this time went to Constantinople; in addition he resigned his own post of phylarch in favour of his two

brothers and received from the emperor an office in Palestine, where he went with a large following from the people subject to him; Nonnosus (πρὸς τὸ Βυζάντιον παραγίνεται, καὶ τὴν ἰδίαν φυλαρχίαν Ἀμβροῦ καὶ Ἰεζίδου τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς διανεμιάμενος, αὐτὸς τὴν Παλαιστινῶν ἡγεμονίαν παρὰ βασιλείως ἐδέξατο, πλήθος πολὺ τῶν ὑποτεταγμένων αὐτῷ σὺν αὐτῷ ἐπαγόμενος). He was perhaps appointed phylarch of the Arabs of Palestine who were not already subject to the phylarch Abocharabus; the plural Παλαιστινῶν possibly refers to Palaestina Prima and Palaestina Secunda. See further I. Kawar, *BZ* 53 (1960), pp. 68–9. He was not *dux Palaestinae* (cf. *Fasti*), nor a provincial governor (excluded by the plural).

Caletricus bishop of Chartres M VI

Caletricus; *V. S. Leobini*. Chalactericus, Chaletricus; *Conc. Gall.*

Nobilis genere sed nobilior meritis; successor of Leobinus as bishop of Chartres; *V. S. Leobini* xxiii 72. Present at the third council of Paris (after 556) and the second council of Tours (567); *Conc. Gall.* 511–695, pp. 194, 210.

Brother of Mallegundis; *V. S. Leobini* xxiii 73.

Calius doctor (in Egypt) VI/VII

Mentioned in a list of payments δ(ιά) Καλίου(υ) ἱατροῦ; *P. Lond.* v 1762, line 10 (provenance unknown).

Callimachus ?v.c. (in Egypt) VI

Mentioned in a letter, badly worn, found at Aphrodito; *P. Cairo Masp.* 67203, line 2 το(ῦ) λαμπροτάτο(υ) κυρίου(υ) Καλλιμάχο(υ).

CALLINICVS I praeses Ciliciae Secundae 527/548

Ὁ Κιλικίας Δευτέρας ἄρχων; he executed two members of the Blue faction for various crimes, including attacking himself and killing his groom; for this he was himself murdered, while still in office, on Theodora's orders; the emperor allegedly protested but none the less confiscated his estate; *Proc. Anecd.* 17.2–4, cf. *Evagr. HE* iv 32 (= *Nic. Call. HE* xviii 21) (Καλλινίκος δὲ τῶν Κιλικίων ἡγούμενος; an account independent of *Procopius*).

Callinicus 2 patricius; PSC and sacellarius 565

An old man in 565, he was *patricius*, PSC and *sacellarius* and alone of the high officials was present to hear the dying words of Justinian; he reported to Justin the emperor's death and his choice of Justin as his successor, and later (Jan. 1, 566) he attended the new emperor's

consular celebrations; *Coripp. Iust.* 1 75–88, 122–55 (the announcement to Justin), iv 332–6 (at Justin's consular celebrations; *patricius senio fulgens Calinicus honoro* (qui pater imperii meruit iam factus haberi gratior) Augusti servans pia gaza sacelli. Namque illi moriens mox Iustinianus honores contulerat; already *patricius* and perhaps PSC (see below), he was apparently appointed *sacellarius* towards the end of Justinian's life), cf. 336–65 (received the dying words of Justinian).

He gave a villa to the monophysite John of Ephesus, which was taken from John by the patriarch John Scholasticus (perhaps in 571, when the monophysite persecution resumed; presumably Callinicus was by then dead); *Joh. Eph. HE* iii 2.41 (John of Ephesus was told 'ut chartam daret villae cuiusdam quae ei a Callinico regis praeposito et patricio data erat'). Callinicus may be identical with the unnamed *cubicularius* ('q̄bqlyr') who bought a villa near Constantinople for the monophysite hermit Mare; *Joh. Eph. V. SS. Or.* 36. Apparently he was a monophysite, or at least sympathetic.

He is the subject of verses by the poet Leontius 6 *scholasticus*, included in the *Cycle* of Agathias; *Anth. Gr.* xvi 33 Κάλλει μὲν νικᾶς κραδῆς τόσον, ὅσον ὀπωπῆς, τῆς γὰρ ἐπωνυμῆς ἄξια πάντα φέρεις; αἰεὶ δ' ἐν θαλάμοισι κατευνάζων βασιλῆα πᾶσαν ὑποσπείρεις οὐάσι μελιχίην. The lemma reads: εἰς εἰκόνα Καλλινίκου κουβικουλαρίου. The description of his function implies that he was PSC.

The evidence suggests that he was *patricius* and PSC for some years late in Justinian's reign and received in addition the post of *sacellarius* shortly before Justinian's death; he clearly remained a powerful figure at court under Justin II, but for how long it is impossible to say, except that he may have been dead by 571. The poem of Corippus lays great stress on his loyalty (*Iust.* 1 86–7 sic mente fideli vixisti vivesque; 154 vir fidus; iv 336 fidae... auri; 340 fide; 364 fidelis).

CALLINICVS 3 v.sp., comes and magister 566/573

A papyrus from Aphrodito, found at Antinoe, was addressed (line 1): ...μεγ]αλοπρεπεστ(άτοις) (καὶ) περιβλέπτοις κόμε(σι) κ[αί] μαγίσ-τερσι Καλλινίκω καὶ / [...; *P. Lond.* v 1678. The document was written by Fl. Dioscorus 5 and is to be dated between 566 and 573. The missing name at the start of line 2 was possibly Δωροθέω; cf. Dorotheus 6. For *magistri*, cf. Ioannes 176 and Phoebammon 12.

**Fl. Marianus Michaelius Gabriellus Sergius Bacchus Narses
Conon Anastasius Dominus Theodorus Callnicus 4**

comes domesticorum, dux et augustalius Thebaidis c. 568-569/570

Pap. 1-6) Antinoe; *Pap.* 1) *P. Cairo Masp.* 67005; 2) *P. Cairo Masp.* 67179 (= *REG* 24 (1911), pp. 446-53, no. 12); 3) *P. Cairo Masp.* 67180 + *P. Lond.* v 1819; 4) *P. Cairo Masp.* 67181; 5) *P. Cairo Masp.* (67010+) 67279 (= *P. Beaugé* 2); 6) *P. Cairo Masp.* 67315 (= *REG* 24 (1911), pp. 446-53, no. 13).

Full name; *Pap.* 1, subscript. The start of his name is apparently recorded at the beginning of *Pap.* 5 (Φλ[αυίω Τριαδί?]ω Μαριανῶ Μιχαηλίω, cf. Maspero, *Bull. inst. fr. d'arch. or.* x (1912), p. 139; the name cannot be that of Athanasius 3, who had left office when *Pap.* 5 was written (cf. below); if the addressee was Callnicus, the lacuna should be filled Φλ[αυί]ω Μαριανῶ, but if there was another name between Φλάουσιος and Μαριανός, the addressee will have been not Callnicus but some unknown person who succeeded Callnicus in the Thebaid. The reason for the shortened name at the beginning of *Pap.* 5 is that the document was only a draft and the writer, Dioscorus, refrained from copying out the full names.

COMES DOMESTICORVM, DVX ET AVGVSTALIVS THEBAIDIS c.a. 568-569/570: his titles are recorded in the subscription on the verso of *Pap.* 1 τῷ ὑπ(ερ)φνεστά(τω) [κ]όμετι τῶν καθορ[ω]μένων] δομ(ε)στ(ικῶν) δοῦκι καὶ αὐγουστα[λίω] Θηβαίων [χώρας]; this document was addressed initially to Athanasius 3 but the subscription records that it then went to Callnicus, doubtless because Athanasius had left office and been succeeded by Callnicus. The date (cf. Athanasius) was probably 568. In *Pap.* 5 no offices are recorded but the addressee was a successor of Athanasius as *dux et augustalius Thebaidis*, probably Callnicus (but see above); cf. lines 8-9 his φιλανθρωπία, ἣν ὁ Θε(ε)ὸς καὶ οἱ θεϊότατοι δεσπότηται τῶν σκήπτρων προέκριναν καταστήσαντες ἄρχειν ταύτην τὴν ἀθλίαν Θηβαίων χώραν. The date was 569/570; see Flavius Helladius 1. Callnicus was the addressee of a panegyric by Dioscorus while in office in the Thebaid; *Pap.* 6, lines 1-2 Ὑμνον ἀναστήσαιμι χοροστ[ολί]ης σεο δι[ό]ξης, [τοῦ] πολυκνυδῆεντος Καλλινίκ[ου] στρα[τι]άρχου, 7-8 τοῦνεκα σε προέαλλεν ἀνάξ στρατιάρχον ἀμύμων, πῆματ' ἀποπτύειν ὅσα τέτληκε πότνια Θῆβη, 19-20 οὕτως ἄμμιν ἴκανες, Καλλ[ί]νικος στρατιάρχης, οὐ χρυσὸν πόθρων, ἀδίκω[ν] κρίσιν, ἀλλὰ θεμιστας, 30 Ἀρκαδί[ην] κα[ὶ] Θῆβην διαμπερ[ε]ῖς ἢν[ι]οχε[ύων], 47 στρ[α]τηλάτου, 56 στρατηγός.

The three papyri, *Pap.* 2-4, contain drafts by Dioscorus for an epithalamium on Callnicus, though only *Pap.* 2 gives information. It is titled: Ἐπιθαλάμι(ον) εἰς τὸν δομ(ε)στικόν) Καλλ τὸν περιβλεπτ(ον)

κόμ(ετα) Καλλικ' (sic). His bride's name was Theophile, who was apparently a native of the Thebaid and of wealthy family; *Pap.* 2, recto A, line 5, B, lines 1-4. Callnicus seems to have been in office (in the Thebaid) at the time, cf. *Pap.* 2, verso, line 2, but this is by no means certain. According to the title of *Pap.* 2, he was *vir spectabilis comes* and a *domesticus*; this implies a period before Callnicus became *comes domesticorum* (an honorific title of *illustris* rank) but it is doubtful if the language of Dioscorus' draft can be pressed so hard and Callnicus may already have been in office in the Thebaid when Dioscorus was writing his verses.

He was son of Apa Dios and brother of Colluthus 3, Dorotheus 7 and Marcus 7; *P. Cairo Masp.* 67120 verso, and see Colluthus.

Callnicus 5 vicarius (?military) in the Thebaid 594

Ὁ ἀνδριώτατος βικάριος Ἐρμώνθεως, ἀναπληρῶν τὸν τόπον Ἀμμωνιανοῦ τοῦ μεγαλοπρεπεστάτου τοποτηρητοῦ at Syene, where he is mentioned in an agreement; *P. Monac.* 14.17 Syene (dated a. 594 Feb. 15). Evidently military (ἀνδριώτατος), he commanded the soldiers stationed at Hermonthis instead of a *tribunus* and, apparently, was sent to Syene to deputise for Ammonianus.

Fl. Callnicus 6 notarius (at Antinoe) VI

Son of Colluthus; νοτάριος τὴν τέχνην; husband of Aurelia Cyra, by whom he had one son, Anastasius; he and his wife were both natives of Antinoe; they were divorced during the reign of Justinian; *P. Cairo Masp.* 67154 Antinoe.

Callnicus 7 ?v.c. (Egypt) VI

Recorded as issuing orders concerning the village of Tanemois (in the Hermopolite nome); *Stud. Pal.* viii 989 provenance unknown (line 1 π(αρά) Καλλινίκου λαμπρ(οτάτου) to the βοηθὸς κώμης Τανεμωεως) (v/vi), 1050 possibly from Hermopolis (line 1 π(αρά) Καλλινίκου λαμπρ(οτάτου) concerning Tanemois) (vi), cf. 1049 possibly from Hermopolis (line 1 π(αρά) Καλλι[ν]ίκου..., also concerning Tanemois) (vi).

Callnicus 8 chartularius (Egypt) VI

Addressee of a letter from the *scholasticus* Stephanus 32; *P. Herm.* 49 Hermopolis, dated sixth century (verso: τῷ δεσπότη μου ἀδελφῷ κυρ(ίω) Καλενίκω χαρτουλαρ(ίω).

CALLINICVS 9

comes (Egypt) VI

A κόμης, recorded as acknowledging the receipt of taxes from a taxpayer; *P. Lond. inv.* 1314a (= *P. Lond.* III, p. lxxiii) provenance unknown.

Possibly identical with Callinicus κόμης mentioned in *P. Lond. inv.* 1325 (= *P. Lond.* III, p. lxxiii) provenance unknown.

Callinicus 10

exarchus Italiae 596/597–602/603

Callinicus; Greg. Gallicinus; Paul. Diac., Agnellus (cf. below).

PATRICIVS ET EXARCHVS ITALIAE a. 596/597–602/603: successor of Romanus 7 as *patricius* (i.e. as exarch of Italy); Paul. Diac. *Hist. Lang.* IV 12. First attested in June 597; Greg. *Ep.* VII 26 (alluding to two of his staff, – de duabus personis quae cum glorioso Callinico venerant; the context suggests that his arrival was fairly recent, perhaps early in 597). Probably identical with the unnamed ‘excellētissimus filius noster exarchus’ who was active in the Po valley in spring 597 and wrote critically to Gregory about Libertinus; Greg. *Ep.* VII 19 (a. 597 May). Addressee of two letters from pope Gregory, both addressed ‘Callinico exarcho Italiae’; Greg. *Ep.* IX 141, 154 (both dated in May 599; in both he is styled ‘excellētia vestra’). Also mentioned by name in Greg. *Ep.* VIII 36 (in 599; exarchus Callinicus), IX 155 (a. 599 May) and 176 (a. 599 July) (both ‘excellētissimus filius noster domnus Callinicus exarchus’ or similar), and by his title alone in Greg. *Ep.* VII 19, IX 11, 95. Called ‘patricius’; Paul. Diac. *Hist. Lang.* IV 20.

In late 598 he made peace with the Lombards; Paul. Diac. *Hist. Lang.* IV 12, cf. Greg. *Ep.* IX 11 (a. 598 Sept.; he informed Gregory that peace terms had been agreed with Agilulf but the treaty had not yet been signed), 44 (a. 598 Oct.; the treaty had been signed by some but not all of the parties). The treaty lasted for two years, but then in 601 Callinicus attacked Parma and captured the daughter of Agilulfus with her husband and family, whom he carried off to Ravenna; this provoked a resumption of the war (in 602) by Agilulf; Paul. Diac. *Hist. Lang.* IV 20, Agnellus, *Lib. Pont. Eccl. Rav.* 101. Callinicus was dismissed and replaced by Smaragdus (attested in June 603); Paul. Diac. *Hist. Lang.* IV 25, and see Smaragdus, p. 1165. According to Agnellus, *loc. cit.*, ‘Gallicinus’ died in office and was followed by Smaragdus, who was then briefly replaced by ‘Gallinicus’; he was soon overthrown by the people of Ravenna and Smaragdus was restored.

Callinicus wrote to the pope on several occasions in support of bishop Maximus of Salona; Greg. *Ep.* VIII 24 (a. 598 June), IX 155 (a. 599 May), 176 (a. 599 July; his entreaties helped to persuade Gregory to

recognise Maximus), and cf. VIII 36 (the submission of Maximus took place at Ravenna in July 599 in the presence of Callinicus, the bishop of Ravenna and a representative of Gregory). He received letters from the pope concerning Histrian schismatics who were recanting; Greg. *Ep.* IX 141, 148, 155 (all a. 599 May).

In 599 he wrote to Gregory to announce victories over the Slavs; Greg. *Ep.* IX 154 (a. 599 May; a letter of congratulation).

Callinicus 11

vir gloriosissimus; honorary consul VI/VII

Recorded in an inscription from Perta in Lycaonia, where he apparently obtained a grant of privileges from the emperors ([θεί]α προνό[μι]α φιλοτιμηθέντα παρά τῶν θεοφυλάκτων ἡμῶν δεσπ(οτῶν) διὰ Καλλιν[ί]κου τοῦ ἐνδοξο(άτου) ἀπὸ ὑπ(άτων) τοῖς τὴν Περτέων οἰκοῦσ(ι) πόλ(ιν)); *MAMA* VIII, p. 48, no. 270 from Obruk, near Geimir (= Perta, in Lycaonia), cf. *Class. Rev.* XXIII (1909), p. 7 (another copy). He was presumably an influential patron of Perta, possibly a native.

Callinicus 12

illustrius et scholarius M VI/M VII

Καλλινίκου ἰλλουστρίου (καί) σχ(ολαρίου); Zacos 890a = Dumbarton Oaks seal 55.1.2022, Zacos 890b (two identical seals; obv.: +ΚΑ/ΛΛΙΝΙ/ΚΟΝ; rev.: +ΙΛΛΟ/ΥΣΤΡΙ/Ω/ΣΧ). A third specimen occurs in Zacos’ series.

Callinicus 13

ex praefectis M VI/M VII

Καλλινί[κ]ου ἀπὸ ἐπάρχ(ω)ν; Dumbarton Oaks seal 55.1.2021 (seal; obv.: +ΚΑΛ/ΛΙΝΙ./ΟΝ+; rev.: ΑΠΟ/ΕΠΑΡ/ΧΥΝ, sic, the *omega* is malformed and resembles *upsilon*).

Callinicus 14

cubicularius 641

A *cubicularius*, sent in 641 to retrieve the crown from the tomb of Heraclius by Heraclius Constantine (Constantine III, Heraclius’ son); Cedr. I 753.

Callinicus 15

magister scrinii VII

Καλλινίκου ἀντιγραφέως; Zacos 889 = Dumbarton Oaks seal 55.1.2020 (seal; obv.: +/ΚΑΛ/ΛΙΝΙ/ΚΟ[V]; rev.: ANT [I]/ΓΡΑΦΕ/ΩΣ). For ἀντιγραφεὺς = *magister scrinii*, see Constantinus I.

Callinicus 16

ex praefectis and symponus VII

Καλλινίκου ἀπὸ ἐπάρχων καὶ συμπόνου; Zacos 2889 = Dumbarton Oaks seal 58.106.4099 (seal, dated M VI/M VII Zacos, VII Oikonomides; obv.: +ΚΑΛ/ΛΙΝΙ/ΚΟΝ; rev.: ΑΠ[Ο]/ΕΠΑΡ/ΣΥΜΠΟΝΟΥ).

For a similar seal, see Rostovtsew-Prow, *Catalogue*, p. 296, no. 894. The σύμπος was an official of the city prefect; cf. Bury, *Imp. Adm. Sys.*, pp. 70-1, Oikonomides, *Listes*, p. 320 with n. 189.

Callinicus 17 vestitor VII

Καλλινίκω βεστίτορι; Zacos 891 (seal; obv.: +ΘΕ/ΟΤΟΚΕ/ΒΟΗΘΗ; rev.: ΚΑΛ/ΛΙΝΙΚΩ/ΒΕΣΤΙ/ΤΟΡΙ).

Calliopius: loci servator ?518/538; *PLRE* n.

Callistratus PPO (?Illyrici) 581/582

Callistratus; Men. Prot. fr. Callisterus; Joh. Eph.

Sent by Tiberius to surrender Sirmium to the Avars in late 581/early 582, shortly after the failure of Narses 4; Joh. Eph. *HE* III 6.32 ('rex alium quendam cui nomen Callisterus praefectum praetorii ad ipsos Avars mittere coactus est, qui itinere facto urbem illam eis tradidit'), cf. Men. Prot. fr. (*Exc. de sent.*, ed. Boissevain, p. 26, no. 46) and Stein, *Stud.*, p. 113 with 116, n. 10.

Callistus 1 patricius VII

Καλλίστω πατρικίω; Zacos 894 = Dumbarton Oaks seal 58.106.4514 (seal; obv.: ΘΕΟΤ/ΟΚΕΒ/ΟΗΘΗ; rev.: ΚΑΛΛΙ/ΣΤΩΠΑ/ΤΡΙΚΙ/Ω). A similar specimen is recorded in Ebersolt, *Musées*, no. 463.

Callistus 2 patricius VII

Κα(λ)ίστω πα[τ]ρικίω; Zacos 895 = Dumbarton Oaks seal 55.1.2025 (seal; obv.: ΘΕΟΤΟ/ΚΕΒΟΗ/ΘΗ; rev.: ΚΑΛΙΣ/ΤΩΠΑ[Τ]/ΡΙΚΙΩ). The style is very different from Zacos 894 and the owner was perhaps therefore a different person.

Calluc MVM (in Illyricum?) 539

Magister militum; in 539 he was defeated and killed in battle with the Gepids, after having defeated them in an earlier one; *Marcell. com. Addit.* ad a. 539, *Jord. Rom.* 387.

Calo... ?v.c. (Egypt) 616

Mentioned in a fragment of papyrus from the Fayum which is dated Aug. 14, 616; *BGU* II 398, lines 8-11 τῶ λαμπροτάτῳ Καλω/...ω υἱῶ τοῦ μεγαλο(πρεπεστάτου)/...του Φοιβαμμ(ῶνος)/...καί χαρτουλα-ρί(ο)υ. Apparently son of Phoebammon 20. His name is uncertain, possibly Calonymus.

Calogenitus Gothic agent 533/534

Sent to the east by the Gothic rulers in or before 534 to purchase

marble and other materials; he died before completing his mission; Cass. *Var.* x 8-9 (letters of Amalasuintha and Theodahad to Justinian in 534 asking for the despatch of what Calogenitus had bought).

Fl. Calomenas ?spectabilis (Egypt) 638

Native of Arsinoe, son of Petrus τῆς μακ[αριωτάτης] μῆμης; *ZPE* 50 (1983), pp. 130-2 Arsinoe, dated 638 Sept. 7 (line 7 Φλ. Καλομηναῖ τῶ περιβλέπτῳ?).

Calonymus commander of Belisarius' fleet 533

Native of Alexandria, in 533 he was made sole commander of the fleet conveying Belisarius' forces to Africa; Proc. *BV* I 11.14 (ἀρχηγός τε εἰς ἐπὶ ταῖς ναυσὶν ἀπάσαις Καλώνυμος Ἀλεξανδρεὺς ἀπεδέδεικτο), cf. 17.16 (ὁ ναύαρχος). At the fall of Carthage he took part in the robbing of merchants, contrary to Belisarius' orders; he denied doing so under oath and kept his booty; not long after returning to Constantinople he died of a seizure; Proc. *BV* I 20.16.23-4. See further Belisarius, pp. 187-90.

Calopodius 1 PSC 559

He was the subject of complaints made to Justinian by the Green party in the hippodrome, accusing him of (unspecified) offences against them; the proceedings, recorded verbatim in a document cited by Theophanes, are said to have led to the Nika riots of 532; Theoph. AM 6024, *Chron. Pasch.* s.a. 532 (both cited below). The document, whose contents have no obvious link with other reports concerning the Nika riots, was perhaps, according to Cameron, *Circus Factions*, Appendix C, pp. 318-29, esp. pp. 322ff., unconnected with them and wrongly inserted into his narrative at this point by Theophanes, whence it was copied in part into a lacuna in a manuscript of the *Chronicon Paschale*; this view is rejected by M. and M. Whitby, *Chronicon Paschale* 284-628 AD, pp. 112-114, who argue that the source of both the *Chronicon Paschale* and Theophanes was the original version of Malalas.

CUBICVLARIVS ?a. 527/532-559: Theoph. AM 6024, 6051, *Chron. Pasch.* s.a. 532. He was apparently a *cubicularius* from before 532 (cf. above) to 559 (see below).

SPATHARIUS ?a. 527/532: ἔκραξαν οἱ τῶν Πρασίνων ἄκτα διὰ Καλοπόδιον τὸν κουβικουλάριον καὶ σπαθάριον; Theoph. AM 6024 (p. 181 de Boor) (similarly *Chron. Pasch.* s.a. 532). Καλοπόδιος ὁ σπαθάριος ἀδικεῖ με; Theoph. AM 6024 (p. 182 de Boor) (repeated in *Chron. Pasch.* s.a. 532 as: Καλοπόδιός ἐστιν ὁ σπαθαροκουβικουλάριος ὁ ἀδικῶν ἡμᾶς). The title *spatharocubicularius* is presumably an error by a

copyist and not original; Calopodius was therefore commander of the *spatharocubicularii* and presumably predecessor of Narses 1, who was *spatharius* in 532 and probably until 535/536. At first the Greens refused to name him on the grounds that he might in future grow even more powerful and able to take his revenge on them (φοβοῦμαι ὀνομάσαι, μὴ πλέον εὐτυχῆσῃ καὶ μέλλω κινδυνεύειν); Theoph. AM 6024 (p. 182 de Boor).

VII. GLORIOSISSIMVS, CVBICVLARIVS ET PRAEPOSITVS (SACRI CVBICVLI) a. 533; ὁ ἐνδοξότατος κουβικουλάριος καὶ πραιπόσιτος, Theoph. AM 6031.

He had some connection with Edermas, about which the language of the sources (Joh. Mal. 490, Theoph. AM 6051) is unclear; for a discussion and the suggestion that Edermas may have been the *maior domus* of Calopodius, see the Edermas entry.

CALOPODIUS 2 primicerius Augustae L VI

Ὁ πριμικήριος Αὐγούστης; he brought up and educated a boy of noble family (νεώτερός τις τῶν εὐγενῶν) (= Anonymus 58) whom Eutychius miraculously cured of an eye complaint; the event occurred after Eutychius returned from exile in Amasea, i.e. between October 577 and April 582; Eustrat. V. *Eutych.* 85 (= PG 86.2.2372).

He was senior eunuch in the *cubiculum* of either Sophia or Anastasia; cf. Jones, *LRE* II, p. 567 with III, p. 162, n. 7.

Calopodius 3 cubicularius VII

Καλοποδίου κουβικουλαρίου; Zacos 896 (seal; obv.: ΚΑΛΟΠ/ΟΔΙΟΥ/V; rev.: ΚΟΝΒΙ/ΚΟΝΛΑ/ΠΙΟΥ).

Calotychius cubicularius (of Theodora) 535

Present in Alexandria in 535 when the patriarch Timothy IV died (Feb. 7, 535); he acted with Aristomachus 1 and Dioscorus 2 to install Theodora's choice, the monophysite Theodosius, as his successor (*studio et permissione Calotychii cubicularii partis Theodoraе augustae Theodosius ordinatur*); Liberat. *Brev.* 20, cf. Joh. Nik. 90.90 ('a chief eunuch named Calotychius', sent to Alexandria by Justinian when Timothy was still alive, in the year of the Roman empire 1287, = ?534). Cf. Smith, *Bas-Emp.* II 380-1, and see Aristomachus (for the date).

Calumniosus *qui et Aegyla* patricius (in Burgundy) 584-585

Calumniosus cognomento Aegyla; Greg. Tur. *Aegyla*; Fredegar.

PATRICIUS (in Burgundy) a. 584-585: patricius, appointed joint commander with Leudegiselus of the army sent by Guntram against

Gundovald (late 584/early 585); Fredegar. IV 2 (cited under Leudegisel). Late in 585 he was succeeded as *patricius* by Leudegisel; Greg. Tur. *HF* VIII 30, cf. Fredegar. IV 5 (both cited under Leudegisel).

In 602 he was assassinated, though guiltless, at the instigation of Brunichildis and his property was confiscated; Fredegar. IV 21 (Aegyla *patricius nullis culpis extantibus instigante Brunichilde ligatus interficitur nisi tantum cupiditatis instinctu ut facultatem eius fiscus adsumeret*). Although styled *patricius* he had probably not held the office since 585.

Camalus Moorish chief 546-548

A leader of the Moors, he was with Antalas in winter 546/547, fought at the victory of Marta in summer 547 and in the defeat by Ioannes 36 Troglita at the Plains of Cato in 548, when he was taken prisoner; Coripp. *Ioh.* IV 632-3 (a. 546/547), VI 732 (Marta), VIII 569-71 (Plains of Cato). Cf. Ioannes Troglita.

Campana patricia (in Italy) L VI

Campana quondam patricia; she once lived in a house and garden in Rome, in the fourth region, at the site called *Gallinas albas*; by 593 they belonged to the church of Rome; Greg. *Ep.* III 17 (a. 593 Jan.). She was already dead in 591 when her *conductor* Felix, freed in her will, also died; Greg. *Ep.* I 42 (a. 591 May; *conductor dominae Campanae*).

Campanianus (*Anth. Lat.* I 772a) ?V/VI: PLRE II.

Campanianus (Cass. *Var.* IX 4) 527: PLRE II.

Iulius Felix Campanianus: PVR V/VI: PLRE II.

Campanianus MVM (in Italy) 591

Gloriosus *magister militum*; dead in 591; he bequeathed to his *notarius* Iohannes 172 twelve *solidi* per annum from an estate in Sicily, the *massa Varoniana*; Greg. *Ep.* I 42 (a. 591 May). He had evidently owned the estate and bequeathed it to the church.

Candich (Κανδίχ) Avar envoy 557

First envoy of the Avars to the Romans, sent to Constantinople in late 557 by Iustinus 4 from Lazica; Men. Prot. fr. 4. Cf. Saroēs and Valentinus 3.

Pompeia Fulcinia Candida (*CIL* VI 37072) IV/VI: PLRE II.

CANDIDA

c.f. (in Italy) c. 535-585

C(larissima) f(emina); died in 585 aged about fifty, buried at Naples on Sept. 10; her husband and son outlived her; *CIL* x 1537 = *ILCV* 173 catacombs of St Iuanuarius (Naples). On the date, see Stein, *Ann. de l'Inst. de phil. et d'hist. Or.* II (1933-4), p. 889 (= *Opera Minora Selecta*, p. 335).

Caoses: Persian prince E VI: *PLRE* II.

Carcasan

Moorish chief 546-548

Ruler of the Ifuraces, one of the tribes of the Marmaridae living in Tripolitania and Libya (opposite the Syrtis Maior); Coripp. *Ioh.* IV 639-41, VI 104 (Syrticus... Carcasan), and see Partsch, *MGH, AA* III 2, pp. xi, xiii.

In winter 546/547 he was one of the Moorish chiefs with Antalas who were defeated by the Romans under Ioannes 36 Troglita; Coripp. *Ioh.* IV 639, and cf. Ioannes. In 547, following the death of Ierna, he reassembled the scattered Moorish tribes and was acclaimed their leader; after consulting the oracle of Ammon he resumed war on the Romans; Coripp. *Ioh.* VI 104ff., 142ff. (adopted as leader - Carcasan omnibus unum gentibus esse ducem linguis animisque fatentur), 145ff. (oracle), 188ff. (prepares for war), 225-7 (rumoured to be moving on Carthage). He defeated the Romans under Ioannes Troglita at Marta; Coripp. *Ioh.* VI 551ff., and see Ioannes. In spring 548 he and Antalas resumed the war; they were defeated at the Plains of Cato and Carcasan was killed; Coripp. *Ioh.* VII 283ff. (with Antalas), 513-18 (allusion to the hopes roused by the oracle), VIII 36, 242, 627 (killed in battle).

Cardarigan I

Persian general 582-586

Καρδαριγάν; Theoph. Sim., Theoph., cf. Cedr. (Καρδαριχάς). According to Theophylact, this was a title not a name, but was used as a name (I 9.6 Παρθικόν τοῦτο ἀξίωμα, φίλον δὲ Πέρσαις ἐκ τῶν ἀξιώματων προσαγορεύεσθαι, ὡσπερ ἀπαξιούντων τὰς ἐκ τῆς γεννήσεως ὀνομασίας ἐπιφέρεσθαι), Theoph. AM 6075, cf. Justi, p. 156.

Uncle of Aphraates; Theoph. Sim. II 3.3. Since Cardarigan was old enough to have a nephew who in 586 was already an army commander, he should perhaps be distinguished from Cardarigan 2.

Styled satrap, in summer 583, Theoph. Sim. I 12.1 (ὁ τῆς Μηδικῆς σατράπης δυνάμεως); and in summer 586, Theoph. Sim. II 3.3 (ὁ σατράπης). Ὁ τῶν Περσῶν στρατηγός; Theoph. AM 6075, 6076.

In autumn 582 he commanded Persian troops at the river Nymphius; Theoph. Sim. I 9.5-6, Theoph. AM 6075, and see Ioannes 101 Mystacon. In summer 583 he besieged Aphoumon and relieved Acbas;

Theoph. Sim. I 12.1-3. In autumn 584 he was at Mount Izala from where he tried to prevent the Romans invading Persia; Theoph. Sim. I 13.4-7, Theoph. AM 6076, and see Philippicus. In autumn 585 he made attacks on Monocarton, then on Martyropolis and Zorbandon before withdrawing to Persia; Theoph. Sim. I 14.6-9, Theoph. AM 6077, and cf. Philippicus (who had fallen ill). In summer 586 he commanded the centre of the Persian army which was defeated at the battle of Solachon (see Philippicus); Theoph. Sim. II 3.3, 4.4.11.13-14, 5.3-6, Theoph. AM 6078, Cedr. I 693. After the defeat the Persian garrison in Dara refused him entry; Theoph. Sim. II 5.7-8. He then assembled a makeshift army of peasants which sufficed to induce Philippicus to abandon the siege of Chlomaron; Theoph. Sim. II 8.1.7, Theoph. AM 6078, Cedr. I 693.

Cardarigan 2

Persian general (under Chosroes II) E VII

Καρδαριγάν; Theoph., cf. Cedr. (Καρδαριχάς). Kardīgān, Karden-gān; Bar Hebr., *Chron.* 1234, cf. *Hist. Nest.* (Fardengan). Mardif, Mardigan; Agapius. On the name, see Cardarigan 1.

Possibly a different person from Cardarigan 1, for reasons of chronology.

He served in Chosroes' wars against the Romans under Phocas. Perhaps in 607/8 he and Rusmiazan (Shahrbaraz) sacked many Roman cities; Theoph. AM 6097 (placed in the same year as the death of Narses 10, 605/6, but cf. Sebeos XXIII, pp. 61-2, a. 607/8, alluding probably to the same events). Subsequently the Persians under him are said to have seized Armenia and Cappadocia, Galatia and Paphlagonia, and even reached Chalcedon; Theoph. AM 6100 (perhaps 608 or 609), Cedr. I 712.

In 626 he was with Shahrbaraz at the siege of Constantinople and apparently remained with him in the west after the siege ended; he and Shahrbaraz both eventually supported the overthrow of Chosroes, allegedly because of the incident of the letter sent by Chosroes to Cardarigan with orders to assassinate Shahrbaraz (see Shahrbaraz); Theoph. AM 6118, Cedr. I 733, Zon. XIV 16 (p. 308), *Hist. Nest.* II 87, Mich. Syr. XI 3, *Chron.* 1234, xcvi, Bar Hebr., *Chron.*, p. 89, Agapius, pp. 461-2.

Alluded to as a general of Chosroes who served in the west with Shahrbaraz and Shāhīn; Moses Dasxurançi II 11.

When in 630 Shahrbaraz overthrew Ardashir and assumed the throne, Cardarigan opposed him but was defeated and killed; Mich. Syr. XI 3, *Chron.* 1234, ciii, Bar Hebr., *Chron.*, p. 93, Agapius, p. 467.

Carellus 1 magister militum (in Italy) 559

Addressee of a request from Pelagius I to assist his agents sent to investigate alleged misdeeds by certain bishops; he is styled 'gloria vestra'; Pelag. I, *Ep.* 65 (a. 559 March/April; addressed 'Carello magistro militum'). The affair took place at a distance from Rome (longum iter), probably in Tuscia Annonaria (cf. Anilas). Carellus was presumably one of the *magistri militum* under Narses 1.

Possibly identical with the *gloriosus magister militum* Carellus whose wife Ioanna and son Ioannes 164 were buried at Odessa in Moesia Secunda; Beshevliev, *Spätgr. u. spätlat. Inschr. Bulg.*, n. 87 (the wife of Καρέλλου τοῦ μεγαλοπρ(επιστάτου) ἰλλουστρίου) died on April 28, indiction 15), n. 88 (the son of Καρέλλου τῆς ἐνδόξου μνήμης σ[τ]ρ(ατηλάτου) died aged 28 on Jan. 5, indiction 8). The titles of Carellus suggest that Ioanna died before he became *magister militum*, and so possibly on April 28, 552; if so, Ioannes died no later than 580 and, since Carellus himself, alive in 559, had predeceased him, presumably on Jan. 5, 560 or 575. Carellus was therefore dead by 575, and possibly in 560.

Possibly identical also with the owner of one or more of the following seals, viz. Zacos 768 (obv.: +CA/REL/LO; rev.: ΜΑ§/ΜΙΛΙ/ΤΥΜ), Zacos 769 = Dumbarton Oaks seal 58.106.3067 (obv.: +KA/PEΛ/ΛΔ; rev.: ΣΤΡ/ΑΤΕΛ/ΑΤΥ), Dumbarton Oak seal 58.106.761 (obv.: +KA/PEΛ/Δ; rev.: .TR/.TEL/ATΥ), Zacos 2867 (obv.: +CA/REL/LΥ; rev.: ΣΤΡΑ/ΤΕΛΑ/ΤΥ). The combinations of Greek and Latin titles and letters perhaps suggest that a citizen of the eastern empire held office in the west.

Carellus 2 candidatus VI

Carellu candidatu; Zacos 767 = Dumbarton Oaks seal 55.1.4403 (seal; obv.: +CA/RELL/Υ; rev.: +CA/NdIdA/ΤΥ), cf. Dumbarton Oaks seal 58.106.749 (seal; obv.: +C./REL./V; rev.: +CA/.IdA/TV).

Carellus 3 honorary consul VI

Καρέλλου ἀπὸ ὑπάτων; Zacos 766a = Dumbarton Oaks seal 55.1.1942 (obv.: +KAP/ΕΛΛΟ/V; rev.: ΑΠΟ/VΠΑ/ΤΩΝ), Zacos 766b (obv.: +KA/PEΛ/ΛΟΝ; rev.: ΑΠΟ/VΠΑ/ΤΩ[N]) (two seals).

Carianus(?) patricius before L VI

The emperor Maurice built a church and a home for the aged in a district of Constantinople known as τὰ Καριανοῦ; it owed its name to the *domus* of the *patricius* Carianus (οἶκος δὲ ἦν ἐκεῖ Καριανοῦ πατρικίου καὶ ἐξ αὐτοῦ εἰληφεν ὁ τόπος τὴν προσηγορίαν); *Patr. Const.* III 73. No person

of that name is otherwise recorded. Janin (*Const. Byz.*, pp. 91, 341-2) suggested that the name derived from the fact that the house was built of Carian marble; it was close to the church of Blachernae.

Cariattho 1 vir inlustris (in Gaul) E/M VI

Cariattho vir inlustris; one of the laymen who subscribed the Acts of the Council of Orange on July 3, 529; *Conc. Gall.* a. 511-695, p. 65 = *MGH, Leg.* III I, p. 54. Cf. Syagrius 1.

Cariato 2 bodyguard of Guntram; bishop of Geneva L VI

Rewarded by Guntram for his part in the overthrow of the pretender Gundovaldus with the bishopric of Geneva; Fredegar. III 89 (Cariato, spatarius Guntramni, qui hanc rem prodidit, huius vicissitudine repensionis episcopatum Gennavensem assumpsit).

He subscribed the Second Council of Valence in 584 and the Second Council of Mâcon in the following year; *Conc. Gall.* 511-695, pp. 236, 249. The dates are inconsistent with the story in Fredegarius; Gundovaldus was not overthrown until early 585.

Cariato 3 Frankish comes M VII

He and Maurinus *comites* are recorded in a letter to Desiderius of Cahors from bishops Constantius of Albi and Dado of Rouen (a. 640/647); Desid. Cadurc., *Ep.* II 4 (*MGH, Epp.* III, p. 205) (apud Cariatone et Maurino commitem).

Carinus(?) 1 PVC E/M VI

Named on a glass weight; Monneret de Villard, Catalogue B, no. 3a = Zacos 3000c (reading Καρίνου(?) ἐπάρχου πόλεως; obv.: square monogram (181), possibly of Καρίνου, surrounded by the legend +ΕΠΑΡΧΟΝΠΟΛΕΩΣ). Cf. Feissel, *Rev. Num.*⁶ 28 (1986), p. 130 with nn. 64-5.

Carinus 2 patricius VI

Καρίνου πατρικίου; Zacos 2994 (seal; obv.: beardless bust and under it KAPIN/OV; rev.: similar bust and under it [Π]ΑΤΡΙΚ/[Ι]ΟV).

Carinus 3 candidatus; later, a stylite E VII

A stylite near Nicomedia, visited by Theodore of Syceon in 612; *V. Theod. Syr.* 155 (τὸν ἀπὸ κανδιδάτων Καρίνον τὸν θεοφιλέστατον στυλίτην).

Carophorus (*SEG VII 1017*) V/VI: *PLRE II*.

Carterius regendarius (of the PPO Italiae) 534-535

He served in the *officium* of the PPO Italiae and reached the position of *regendarius* in 534; Cass. *Var.* xi 29 (title: de regendario) Carterium regendarii locum feliciter obtinere censemus, ut spe futuri provectus avidius praetorianis possit inhaerere laboribus. For the *regendarius*, see Stein, *Untersuchungen*, pp. 61ff. and Jones, *LRE* ii 587 with n. 58.

MELMINIVS CASSIANVS v.c., principalis (of Ravenna) 552

Recorded in a document from Jan. 552; Marini, *P. Dip.* 74 = *P. Ital.* 4-5B v 12 Melminius Cassianus v.c. He was one of the *principales* of Ravenna.

Fl. Magnus Aurelius Cassiodorus Senator: consul 514; Mag. Off. (in Italy) 523-527; PPO Italiae 533-537; patricius; author; *PLRE* ii.

Castellus ab actis (of the PPO Italiae) 534-535

He served in the *officium* of the PPO Italiae and reached the position of *ab actis* in 534; Cass. *Var.* xi 22 (title: de scriniario actorum)ideo Castellum, quem matriculae series fecit accedere, nostra auctoritas quoque actorum scriniarii curam praecepit obtinere.

The *scriniarius actorum* was evidently the *ab actis*, to judge by his position in the *officium*; cf. Stein, *Untersuchungen*, pp. 37, 39.

Castorius son of Felix 4 L VI

Son of Felix 4; present in Rome in c. 593 with pope Gregory; Greg. *Dial.* i 4. Nothing further is known about him.

Castus MVM (in Italy) 593-595

?MVM (vacans) a. 587: in spring 587 he served in Thrace with Comentiolus; at Anchialus Comentiolus divided the army between himself, Martinus 3 and Castus and put Castus in command of the left division (Κάστων δὲ λοχαγὸν τοῦ ἑτέρου κέρατος προσθήσατο); Theoph. Sim. ii 10.9, Theoph. AM 6079. At Theoph. Sim. ii 12.4 he is styled ὁ ταξιάρχης. Although λοχαγός is generally equivalent to *tribunus* (cf. Theodorus 21), its use is here a stylistic variant by Theophylact, who has just used the verb ταξιαρχεῖν of Martinus. This is confirmed by ταξιάρχης at ii 12.4. Castus was at least *comes rei militaris* (or new style *dux*), cf. Theodorus 21, and possibly already MVM (*vacans*) (cf. Martinus and see below). In 587 Castus defeated some Avars near Zaldapa in Thrace and seized a large quantity of booty which he entrusted to one of his *bucellarii* (ὑπασπιστής) (who, however, was himself surprised by the Avars and lost it again); Theoph. Sim. ii

10.10-11, Theoph. AM 6079. He then joined Martinus near Tomi and they rejoined Comentiolus at Marcianople and accompanied him up into Mount Haemus; from there Castus was sent to observe enemy movements, defeated some Avars but subsequently fell in with a large enemy force, was defeated and taken prisoner; Theoph. Sim. ii 10.14, 11.3-4, 11.9-14, 12.1-4, 13.6-11, Theoph. AM 6079. He was later ransomed; Theoph. Sim. ii 17.5-7.

MVM (vacans) (in Italy) a. 593-5: he was a *vir gloriosus* in Rome in 593, when he spoke highly of Priscus 6 and pope Gregory wrote to Priscus commending him; Greg. *Ep.* iii 51 (a. 593 July; *vir autem gloriosus Castus praeco laudum vestrarum in Romanis partibus existit*). In 595 he was in Rome when the *scribo* Busa from Constantinople gave their arrears of pay to the troops; Greg. *Ep.* v 30 (a. 595 March 12; to Maurice; *praesente quoque glorioso Casto magistro militum*). Also in 595 he and the PPO Gregorius 6 incurred Maurice's displeasure after supporting the pope's efforts to make peace with the Lombards, and Gregory wrote strongly to Maurice in praise of them and their conduct during the recent siege (of 593); Greg. *Ep.* v 36 (a. 595 June; *de gloriosis viris Gregorio praefecto praetorio et Casto magistro militum*). Since he was *vir gloriosus* in 595 he was probably MVM then and may have been MVM *vacans* since at least 587 (cf. above); he was evidently in command of the imperial troops in Rome from 593 to 595.

Catella religiosa femina (in Sardinia) 591

Religiosa femina; mother of a priest at Rome; commended for protection to bishop Ianuarius of Cagliari; Greg. *Ep.* i 60 (a. 591 July).

Catellus: prominent citizen of Tibur E/M VI; *PLRE* ii.

Catellus palatinus (in Italy) 594

Palatinus; he apparently confiscated property at Rome (?for the imperial treasury) on which a certain Virigantinus, who lived in a monastery, was dependent; Virigantinus was resisting Gregory's attempts to make him pay an allowance; Greg. *Ep.* v 6 (a. 594 Sept./Oct.; to the deacon Sabinianus at Constantinople, asking him to inform a certain Romanus, who may have been owner of the property - *substantiam eius*; the details are obscure).

Catubar Moorish chief 546/547

One of the Moorish 'duces' with Carcasan and Antalas in winter 546/547; Coripp. *Ioh.* iv 643.

Cavares I: king of Persia 488-531; *PLRE* ii.

Cavades Persian prince; army commander 552

Grandson of the Persian king Cavades I (*PLRE* II), son of Zames (*PLRE* II), nephew of Chosroes I; Proc. *BP* I 23.4, *BG* IV 26.13.

Early in the reign of Chosroes, a plot was formed to overthrow him and put Cavades on the throne, although still a child, so that his father, who was ineligible for king owing to an eye disfigurement, could rule as regent; the plot was uncovered and all involved were killed, together with all possible rivals to Chosroes, apart from Cavades who was absent from court living with his guardian and was secretly kept alive by him; when he grew up he was given funds and sent away for safety; the truth emerged in 541 and Chosroes had the guardian killed but shortly afterwards Cavades, or a man claiming to be him (adds Procopius) and closely resembling king Cavades, came to Constantinople and was honourably received by Justinian; Proc. *BP* I 23.12-14, 23.23-4, *BG* IV 26.13. See *Adergoudounbades*.

In 552 Cavades accompanied Narses I on the expedition to Italy, commanding a force made up of Persian deserters; Proc. *BG* IV 26.13.

Cavades II *qui et Siroes* king of Persia 628

Καβάτης ὁ καὶ Σειρόης; *Chron. Pasch.* s.a. 628. 'Cavades qui et Shirawaih'; Eutyichius, *Annales*, col. 1091-2. Σιρόης (or similar); Nic. *Brev.* 19-20, Theoph. AM 6118, Cedr. I 734, 735, Zon. XIV 16. Shiroe (or similar); Mich. Syr. XI 3, *Chron.* 724, p. 147 = p. 114, Bar Hebr., *Chron.*, p. 90, *Hist. Nest.* II 92, *Chron. Iac. Edess.*, p. 327 = p. 251, Anon. Guidi, pp. 28-9 = pp. 24-5, *Chron.* 819 s.a. 938, *Chron.* 1234, c, ciii, Agapius, pp. 464, 467. Καβῶης; Nic. *Brev.* 20-1. Kawat (or similar); Sebeos XXVII, XXVIII, Moses Dasxurançi II 13, Thomas Artsruni II 3, Agapius, p. 452. On the names, see further Justi, p. 160, s.n. Kawāta, no. 9 and p. 297, s.n. Šērōē, no. 6.

His father was Chosroes II and his mother was Maria; Eutyichius, *Annales*, col. 1091, *Hist. Nest.* II 92.

KING of Persia a. 628 Feb. 25-c. Sept.: in early 628 he overthrew his father and succeeded to the throne, being crowned on Feb. 25; one of his first acts was to murder all his eighteen brothers (cf. Merdasas); he negotiated peace with Heraclius; he reigned for a few months only (figures vary from six to nine months), then died either of plague or of poison (supposedly administered by Shirin); succeeded by his son Ardashir; Nic. *Brev.* 19-21, *Chron. Pasch.* s.a. 628 (Feb. 25), Sebeos XXVII-XXVIII, *Capt. Hier.* XXIV 3, Theoph. AM 6118-20, Cedr. I 734-5, Zon. XIV 16, Moses Dasxurançi II 13, Thomas Artsruni II 3, Mich. Syr. XI 3, *Chron. Iac. Edess.*, p. 327 = p. 251, Anon. Guidi, pp. 28-9 = pp.

24-5, *Chron.* 724, p. 147 = p. 114, *Chron.* 819 s.a. 938, *Chron.* 1234, c, ciii, *Hist. Nest.* II 92, Bar Hebr., *Chron.*, p. 90, Eutyichius, *Annales*, col. 1091-2, Agapius, pp. 452, 464, 467.

Cautinus dux (in Austrasia) 601

Dux Theudeberti; killed in 601; Fredegar. IV 20. Theodebert II ruled Austrasia.

Cēcalaūs Roman commander (in Phoenice) 634

Commander of the Roman army in Phoenice in 634, he was defeated and killed by Khālid at the battle of Ajnādayn near Baalbek; *Chron.* 1234, cxi ('et venit dux exercitus Romanorum, cui nomen Cēcalaūs'). The battle of Ajnādayn was perhaps on July 30, 634; cf. Khālid ibn al-Walīd.

Cedinus (Greg. Tur. *HF* X 3, Paul. Diac. *Hist. Lang.* III 31); see Henus.

Celagastes leader of the Antae M VI

Son of Idarizius, brother of Mezamerus; Men. Prot. fr. 6.

CELSVS I ?v.c.; bishop of Vercellae V/VI

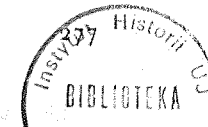
Possibly of senatorial origins; he became bishop of Vercellae and died aged fifty-four; *CIL* V 6725 = *ILCV* 1054 Vercellae (his tombstone; cf. line 1 s(an)c(t)a m(e)m(oriae) Celsus ep(i)s(copus) claro ex genere ortus).

Celsus 2 patricius (in Burgundy) 561-?569

His mother was Silvia 2 (of senatorial family) and he had brothers in holy orders (unde sacerdotii claro dotatus (i.e. dotatos) honore et Celsum meruit (sc. Silvia) cernere patricium); *CIL* XII 2094 = *ILCV* 181 Vienne (the full text is preserved only in a MS copy). He had a son (Anonymus 105); Greg. Tur. *HF* IV 24.

He seems to have received a rhetorical training and to have studied law; Greg. Tur. *HF* IV 24 (in verbis tumidum, in responsis opportunum, iuris lectione peritum).

PATRICIUS a. 561-?569: appointed in 561 by Guntram in succession to Agricola 2; Greg. Tur. *HF* IV 24 (Celsum patriciatus honore donavit). Patricius; Greg. Tur. *HF* IV 30 (in 567/569; cf. below), Mar. Avent. s.a. 570, cf. *CIL* XII 2094 (cited above). In 567/569, after the capture of Arles by Firminus I and Audovarius for Sigibert, Celsus was sent with



an army by Guntram and seized Avignon and recaptured Arles; Greg. Tur. *HF* iv 30 (the date was after Sigibert's encounter with the Avars in 566, cf. *HF* iv 29, and before Celsus left office). Celsus was succeeded in office by Amatus no later than 569; Greg. Tur. *HF* iv 42.

He died in 570; Mar. Avent. s.a. 570 (eo anno mortuus est Celsus patricius).

Described by Gregory as a big, strong man, who grew more and more acquisitive after obtaining office and seized much ecclesiastical property for himself; his son inherited it all; Greg. Tur. *HF* iv 24.

Cf. Stroheker, no. 87.

Ceraus Moorish chief 547

One of the Moorish chiefs who defeated Ioannes 36 Troglita at Marta in summer 547; Coripp. *Ioh.* vi 732.

CERVELLA c.f. (in Spain) c. 527-562

Cl(ari)s(sim)a femina, famula Χρ(ist)i; she died aged about thirty-five on Jan. 30, 562, and was buried at Seville; Vives, *Inscriptiones cristianas* 111 = *ILCI* 188 Seville (dated in year 600 of the provincial era).

Cerycus MVM (vacans) (East) c. 527/528

One of three στρατηλάται sent by Justinian to Lazica in c. 527/528 to help king Ztathius (*PLRE* II) against the Persians; his colleagues were Gilderich (or Belisarius according to some sources, probably wrongly) and Irenaeus (= Irenaeus 7, in *PLRE* II); they were defeated after quarrelling among themselves and Justinian recalled them, sending Petrus (*PLRE* II, Petrus 27) instead; Joh. Mal. 427 (where the story is placed among events dated in January 528), *Chron. Pasch.* s.a. 528, Theoph. AM 6020, Cedr. I 643, Joh. Nik. 90.52-3. They were perhaps all *magistri militum vacantes*.

According to a late (tenth-century) source, the metaphrastic version of the Life of St Theodosius the Coenobiarch, a certain Cerycus, ὁ τοῦ Ῥωμαϊκοῦ στρατεύματος ἀρχηγός (κόμητα τῆς Ἀνατολῆς σύνηθες ἐκείνον καλεῖν), a brave soldier and devout Christian, while engaged in warfare with Persia visited St Theodosius near Jerusalem and, impressed by his arguments to rely on the invincible power of God rather than on numbers of men or strength of arms, borrowed the holy man's old cloak to wear instead of armour; he then went on campaign, won a great victory, and returned to tell Theodosius all about it; Sym. *Metaphr. V. S. Theod. Coen.* xvii 74-5 (in *PG* 114. 540-1). The story does not occur in the Life of Theodosius by Cyril of Scythopolis; if it has any basis in fact (it is not inherently implausible) and if Cerycus is the same person

as the MVM, it must have occurred when Theodosius was in extreme old age, not long before c. 529 (when he supposedly died aged one hundred and five).

CESSIS comes (in Italy) 535/542

Comes; father-in-law of Giberit; Marini, *P. Dip.* 131 = *P. Ital.* 43, line 51 (gener Cessinis comitis). See Waduulf.

Fl. Rufius Petronius Nicomachus Cethegus: consul 504; Mag. Off. (West) E VI; patricius 512-c. 558; *PLRE* II.

CETHEGVS v.c. (in Italy) L VI

Husband of Flora; in late 598 he and his wife sent Maximus 7 to Sicily on business of theirs (pro certis causis suis) and requested that ten pounds of gold be paid to Basilius, bishop of Capua (in exile); Gregory ordered bishop Ioannes of Syracuse to give the sum immediately to Basilius and Maximus; Greg. *Ep.* ix 72 (a. 598 Nov./Dec.; gloriosi filii nostri Cethegus atque Flora iugales).

To judge by his name he was of Roman senatorial family, and may have been related to Basilius; cf. Richards, *Consul of God*, p. 171. He and his wife were evidently not in Sicily at the time and presumably were in Rome.

Chabus Arab chief 536

In 536, during a drought, the Arab chiefs (phylarchi) Chabus and Hezidus were forced by Alamundarus (*PLRE* II, p. 42) to enter Euphratensis with their people seeking water; *Marcell. com. Addit.* ad a. 536. See further Batzas 1.

The name was perhaps Arabic Ka'b; cf. also Caboses.

Chadoindus referendarius (under Dagobert) 635

Under Theoderic II (596-613) he took part in many battles; Fredegar. iv 78 (cited below).

In 613, after Theoderic's death, Chadoind and Herpo 2 were sent by Brunichildis as envoys to Chlotharius to ask him to withdraw from Austrasia; Fredegar. iv 40.

In 635 he was *referendarius* under Dagobert and commanded the army sent by Dagobert against the Wascones; he had ten *duces* under him (they were the Franks Arimbertus, Amalgarius, Leudebertus, Wandalmarus, Waldericus, Ermeno, Barontus and Chairaardus, the Roman Chramnelenus, and the Saxon Aighyna), plus the Burgundian *patricius* Willibadus as well as many (unnamed) *comites*; they reduced the Wascones to submission; Fredegar. iv 78 (Dagobertus de universo regno

Burgundiae exercitum promovere iubet, statuens eis caput exercitus nomine Chadoindum referendarium, qui temporibus Theoderici quondam regis multis proeliis probabatur strenuus).

Since he served under Theoderic II he was probably a native of Burgundy; subsequently he served under Dagobert, and presumably under Dagobert's father Chlotharius II who ruled Burgundy from 613 to 629.

Chadus Misimian leader 556

Cf. *Justi*, p. 169, s.n. Xad.

Sent with Thyanes in 556 by the Misimiani to Soterichus; *Agath.* III 16.1-3 (τῶν παρὰ σφίσι λογίμων). See further Soterichus.

Chaimedes brother of Vrsinus (in Gaul) E/M VII

Son of Chrodolenus, brother of Vrsinus and Beppolenus 2; dead by 628; *Marini, P. Dip.* 60.

Chainulfus comes (in Neustria) ?641

His name is also spelt 'Ainulfus'.

Comes; in ?641 (shortly before the death of Aega) he was murdered by Ermenfredus in an assembly at Augers (Seine-et-Marne) (in Albiodero vico in mallo); in consequence his kin, with the support of queen Nantechildis, made furious attacks on Ermenfred and his possessions; *Fredegar.* IV 83.

Possibly identical with 'Chaenulfus vester' who wrote to bishop Desiderius of Cahors to arrange a meeting; *Desid. Cadurc., Ep.* II 14.

Chairaardus Frankish dux (under Dagobert) 635

A Frank, in 635 he was one of ten *duces* on the expedition under Chadoindus which subdued the Wascones; *Fredegar.* IV 78. See Chadoindus.

Chalazar (Χαλαζάρ) officer of the bodyguard of Ioannes 46 547-548

A Hun (Μασσαγέτης), officer (δορυφόρος) of the bodyguard of Ioannes 46 (nephew of Vitalian); probably in late 547 or early 548 (cf. *Ioannes*, p. 659) he and Gudilas were given command of a force of three hundred Illyrian horsemen which Ioannes stationed at Rusciacae; *Proc. BG* III 30.6. He was responsible for breaking an agreement with Totila to surrender the fort on a certain day, and when it was eventually surrendered (cf. *Deopheron*) in 548 after midsummer Totila had him tortured and killed; *Proc. BG* III 30.20-1.

Chalda wife of Chramnus M VI

Daughter of Wiliacharius and wife of Chramnus; *Greg. Tur. HF* IV 17, *Lib. Hist. Franc.* 28 (giving her name). She and their children perished with Chramnus; *Greg. Tur. HF* IV 20, *Fredegar.* III 54, *Lib. Hist. Franc.* 28.

CHAM v.c., comes (in Italy) IV/VI, ?L IV/E V

Cham, v.c., com(es), vir mir(a)e bonitatis; buried at Concordia; *AE* 1976, 247 (= *Not. Scav.* 1887, p. 261) Concordia. The name is Jewish.

Chamarus father of Radulfus E VII

Fredegar. IV 77. See Radulfus.

Chamingus Frankish dux (in Gaul) 575/581

Addressee of a letter from Gogo (at the court of Childebert II) in 575/581; they were old friends now separated by distance; styled by Gogo 'patrone dulcissime'; *Ep. Austras.* 13 (*MGH, Epp.* III, p. 128) (addressed 'domino suo Chamingo duci').

Not to be confused with Amingus, long since dead.

Chanao 1 comes Britannorum ?-560

Chanao, Chonober, Chonoo; *Greg. Tur. Conober; Fredegar., Lib. Hist. Franc.*

He had four brothers, one of whom was Maclivus; *Greg. Tur. HF* IV 4. COMES BRITANNORVM a. ?-560; *Greg. Tur. HF* IV 4, 20 (in 560), *Mar. Avent.* s.a. 560 (unnamed), *Fredegar.* III 54, *Lib. Hist. Franc.* 28. On the title, see Warochus. Ruler of the Bretons, he murdered three of his brothers (presumably seizing their realms) and tried to murder Maclivus, whose realm he seized when informed (falsely) of his death; *Greg. Tur. HF* IV 4. In 560 he supported Chramnus and lost his life fighting for him against king Chlotharius I; *Greg. Tur. HF* IV 20, *Fredegar.* III 54, *Lib. Hist. Franc.* 28.

Chanao 2 son of Warochus M/L VI

Son of Warochus; *Greg. Tur. HF* V 26 (not named), X 9. Sent as hostage by his father to Chilperic in 578; *Greg. Tur. HF* V 26. In 590 his father sent him to attack troops of Ebracharius stranded on the wrong side of the river Vilaine; he killed some and took many captives; *Greg. Tur. HF* X 9.

Chanaranges 1 Persian commander 531

On the name, see *Justi*, p. 155, s.n. Kanārang.

One of the commanders of the Persian army (see Aspebedes and Mermeroes) which invaded Mesopotamia in 531 after the battle of Callinicum and laid siege to Martyropolis (cf. Bessas (*PLRE* II) and Buzes); Proc. *BP* I 21.4.15. On *chanaranges* as the name of an office, see Adergoudoubades.

Chanaranges 2 Persarmenian conspirator 548/549

Cf. Justi, p. 155, s.n. Kanārang, no. 2.

A native of Persarmenia; a young man in 548; described by Procopius as handsome but frivolous; Proc. *BG* III 32.11–12. In late 548/early 549 he conspired with Arsaces and Artabanes against Justinian and Belisarius but disclosed their plans to Iustinus 4 and then, in the hearing of a concealed observer, to Germanus (*PLRE* II); Proc. *BG* III 32.11–13.20.29–37. With the other conspirators he was arrested and held in detention in the palace; Proc. *BG* III 32.42.51.

CHANARANGES 3 ?comes rei militaris (in Italy) 554

In the MSS his name appears as both Χαναράγγης and Χαράγγης.

A native of Armenia, he served as ταξίαρχος under Narses I in Italy in late 554 and commanded a τάγμα in the campaign against the Franks of Butilinus; Agath. II 6.4 (ἐνηρίθητο μὲν τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ταξίαρχοις). 5 (τοῦ ἀμφ' αὐτὸν τάγματος). Stationed at the side nearest the enemy in Narses' camp near the river Casilinum (the Volturnus), he was sent to harass the Frankish forage wagons; he seized them and killed the drivers, then drove one against the tower which the Franks had built to secure the bridge over the river, set fire to it and destroyed the tower, so that the bridge fell into Roman hands; Agath. II 6.4–6. Cf. Narses, p. 922. See Theodorus 21 for his title.

Described as very brave but sensible and ready to take risks when necessary; Agath. II 6.4 (Suid. Φ 700).

!Chararicus! ?king of the Sueves M VI

Rex Galliciensis, i.e. king of Galicia, presumably king of the Sueves; an Arian, he is said to have adopted catholic Christianity in order to secure the miraculous aid of St Martin of Tours when his son (?Miro; cf. below) fell ill of leprosy, and to have built a church of St Martin for which he sent to Tours for relics; his son recovered and Chararic and his whole household became Catholics; according to Gregory of Tours, the future bishop of Braga, St Martin of Dumium, arrived in the harbour of Galicia at the same moment as the relics; Greg. Tur. *Mir. S. Mart.* I 11. The date indicated is before Martin became bishop in 556 (cf. Barlow, *Martini ... Opera Omnia*, pp. 3ff).

The story as told by Gregory is improbable and unconvincing (e.g. the journey of the relics from Tours to Galicia coincided precisely in date with that of Martin from the East to Galicia; the conversion coincided not only with the cure of Chararic's son but also with the total disappearance of leprosy from the area) and inconsistent with other evidence on the conversion of the Sueves; Chararic may therefore be a fiction; cf. Thompson, *Conversion*, pp. 83–8. However, although the details of Gregory's story are suspect, it is not impossible that Chararic was a real person, possibly king of the Sueves when Martin of Dumium arrived in Galicia, or perhaps a Suevian noble whom legend at Tours later imagined as king. He is apparently identified by Gregory of Tours with the father of Miro alluded to in Greg. Tur. *Mir. S. Mart.* IV 7 as the builder of a church to St Martin of Tours.

Charegisclus 1 domesticus (of Chlotharius I) M VI

Referendarius regis Chlotharii; cured of an illness after prayers in the church of St Martin at Tours; later he became *domesticus* of Chlotharius (postea antedicti regis domesticus fuit) and conferred many benefits on the people and clergy of Tours; Greg. Tur. *Mir. S. Mart.* I 25.

Charegiselus 2 cubicularius (of Sigibert) 575

Cubicularius of king Sigibert, killed with him in 575; described by Gregory as rising to influence from lowly origins by flattery, and as a frivolous person who accumulated wealth by overturning wills and seizing other people's property; Greg. Tur. *HF* IV 51.

Charias PPO (Illyrici) c. 618

Ἰππάρχος; he arrived in Thessalonica during the siege by the Avars and Slavs in c. 618; *Mir. Dem.* II 2, p. 188. Presumably PPO Illyrici. On the date, see Lemerle, *Miracles* II, pp. 99–103.

Charibertus 1 king of the Franks 561–567

On the name, see Schönfeld, p. 126.

Son of Chlotharius (*PLRE* II, Chlothacharius) and Ingundis I, brother of Guntchramnus (Guntram) and Sigibert and half-brother of Chilperic; Greg. Tur. *HF* IV 3, Mar. Avent. s.a. 561, Fredegar. III 55, *Lib. Hist. Franc.* 29, Paul. Diac. *Hist. Lang.* II 10. In 561 he was the eldest surviving son of Chlotharius; Ven. Fort. *Carm.* VI 2, lines 53–4. Nephew of Childebert, whose widow and daughters he took under his care; Ven. Fort. *Carm.* VI 2, lines 22–4.

He married Ingoberga, by whom he had a daughter, Bertha; Greg. Tur. *HF* IV 26, IX 26. After dismissing Ingoberga he married Merofled

and then Merofled's sister Marcovefa, for which bishop Germanus of Paris excommunicated him; he had another queen also, Theodechildis, who survived him; Greg. Tur. *HF* iv 26, v 48, *Lib. Hist. Franc.* 30, Fredegar. iii 56. Father of Berthefledis; Greg. Tur. *HF* ix 33. Father also of Chrodielidis; Greg. Tur. *HF* ix 39. See stemmata 18a and b.

In 555 he and Guntram were sent to Clermont by Chlotharius to bring their brother Chramnus to order; they caught up with him near Limoges and threatened battle but were tricked by him into believing that Chlotharius was dead (in battle with the Saxons) and withdrew at full speed to Burgundy; Greg. Tur. *HF* iv 16.

KING of the Franks a. 561–567: on the death of Chlotharius in 561 his four surviving sons divided the kingdom between them; Charibert obtained the kingdom formerly ruled by Childebert with his capital at Paris (see Dalton 1, p. 140); Greg. Tur. *HF* iv 22, Mar. Avent. s.a. 561, Fredegar. iii 55, *Lib. Hist. Franc.* 29, Paul. Diac. *Hist. Lang.* ii 10 (Aripertus), cf. Ven. Fort. *Carm.* vi 2, lines 9.13–17.

He died in 567; Greg. Tur. *HF* iv 26, 45, v 48, *Lib. Hist. Franc.* 31 (buried at 'Blavia castello (= Blaye) in basilica sancti Romani').

He apparently accepted the claims of the pretender Gundovaldus; Greg. Tur. *HF* vi 24. He is said to have promised to impose no taxes on Tours and to have destroyed the tax lists and returned the money when Gaiso collected them; Greg. Tur. *HF* ix 30.

Charibertus 2 son of Gundwald; king of the Lombards 652–661

Son of Gundwald by his Lombard wife; brother of Gundebert; Fredegar. iv 34. Nephew of Theodelinda.

He became king of the Lombards in 652 and reigned until 661; father of Godepert (who briefly succeeded him) and Perctarit; Paul. Diac. *Hist. Lang.* iv 48, 51. See stemma 20a.

Charibertus 3 Frankish king (of Aquitania) 629–632

Son of Chlotharius II, (half-)brother of Dagobert and nephew of Produlfus; Fredegar. iv 55, 56, 58. His mother was Sichildis; *Gesta Dagoberti* 5. See stemma 18f.

After Dagobert became sole ruler in 629, Charibert was given a small area to rule in Aquitania; he chose Toulouse as his capital; in his third year he extended his kingdom by conquering Gascony (Wasconia); Fredegar. iv 57.

He died in 632, before April 8, leaving a young son, Chilperic, who did not long survive him; Fredegar. iv 67. For the date, see Krusch, *MGH, Scr. Rer. Mer.* vii, p. 491. He was godfather of Dagobert's son Sigibert; Fredegar. iv 62.

Allegedly simple minded; Fredegar. iv 56 (his effort to seize the kingdom for himself after Chlotharius' death failed 'pro simplicitate').

Charimeris referendarius (of Childebert); bishop of Verdun 588–614

Miraculously cured of toothache at the church of St Médard at Soissons; subsequently he became *referendarius* of Childebert II, a post he held when Gregory of Tours recorded his cure (Charimeris, qui nunc referendarius Childeberti regis habetur); Greg. Tur. *Glor. Conf.* 95. The date of his office was 575/588. In 588 he was still *referendarius* when he became bishop of Verdun in succession to Agericus, by royal order and popular consent; Greg. Tur. *HF* ix 23. He was still bishop of Verdun in 614; *Conc. Gall.* 511–695, p. 282.

Charito daughter of Tiberius L VI

Daughter of Tiberius (the future emperor) and Anastasia 2 and sister of Constantina 1; Theoph. AM 6071, Cedr. i 689, Zon. xiv 11. She married Germanus 5 in 582; Theoph. AM 6074, Cedr. i 690–1, Zon. xiv 11.

Chariton eunuch ?E/M VI

Owner of property at Constantinople on the site later occupied by part of Hagia Sophia and neighbouring buildings; *Narr. de aed. S. Soph.* 5 (οικήματα Χαρίτωνος ευνούχου τὸ ἐπίκλην Χηνοπούλου). Possibly fictitious.

Chariulfus 1 wealthy Frank M VI

Chariulfus quidam Francus; he seized land belonging to the church and restored it only after losing many of his animals, supposedly through the prayers of Germanus (still abbot); Ven. Fort. *V. S. Germ.* v 16.

Perhaps identical with Chariulfus 2.

Chariulfus 2 wealthy Frank M/L VI

A wealthy and powerful Frank, with warehouses and stores in Comminges; a prominent supporter of the pretender Gundovaldus, in 585 he was besieged with his colleagues in Comminges; Greg. Tur. *HF* vii 37. He joined Mummolus 2, Waddo 2 and bishop Sagittarius in betraying Gundovald in return for promises of safety for themselves; Greg. Tur. *HF* vii 38. After the surrender he was taken to the camp of Leudegisel but escaped, with Waddo, leaving his son behind as hostage; Greg. Tur. *HF* vii 39. Later he fled for sanctuary to the church of St Martin (at Tours); Greg. Tur. *HF* vii 43.

Chatzon Slav chief 614/615

Ὁ τῶν αὐτῶν Σκλαβίνων ἕξαρχος, τοῦνομα Χάτζων; in 614/615 he

led a concerted Slav siege of Thessalonica; captured by the Romans, he was held in secret confinement by prominent men in the hope of a ransom but was later discovered and stoned to death by local women; *Mir. Dem.* II 1, p. 179; cf. 2, p. 185. On the date, see Lemerle, *Miracles* II, pp. 91-3.

Chaubedo son of Bertharius M VII

Son of Bertharius 2, whose life he saved in the battle of Autun, Sept. 642; Fredegar. IV 90.

Named as witness of a charter, dated June 22, 654; Havet. *Oeuvres* I (1896), p. 240.

Cheirammon tribunus (at Alexandria) L VI/E VII

His secretary (νοτάριος) Ioannes is mentioned at Alexandria in Joh. Mosch., *Pratum, Auct.* 37 (Pattenden, W 144) (John ἐνοτάρευσε δὲ τριβούνῳ λεγομένῳ Χειράμ(μ)ωνι).

CHEIREDIVS ?provincial governor or iudex pedaneus M VI

Commemorated in a poem by Leontius 6 *scholasticus*, *Anth. Gr.* VII 573: Χειρεδίου τόδε σῆμα, τὸν ἔτρεφεν Ἀθῆναις ἄρουρα/εἰκόνα ρητήρων τῆς προτέρης δεκάδος, / ῥηϊδίως πείθοντα δικασπόλον· ἀλλὰ δικάζων/οὔποτε τῆς ὀρθῆς οὐδ' ὅσον ἐτράπετο. A native of Athens, compared favourably with the famous ten ancient Attic orators (cf. *Oxford Classical Dictionary*², 145), he was evidently an advocate at the court of a provincial governor (δικασπόλος) and later held a judicial post himself (δικάζων). He may have been appointed as a governor himself, or possibly he became one of the *iudices pedanei*, δικασταί, of Justinian; cf. Just. *Nov.* 82 (a. 539) and see Anatolius 4.

Chepetukh Chinese leader, with the Khazars c. 627

'Chepetukh the Chinese' led a force of rebels (identity unknown) to join the khan (of the Khazars) and later gave aid to 'the king of the Greeks' (i.e. to Heraclius, in the Persian war); Sebeos XIX, p. 52.

Chilbudius I MVM per Thracias 530-533

A member of Justinian's household (ἐκ τῆς Ἰουστινιανοῦ βασιλείως οἰκίας), a vigorous soldier, noted for his lack of avarice and refusal to amass wealth; Proc. *BG* III 14.1.

MVM PER THRACIAS a. 530-533: appointed in the fourth year of Justinian's reign (probably 530 as successor to Mundus) Ἐράκης στρατηγόν) and ordered to stop barbarian incursions across the Danube, he carried the war into barbarian territory north of the Danube

and for three years deterred any further barbarian crossings; after three years he was himself killed in a battle with Slavs while north of the Danube; Proc. *BG* III 14.2-6, cf. III 13.20, 14.14.17.21 (see Chilbudius 2).

Chilbudius 2 one of the Antae c. 545/546

One of the Antae, captured by the Slavs, and subsequently involved in a plot to claim that he was in fact the former Roman MVM Chilbudius 1 living in captivity; the plot was unveiled by Narses 1 in late 545 when he captured Chilbudius and took him to Constantinople; Proc. *BG* III 13.24-6, 14.7-21. 31-6.

Childasinda daughter of Chilperic M/L VI

Daughter of Chilperic and Audovera, according to *Lib. Hist. Franc.* 31. Perhaps identical with Basina, Childasinda being perhaps her Frankish name. See stemma 18c.

Childebertus I: king of the Franks 511-558; *PLRE* II.

Childebertus (Childeberethus) II Frankish king 575-595/596

On the name, see Schönfeld, p. 136.

Son of Sigibert; Greg. Tur. *HF* IV 51, V 6, VI 3, VIII 4, Mar. Avent. s.a. 576, Paul. Diac. *Hist. Lang.* II 10. His mother was Brunichildis; Greg. Tur. *HF* V 1, VI 4, VIII 4, IX 1, 20, Ven. Fort. *Carm.* X 11, Paul. Diac. *Hist. Lang.* II 10. Nephew of Chilperic, Greg. Tur. *HF* V 18, VI 3, 31; and of Gunthramnus (Guntram), Greg. Tur. *HF* V 17, VII 6, 33, VIII 13. Brother of Chlodasinda, Greg. Tur. *HF* IX 16, 20, 28; and of Ingundis 2, Greg. Tur. *HF* VI 40, VIII 18, Paul. Diac. *Hist. Lang.* III 21, 22. Husband of Faileuba; Greg. Tur. *HF* IX 20, 38. They had daughters, Greg. Tur. *HF* IX 20; a child born in 589 who soon died, *HF* IX 38; and two sons who survived to succeed their father, viz. Theodebert (born 585), Greg. Tur. *HF* VIII 37 (his birth), IX 9, 20, 29, Fredegar. IV 5 (birth), 16, 17, Paul. Diac. *Hist. Lang.* IV 11; and Theoderic (born 587), Greg. Tur. *HF* IX 4 (birth), 9, 20, Fredegar. IV 7 (birth), 16, 17, Paul. Diac. *Hist. Lang.* IV 11. The birth of one of his children is commemorated in a poem of Venantius Fortunatus, *Carm.* X 7, lines 60-1. See stemma 18e.

Childebert was born late in 570; Greg. Tur. *HF* V 1 (vix lustrum aetatis uno iam peracto, in late 575).

KING of the Franks a. 575-595/596: successor of Sigibert, he was proclaimed king on Christmas Day, 575; Greg. Tur. *HF* IV 51, V 1 (Christmas Day), Mar. Avent. s.a. 576, Paul. Diac. *Hist. Lang.* III 10. He was in Paris with Brunichildis when Sigibert was killed; he was rescued by Gundovaldus and presented by him to Sigibert's subjects to be proclaimed king (collectisque gentibus super quas pater eius regnum

tenuerat, regem instituit); Greg. Tur. *HF* v 1, Fredegar. *iii* 72 (in Austrasia). His tutor and adviser (nutricius) in his early years was Gogo; Greg. Tur. *HF* v 46, *Ep. Austras.* 13, 48.

In 576 several former supporters of Sigibert who had gone over to Chilperic seem to have gone back to support Childebert, among them Siggo; Greg. Tur. *HF* v 3. In 577 he was taken by his advisers to meet his uncle Guntram who adopted him and proclaimed him his heir; Greg. Tur. *HF* v 17. He was now seven years old, on the significance of which see Courtois, *L'Avènement de Clovis II* (cited under Chlodoveus). Part of his father's kingdom, Poitiers, was seized in this year by Chilperic, but he also received the support of Guntchramnus Boso; Greg. Tur. *HF* v 24.

In 581 the alliance with Guntram was broken and Childebert's envoys (led by bishop Egidius of Reims) entered into an alliance with Chilperic directed against Guntram; Greg. Tur. *HF* vi 1, 3. Chilperic adopted him and proclaimed him his heir; Greg. Tur. *HF* vi 1, 31. He is described as not yet of age in 581 (cf. Lupus); Greg. Tur. *HF* vi 4. He asked Guntram to return half of Marseilles which had been given to Guntram after Sigibert's death; Guntram refused and Childebert sent Gundulfus; later they broke off relations after the harassment by Guntram of bishop Theodore of Marseilles; Greg. Tur. *HF* vi 11.

In 582 envoys from Leovigild visited his court, after first visiting Chilperic; Greg. Tur. *HF* vi 18 (cf. Chilperic).

In 583 the alliance with Chilperic was renewed but his army was discontented with the policies of bishop Egidius and Childebert's other advisers and was in rebellious mood; Greg. Tur. *HF* vi 31. In 584 Guntram restored to him his half of the city of Marseilles and they made peace, agreeing to recover together the cities which had been lost to Chilperic; Greg. Tur. *HF* vi 33, 41.

Also in 584 Childebert mounted an expedition to Italy against the Lombards; he had received the sum of fifty thousand *solidi* shortly before from the emperor Maurice to attack the Lombards; however the Lombards made their submission to him and gave many gifts and he returned home; Maurice demanded the return of the money but Childebert did not reply; Greg. Tur. *HF* vi 42, Paul. Diac. *Hist. Lang.* *iii* 17. He also prepared an army to mount an attack on Spain but it never set off; Greg. Tur. *HF* vi 42. When in autumn 584 Chilperic began to collect supplies for Rigunthis' marriage procession, Childebert warned him not to take anything from the cities he had seized from Guntram; later many members of Rigunthis' escort deserted it on its long march south and joined Childebert; Greg. Tur. *HF* vi 45.

After the murder of Chilperic (late 584), Childebert was joined at Meaux by former treasury officials of Chilperic, bringing with them

much of queen Fredegundis' treasure from Chelles; Greg. Tur. *HF* vii 4. He went to Paris, where Guntram already was, but was refused entry; Guntram expressed hostility because of the double dealing with Chilperic by Childebert's advisers; Greg. Tur. *HF* vii 5, 6. An embassy requesting the surrender of Fredegundis as a murderess was unsuccessful; Greg. Tur. *HF* vii 7. This is perhaps the same as the embassy consisting of bishop Egidius, Guntchramnus Boso, Sigivaldus and others which met Guntram in late 584 to discuss the future rule of Gaul and whose requests for the surrender of Fredegundis and the return of cities seized from Childebert were refused; Greg. Tur. *HF* vii 14.

In the following year he and Guntram met and Childebert was officially proclaimed ruler, receiving all of the kingdom once subject to his father Sigibert; Greg. Tur. *HF* vii 33. All of Marseilles was now subject to him; Greg. Tur. *HF* viii 12. In 585 he was living in Coblenz; Greg. Tur. *HF* viii 13, 14. An attempt was made by Fredegundis to have him assassinated; Greg. Tur. *HF* viii 28-9.

In this year he sent another army to Italy, after envoys from the emperor pressed him to repay the money; the expedition proved abortive when the leaders quarrelled with one another and it withdrew without achieving anything; Greg. Tur. *HF* viii 18, Paul. Diac. *Hist. Lang.* *iii* 22. The reference to a victorious campaign in this year by Childebert against the Visigoths in Paul. Diac. *Hist. Lang.* *iii* 21 is a mistaken allusion to the campaign of Guntram in that year, described in Greg. Tur. *HF* viii 28, 30. Since Paul's source for this was Gregory and Gregory does not mention Childebert in this context, it appears that Paul has simply made a mistake in the name.

In 586 envoys came to him from Spain seeking peace and terms were agreed; Greg. Tur. *HF* viii 38, ix 1 (cf. below).

In the following year he received Albi back from Guntram, and survived a conspiracy led by Rauching, Vrsio and Bertefredus; Greg. Tur. *HF* viii 45, ix 9, 12, 14, Fredegar. *iv* 8. He and Guntram, together with his mother, sister and wife (see above), met to sort out affairs of state; they also passed judgment condemning Guntchramnus Boso; Greg. Tur. *HF* ix 10. At this meeting the agreement known as the Treaty of Andelot was signed, in November 587; Greg. Tur. *HF* ix 11, Fredegar. *iv* 7, cf. Greg. Tur. *HF* ix 20 (for the terms). Also in this year envoys visited Gaul from Reccared seeking peace; Guntram rejected them but Childebert and Brunichildis agreed to peace terms and began discussions on the possible betrothal of Chlodosinda to Reccared; Greg. Tur. *HF* ix 16.

In 588 he sent bishops Gregory of Tours and Felix of Châlons-sur-Marne to assure Guntram of his intention to fulfil the terms of the Treaty

of Andelot, and also to request aid for another campaign against the Lombards (which Guntram refused); Greg. Tur. *HF* ix 20. He had earlier received envoys from the Lombards with proposals that Chlodiosinda should marry their king (Authari) and had agreed, but he now entertained similar proposals from the Visigoths and accepted them (cf. above); he also sent envoys to the emperor Maurice (see Grippio) promising to attack the Lombards and did so, sending his forces into Italy; However they were heavily defeated by Authari and suffered great losses before returning; Greg. Tur. *HF* ix 25, Paul. Diac. *Hist. Lang.* iii 29.

In the following year he made preparations to lead an army into Italy himself; at this news the Lombards sued for peace, offering to pay tribute, and Childebert, after consultations with Guntram, agreed to this; Greg. Tur. *HF* ix 29. Also in this year he attempted to impose new taxes on Poitiers and on Tours; Greg. Tur. *HF* ix 30. In August of this year he established his son Theodebert as king over Soissons and Meaux with a royal household of his own; Greg. Tur. *HF* ix 36.

Early in 590 the (third) embassy of Grippio returned from Constantinople, with its account of the murder of envoys in Carthage and Maurice's regret; in the event Childebert declined to punish the men whom Maurice claimed to have been responsible, as he was not convinced that they were in fact the right people; Greg. Tur. *HF* x 2, 4. In this year he sent another expedition to Italy against the Lombards, under twenty *duces* (cf. Audovaldus and Henus, and see Romanus 7); Authari sued for peace and, although Authari died during the negotiations (in which Guntram acted as mediator), Childebert agreed to a truce; Greg. Tur. *HF* x 3, Paul. Diac. *Hist. Lang.* iii 31.

In 589 and 590 he was concerned with ending the strife among the nuns of St Radegund's convent at Poitiers; he sent Macco to try to restore order, and later appointed an episcopal commission to try and settle the matter; he himself examined allegations by the nuns Chlothildis (Chrodielidis) and Basina (both of royal family) and dismissed them as unfounded; Greg. Tur. *HF* ix 41, x 15, 17.

Also in 590 he survived another attempt by Fredegundis to have him assassinated; Greg. Tur. *HF* x 18. He also tried bishop Egidius on charges of high treason; Greg. Tur. *HF* x 19.

In 591 he sent envoys to protest strongly at the action of Guntram in becoming godfather to Fredegundis' son, Chlotharius II, arguing that it violated their alliance; Guntram rejected his protests; Greg. Tur. *HF* x 28.

After the death of Guntram (March 28, 592), Childebert, already king of Austrasia, became king of Burgundy also; Fredegar. iv 14, 15, 16.

Said to have made war on his cousin, Chlotharius II; Paul. Diac. *Hist. Lang.* iv 4, and cf. Fredegar. iv 14 and Wintrio (in 593). In 595 he had a victory over the Warni; Fredegar. iv 15 (the comet there mentioned was seen in Jan. 595; cf. Wallace-Hadrill, p. 11, note).

He was still alive in late 595, when he occurs in the correspondence of pope Gregory; Greg. *Ep.* v 58-9 (a. 595 Aug. 12; addressed to bishops in Gaul and alluding to churches in Childebert's kingdom; they were all subject to bishop Vergilius of Arles), 60 (a. 595 Aug. 15; addressed 'Childeberto regi Francorum'; he had written to the pope asking for the *pallium* to be conferred on the bishop of Arles, which Gregory granted), vi 6 (a. 595 Sept.; addressed 'Childeberto regi Francorum'; announcing the appointment of Candidus as *rector patrimonii* in Gaul). In both letters to him he is styled 'excellencia vestra' and praised as a catholic devoted to the interests of the Church.

He died in late 595 or in 596, and was succeeded by his sons Theodebert in Austrasia and Theoderic in Burgundy; Fredegar. iv 16, and cf., for the date (after Dec. 25, 595), Krusch, in *MGH, Ser. Rer. Mer.* vii, p. 489. A tradition reported by Paul the Deacon asserted that he and his wife died of poison; he was then in his twenty-fifth year; Paul. Diac. *Hist. Lang.* iv 11 (no explanation of the murder is given and no one is said to be responsible).

Childebert was the addressee, jointly with his mother Brunichildis, of two poems by Venantius Fortunatus; *Carm.* x 7, 8. He is mentioned also in Ven. Fort. *Carm.* x 11, line 25, x 14, lines 7-8, and *App. Carm.* v (De Childeberctho rege; commending one Audulfus).

Childebertus son of Theoderic II 603-613

Born to Theoderic in 603 by a concubine; Fredegar. iv 24. Brother of Sigibert, Corbus and Meroveus; Fredegar. iv 39. See stemma 18c.

In 613 when his brothers fell into the hands of Chlotharius, Childebertus escaped and disappears from history; Fredegar. iv 42.

Childericus 1 Frankish prince E/M VI

Son of Chlotharius I (Chlothacharius, *PLRE* ii, p. 291) and Ingundis 1; brother of Guntharius, Charibert, Guntchramn, Sigibert and Chlotsinda and half-brother of Chilperic and Chramnus; he died before his father (i.e. before 561); Greg. Tur. *HF* iv 3. See stemma 18a.

Childericus 2 Saxon; dux (of Childebert II, in Aquitania) 585

A Saxon; Greg. Tur. *HF* vii 3, viii 18, x 22.

In 584 he paid compensation to the sons of Vedastes *qui et Avo*, killed by one of his followers after they met near Poitiers and quarrelled; Greg.

Tur. *HF* vii 3. He fell out of favour with Guntram, perhaps because of this, and in 585 fled for refuge to St Martin's at Tours; after the intervention of Gregory, Guntram allowed Childeric's wife to join him but then he fled to Childebert, in defiance of Guntram, and was appointed *dux* of the cities subject to Childebert south of the Garonne (adeptaque ordinatione ducatus in civitatibus ultra Garonnam, quae in potestate supradicti regis habebantur); Greg. Tur. *HF* viii 18.

Allegedly involved in an attack on bishops in the church of St Hilary at Poitiers with Chrodieldis (in 589); in 590 his execution was ordered by Guntram, because of his many crimes and misdeeds; he went to an estate at Auch owned by his wife and there choked to death one night while drunk; Greg. Tur. *HF* x 22.

Chilpericus 1

Frankish king 561-584

On the name, see Schönfeld, p. 138, s.n. Hilpericus (gothic *Hilpa-reiks) and cf. Ven. Fort. *Carm.* ix 1, lines 27-8 (Chilperice potens: si interpres barbarus extet, 'adiutor fortis' hoc quoque nomen habes).

Of royal ancestry; Ven. Fort. *Carm.* ix 1, lines 5-12. Grandson of Clovis (*PLRE* ii, Chlodovechus), he was one of the four sons of Chlotharius I (*PLRE* ii, Chlothacharius) to survive their father; Greg. Tur. *HF* iv 3, 22, Mar. Avent. s.a. 561, Paul. Diac. *Hist. Lang.* ii 10, cf. Ven. Fort. *Carm.* ix 1, lines 33-4 (in te, dulce caput, patris omnis cura pependit, inter tot fratres sic amor unus eras). His mother was Aregundis (Arnegundis); Greg. Tur. *HF* iv 3. His (half-) brothers were Chramnus, Gunthachar and Childeric (all dead by 561), and Charibert, Guntchramn and Sigibert. He was married, briefly, to the Visigothic princess Galsuintha, for whose death in suspicious circumstances he was thought responsible; Greg. Tur. *HF* iv 28, ix 20, Ven. Fort. *Carm.* vi 5. He was already married to Fredegundis; Greg. Tur. *HF* iv 28 (he already had several wives, but Fredegundis counted as the chief - quam prius habuerat), v 3, 22, 34, 39, Ven. Fort. *Carm.* ix 1, lines 117-30, ix 2, 3, 4, line 7. A former wife, whom he married before Fredegundis, was Audovera, who bore him three sons, Theodebert, Merovechus (Meroveus) and Chlodovechus (Clovis) and a daughter, Basina; Greg. Tur. *HF* iv 23, 28, 45, 47, v 2, 3, 18, 39 (he had Audovera murdered in late 580), vi 34. By Fredegundis he had several sons, Chlodobert, Dagobert, Samson, Theoderic and Chlotharius, and a daughter, Rigunthis; Greg. Tur. *HF* v 22 (Samson born in 575), 34 (deaths of Chlodobert and Dagobert in 580), 38, 50, vi 23 (birth of Theoderic in 582), 27, 34 (death of Theoderic in 584), 35, 41 (birth of Chlotharius in 584), viii 1, 9, 31, 43, ix 9, Ven. Fort. *Carm.* ix 4 (epitaph for Chlodobert), ix 5 (epitaph for Dagobert). Of all his sons, only one outlived him, Chlotharius II;

Greg. Tur. *HF* vii 36, cf. *HF* v 14 (in 577 he had four sons alive by his various wives, and all died before him), Ven. Fort. *Carm.* ix 2 (a consolation to Chilperic and Fredegundis on the deaths of their sons). See stemma 18c, and cf. *PLRE* ii, stemma 43.

He took part in his father's military campaigns; Ven. Fort. *Carm.* ix 1, lines 73-4.

KING of the Franks a. 561-584: on the death of Chlotharius I in 561, Chilperic seized his treasury at Berny, bribed leaders of the Franks and entered Paris to occupy the throne of Childebert; his brothers quickly drove him out and subdivided the Frankish kingdom between the four of them; Chilperic obtained the former kingdom of Chlotharius with Soissons for his capital; Greg. Tur. *HF* iv 22, cf. Mar. Avent. s.a. 561, Paul. Diac. *Hist. Lang.* ii 10.

Probably in 562 he made war on his brother Sigibert (then engaged in a campaign against the Avars) and captured a number of cities subject to him; on his return Sigibert captured Chilperic's son Theodebert, defeated Chilperic and recovered his cities; Greg. Tur. *HF* iv 23. A few years later, after the death of Galsuintha (cf. above), he was allegedly expelled from his kingdom by his brothers; Greg. Tur. *HF* iv 28. In 567, after the death of Charibert, he seized Tours and Poitiers but Sigibert and Guntram combined to send Mummolus 2 who retook them for Sigibert; Greg. Tur. *HF* iv 45.

Perhaps in 574 he sent Theodebert to seize Tours, Poitiers and other cities south of the Loire; Greg. Tur. *HF* iv 47. He was attacked by Sigibert in 574 and, when abandoned by Guntram with whom he had made a treaty of mutual protection, sued for peace and restored the territory seized by Theodebert; Greg. Tur. *HF* iv 49. In the following year he and Guntram made an alliance against Sigibert; Chilperic advanced towards Reims but when Theodebert was defeated and killed and Guntram again made peace with Sigibert he took refuge with his wife Fredegundis and his sons inside Tournai; there he was trapped by Sigibert's troops and was in great danger, but was saved by the assassination of Sigibert (late 575); Greg. Tur. *HF* iv 50-1, Mar. Avent. s.a. 576.

After conducting his brother's funeral, he went to Paris, exiled Brunichildis to Rouen, and captured her treasure; he also sent Merovechus against Poitiers, but Merovechus made his way to Rouen and married Brunichildis; Chilperic hastened there to separate them and then took Merovechus to recover Soissons, occupied by troops from Champagne, before placing him in custody; Greg. Tur. *HF* v 1, 2, 3. See further Merovechus. He now began to be deserted by former associates of Sigibert whom he had taken into his service, among them Siggo;

Greg. Tur. *HF* v 3. Early in 576 he ordered **Roccolenus** to march on Tours and later sent an army under **Chlodovechus** to Tours, which went on to occupy **Saintes**; at this point the army of **Chilperic** under **Desiderius 2** was defeated near **Limoges** by **Guntram's** general **Mummolus**; Greg. Tur. *HF* v 4, 13.

In 577 a joint embassy from **Guntram** and **Childebert** asking him to restore the territories which he had wrongly seized was ignored by him; he was engaged at this time in constructing amphitheatres at **Soissons** and **Paris** for shows for the people; Greg. Tur. *HF* v 17. He also ordered the trial on charges of conspiracy of bishop **Praetextatus** of **Rouen**; Greg. Tur. *HF* v 18. He attacked and seized **Poitiers**, which was subject to **Childebert**, and deposed **Ennodius 2**; Greg. Tur. *HF* v 24.

In 578 he sent an expedition with troops from **Tours**, **Poitiers**, **Bayeux**, **Le Mans** and **Angers** against **Waroch** and the **Bretons**, and secured the submission of **Waroch**; Greg. Tur. *HF* v 26. He now imposed new and heavy taxation (descriptions novae et graves) throughout his kingdom, provoking much discontent and almost the murder of his agent **Marcus** at **Limoges**, where the new tax registers (*libri descriptionum*) were burned; Greg. Tur. *HF* v 28 (on March 1, 579). In the following year (580) he fell gravely ill, as did two of his sons (**Chlodobert** and **Dagobert**), and was induced to cancel the new taxes and destroy the registers; his sons died and he gave generously to churches and to the poor; Greg. Tur. *HF* v 34. In Oct. 580 while still in mourning in the forest of **Cuise** he began planning the death of **Chlodovechus**; after returning to **Chelles** near **Paris** he had **Chlodovechus** executed for conspiracy, and also had **Audovera** put to death and sent his daughter by her, **Basina**, to the nunnery of **St Radegund** at **Poitiers**; Greg. Tur. *HF* v 39.

In 581 he formed an alliance with **Childebert** against **Guntram**; Greg. Tur. *HF* vi 1, 3, 11. He sent **Desiderius** to make war on **Guntram** and seized **Perigueux** and other cities in the region; Greg. Tur. *HF* vi 12. In the following year he appointed new *comites* to the newly captured cities and ordered their taxes to be paid to himself; Greg. Tur. *HF* vi 22. In 582 also, following the death of some of his men guarding the frontier with **Guntram's** kingdom on the river **Oise** (cf. **Asclepius**), he planned to attack **Guntram** but was persuaded by his advisers to accept compensation instead; Greg. Tur. *HF* vi 19. When his son **Theoderic** was born in this year (see above), **Chilperic** ordered an amnesty for prisoners and cancelled all outstanding arrears of taxes; Greg. Tur. *HF* vi 23. In 583 the alliance between **Chilperic** and **Childebert** was renewed and **Chilperic** made war on **Guntram**; Greg. Tur. *HF* vi 31, vii 6, x 19. The region around **Bourges** was devastated by **Desiderius** but then

Chilperic's own forces were defeated by **Guntram** with heavy losses and the kings agreed to make peace, assess the damage and pay compensation; in their withdrawal **Chilperic's** own troops were unruly and could not be prevented from plundering until **Chilperic** took stern measures and executed the (unnamed) *comes* of **Rouen**; Greg. Tur. *HF* vi 31. In 584 he heard that **Guntram** and **Childebert** were uniting to retake the cities which he had seized; he withdrew with his treasury to **Cambrai** and sent orders to his *duces* and *comites* to fortify their cities; about this time his son (and successor) **Chlotharius** was born and sent to be brought up at **Vitry**; Greg. Tur. *HF* vi 41.

Later he returned to **Paris** (in September, cf. below) and then to **Chelles** where he was assassinated while returning from hunting one day; he was buried by bishop **Mallulf** of **Senlis** in the church of **St Vincent** (later **Saint-Germain-des-Prés**) in **Paris**; Greg. Tur. *HF* vi 46.

An embassy sent by him to the emperor **Tiberius** three years before is recorded as returning in 581 with valuable gifts; Greg. Tur. *HF* vi 2. The purpose of the embassy is not given but the occasion was presumably to congratulate **Tiberius** on his accession.

In 580 he had envoys from **Miro** in **Galicia** intercepted on their way to see **Guntram**; he detained them for a year before allowing them to return home; Greg. Tur. *HF* v 41. Also in 580 he received an envoy (**Agila**) from the **Visigothic** king **Leovigild**; Greg. Tur. *HF* v 43 (although **Gregory** does not record the purpose of this embassy, succeeding events suggest that it concerned the betrothal of **Rigunthis** to **Reccared**; cf. also *HF* v 38, recording the betrothal). In 582 his envoys **Ansoald** and **Domegisel** returned from their mission to **Spain** to negotiate the dowry of **Rigunthis**; later a **Spanish** embassy visited him and then **Childebert** before returning home; Greg. Tur. *HF* vi 18. A further embassy of **Chilperic** visited **Spain**, returning in 584 to report a plague of locusts in **Carpetania** and increasing enmity between **Leovigild** and **Hermenegild**; Greg. Tur. *HF* vi 33. This was followed by a **Spanish** embassy which finalised arrangements for the marriage of **Rigunthis** and **Reccared**; however the death of his son **Theoderic** caused **Chilperic** to postpone the wedding; Greg. Tur. *HF* vi 34. Another embassy from **Leovigild** visited **Chilperic** bringing gifts and seeking his help against **Childebert** who was angry because of **Ingundis 2**; Greg. Tur. *HF* vi 40 (cf. **Oppila**). In Sept. 584 after his return to **Paris** from **Cambrai** (cf. above) a large **Visigothic** embassy arrived and he prepared the massive escort to take **Rigunthis** on her way to **Spain** and sent her off with great riches; Greg. Tur. *HF* vi 45. His assassination shortly afterwards ended the plans for the marriage.

In 580 he issued a decree ordering that henceforth no distinction of

persons should be made in reference to the Holy Trinity but that only God should be spoken of, since the Father, the Son and the Holy Ghost were all one and the same; after disputing with Gregory of Tours and meeting fierce opposition from bishop Salvius of Albi he changed his mind; *Greg. Tur. HF* v 44. He engaged in a theological dispute in 581 with Priscus, a Jew whom he employed on occasion to make purchases for him; although joined by Gregory, he did not convert him; *Greg. Tur. HF* vi 5. In the following year, however, he ordered the forcible baptism of a number of Jews and himself acted as godfather to many; *Greg. Tur. HF* vi 17.

He composed books of verse, in the style of Sedulius, and also hymns and other religious pieces; according to Gregory it was poor stuff and ignored elementary rules of prosody; *Greg. Tur. HF* v 44, vi 46. Chilperic also attempted to add four new characters to the Latin alphabet; *Greg. Tur. HF* v 44.

He was regarded by Gregory of Tours with detestation and is described as the Nero and the Herod of his day; he is accused of burning and plundering with pleasure and of condemning innocent persons; he frequently chose laymen to hold bishoprics and used to insult the clergy and mock them; in addition he is described as resenting the wealth of the church and as overthrowing wills from which the church was to benefit; *Greg. Tur. HF* vi 46. On the other hand Venantius Fortunatus, in a panegyric addressed to Chilperic, *Carm.* ix 1, praises him as a king (lines 55-70), describes him as maintaining peace in Gaul (lines 71-84), acclaims his justice (lines 85-94) and munificence (lines 95-6) and concludes that he is equally accomplished with arms and laws and letters (lines 97-114).

Chilpericus 2 Frankish prince; son of Charibert 632

Son of Charibert 3; he died not long after his father; *Fredegar. iv* 67. See stemma 18f.

Chinialon (Χινιαλών) Hun leader 551

A Hun and a capable soldier, in 551 he was one of the leaders of a twelve thousand strong Cotrigur army which, at the request of the Gepids, ravaged Roman territory; *Proc. BG* iv 18.14-18. After their homeland was attacked by the Utigurs, they agreed to withdraw in return for a sum of money from the Romans (cf. *Aratius*) and the promise of land in Thrace if they could not reoccupy their homes; *Proc. BG* iv 19.3-5.

Chintila king of the Visigoths 636-640

Successor of Sisenandus as king of the Visigoths in spring 636, he ruled for four years and seven months and died in Dec. 640; he was succeeded by his son Tulga; *Lat. reg. Visig.* 36 (three years, seven months), 37 (*MGH, AA* xiii, p. 466), *Fredegar. iv* 82. Little is known of his reign, but it was disturbed by rebellion and he summoned two councils of bishops (the Fifth and Sixth of Toledo) to try to consolidate his rule; *Vives, Concilios*, pp. 226-48, and see *Thompson, Goths in Spain*, pp. 180-7.

Chlodeberga daughter of Guntram L VI

Daughter of king Guntram and Austregildis; she and her sister Chlothildis both became nuns, but Chlodeberga had died by summer 584 (*bonae memoriae*); *Conc. Gall.* 511-695, p. 235 = *Mansi ix* 945 (the Second Council of Valence). See stemma 18d.

Chlodobertus son of Chilperic 565-580

Elder son of Chilperic and Fredegundis, he died of the plague in 580 aged fifteen; *Greg. Tur. HF* v 34 (death in 580), *Ven. Fort. Carm.* ix 4 (*Epitaphium super sepulchrum domni Chlodobercthi*, cf. lines 2-8 hoc igitur tumulo recubans Chlodobercthus habetur, qui tria lustra gerens raptus ab orbe fuit, de proavo veniens Chlodovecho celsa propago, Chlodacharique nepos Chilpericique genus; quem de regina sumpsit Fredegunde iugali, auxerat et nascens Francica vota puer). Brother of Dagobertus 1. Venantius wrote two poems of consolation on the deaths of their sons to Chilperic and Fredegundis; *Carm.* ix 2-3. See stemma 18c.

Chlodomeris son of Guntram M VI

On the name, see Schönfeld, p. 140.

Son of Guntram and Austregildis and younger brother of Chlothacarius; he and his brother both died young in 577; *Greg. Tur. HF* iv 25, v 17, *Mar. Avent. s.a.* 577 (cited under Chlothacarius), *Fredegar. iii* 56. See stemma 18d.

Chlodosinda (Chlothsinda) 1 Frankish princess; wife of Alboin M VI

Daughter of Chlothacharius (*PLRE* II) and Ingundis 1, she married the Lombard king Alboin; *Greg. Tur. HF* iv 3, 41, *Paul. Diac. Hist. Lang.* i 27, *Origo Gent. Lang.* 5. Mother of Albsuinda; *Paul. Diac. Hist. Lang.* i 27, *Origo Gent. Lang.* 5. After her death Alboin married Rosimunda; *Greg. Tur. HF* iv 41, *Paul. Diac. Hist. Lang.* i 27, *Origo Gent. Lang.* 5. See stemmata 18a and 20b.

Addressee of a letter from Nicetius, bishop of Trier; *Ep. Austras.* 8 (*MGH, Epp.* III, pp. 119ff.) (ad Chlodosuindam reginam Longobardorum).

Chlodosinda (Chlodosuinda) 2 Frankish princess L VI/E VII

Daughter of Sigibert and Brunichildis, sister of Childebertus II and Ingundis 2, niece of Guntchramnus; Greg. Tur. *HF* ix 16, 20, 25, 28, and see stemma 18c.

Mentioned but not named in Greg. Tur. *HF* v 1 (with her mother and sister in Paris, then in exile at Meaux, in late 575/early 576) and *HF* ix 10 (accompanied Childebert, with Brunichildis and Faileuba, to meet Guntram at Trier in 587).

Once promised in marriage by her brother Childebert to the Lombard king Authari; Greg. Tur. *HF* ix 25. In 588 he promised her to the Visigothic king Reccared; Greg. Tur. *HF* ix 16, 20, 25, 28. The marriage never took place and she perhaps subsequently married a Burgundian noble called Chrodoaldus; Ionas, *V. Columb.* 1 22 (if she is identical with the unnamed *amita* of Theodebert there mentioned; but cf. Chrodoaldus 1).

Chlodovechus son of Chilperic M/L VI

On the name, see Schönfeld, p. 139.

Son of king Chilperic; Greg. Tur. *HF* iv 28, 45, 47, v, 3, 13, 39. His mother was Audovera and he was the brother of Theodebertus and Merovechus; Greg. Tur. *HF* iv 28. Brother also of Basina; Greg. Tur. *HF* v 39, vi 34, ix 39. See stemma 18c.

In c. 568 he was driven from Tours by Mummolus 2, after his father had seized it following Charibert's death; Greg. Tur. *HF* iv 45. He then went to Bordeaux and lived undisturbed there until Sigulfus, one of Sigibert's men, drove him out (perhaps in 573); he then returned via Angers to his father; Greg. Tur. *HF* iv 47.

He was in Soissons in spring 576, whence he and Fredegundis were expelled by a rebel army; Greg. Tur. *HF* v 3. Later that summer his father sent him to Tours, where he raised an army and advanced via the territory of Tours and Angers to Saintes, which he occupied; Greg. Tur. *HF* v 13.

In late 580, when he was Chilperic's last surviving son, he began to threaten his enemies including his stepmother Fredegundis and was arrested by Desiderius 2 and Bobo 1 and executed, apparently on the initiative of Fredegundis; Greg. Tur. *HF* v 39.

Chlodoveus (Clovis II) king of the Franks 640-657

Son of king Dagobert and Nantechildis, brother of Sigibert; born in 633; Fredegar. iv 76, 79, *Fredegar. Cont.* 1, *Lib. Hist. Franc.* 42, *Gesta Dagoberti* 39. On his father's death (638 Jan. 19) he became ruler of

Neustria and Burgundy, while Sigibert took Austrasia, according to Dagobert's wishes; Clovis was not actually crowned until he reached the age of seven, in 640, Oct. 26/31; Fredegar. iv 76, 79, and see, for the dates, Courtois, *L'Avènement de Clovis II* (= *Mélanges Louis Halphen*, pp. 155ff.).

Husband of Baldechildis, father of Chlotharius, Childericus and Theudericus; *Fredegar. Cont.* 1, *Lib. Hist. Franc.* 43, *V. S. Balthildis* 2-3.

He died in 657, between Oct. 10 and mid November, and was succeeded by his son, Chlotharius III; *Fredegar. Cont.* 1 and cf., for the dates, Krusch, *MGH, Scr. Rer. Mer.*, vii, p. 495.

See stemma 18f.

Chlothacharius (Chlotharius) I; king of the Franks 511-561; *PLRE* II.

Chlothacarius son of Guntram M VI

For the name, see Schönfeld, p. 140.

Son of Guntram and Austregildis and elder brother of Chlodomeris; Greg. Tur. *HF* iv 25, Fredegar. iii 56. He and his brother both fell ill and died in 577, leaving Guntram without an heir; Mar. Avent. s.a. 577 (eo anno mortui sunt regii atque egregii adulescentes Chlothacarius et Chlodomeris filii Gunthegrammi regis), Greg. Tur. *HF* v 17. See stemma 18d.

Chlotharius II king of the Franks 584-629

Son of Chilperic; Greg. Tur. *HF* vi 41, vii 7, 36 (his only surviving son), viii 1, 9, 18, 31, 42, 43, ix 9, 18, x 11, Fredegar. iv 3, *Gesta Dagoberti* 1, *V. Betharii* 4, Paul. Diac. *Hist. Lang.* iv 4. His mother was Fredegundis; Greg. Tur. *HF* vii 5, 14, 19, viii 31, 44, x 28, Fredegar. iv 17, *Lib. Hist. Franc.* 36. Nephew and adopted son of Guntchramnus; Greg. Tur. *HF* vii 8, viii 9, ix 20, x 28. Cousin of Childebert II; Fredegar. iv 4. Husband of Bertethrudis (died in 618); Fredegar. iv 43, 44. Subsequently husband of Sichildis; Fredegar. iv 53, 54, *Gesta Dagoberti* 5. Father of Meroveus (by 604); Fredegar. iv 25, 26. Father of Dagobert 2 (by Bertethrudis); Fredegar. iv 47, 56, *Gesta Dagoberti* 2. Father of Charibertus (by Sichildis); Fredegar. iv 55, *Gesta Dagoberti* 5. He was godfather of Meroveus 4 (son of Theoderic II); Fredegar. iv 29. See stemma 18f.

He was born in late 584, barely four months before his father's murder; Greg. Tur. *HF* vi 41, cf. vii 5 (infans parvulus, in late 584), 7 (four months old, in late 584).

king of the Franks a. 584-629; he was king of Neustria from 584 to 613, and of Neustria, Austrasia and Burgundy from 613 to 629 (with his

son Dagobert as king of Austrasia from 623 to 629). In 584 the chief men of his father's kingdom (piores quoque de regno Chilperici; see Ansoaldus 1) transferred their allegiance to him, and also conferred on him the name Chlotharius; Greg. Tur. *HF* vii 7, 19, *Lib. Hist. Franc.* 35. His kingdom was taken under the rule of Guntram in 585; Greg. Tur. *HF* viii 18. In 591 he was baptised at Nanterre near Paris and Guntram became his godfather; Greg. Tur. *HF* x 28, Fredegar. iv 3, and cf. Greg. Tur. *HF* viii 1 and 9 (on four occasions in 585 arrangements to baptise him were made but then postponed, to Guntram's annoyance). On the significance of the age seven for Frankish kings, see Courtois, *L'Avènement de Clovis II (Mélanges Louis Halphen)*, pp. 155ff.

In 593 his army defeated that of Childebert under Wintrio; Fredegar. iv 14, *Lib. Hist. Franc.* 36, Paul. Diac. *Hist. Lang.* iv 4. In 596 he and Fredegundis seized Paris, raided lands under Theodebert and Theoderic and defeated their army; Fredegar. iv 17 (Fredegundis died in the following year). In 600 he was heavily defeated by Theodebert and Theoderic on the banks of the river Orvanne near Dormelles and forced not only to flee but to surrender all his kingdom except twelve districts confined to the area north of the Seine and west of the Oise, as far as the sea (duodecim tantum pagi inter Esara et Secona et mare litoris Oceani Chlothario remanserunt); Fredegar. iv 20, *Lib. Hist. Franc.* 37, Paul. Diac. *Hist. Lang.* iv 15. In 604 he sent an army under Landericus (Landri) against Theoderic's army but it was routed and Theoderic entered Paris, while Chlotharius made a separate peace with Theodebert; Fredegar. iv 25-6, Paul. Diac. *Hist. Lang.* iv 28. He is said to have entered into alliance in 608 with Theodebert, the Visigothic king Witteric and the Lombard king Agilulf against Theoderic following the return of Ermenberga to Spain, but nothing came of it; Fredegar. iv 31. In 611 he undertook not to help Theodebert against Theoderic in return for the lands of the so-called *ducatus Dentelini*, but after occupying the lands in 612 he was threatened with attack by Theoderic if he did not surrender them again; Fredegar. iv 37-8. In 613 Theoderic died while leading his army to attack Chlotharius; Fredegar. iv 39.

The leaders of Austrasia and Burgundy chose Chlotharius as their king, in preference to the sons of Theoderic; Fredegar. iv 40-1. He overthrew and killed Brunichildis and captured three of Theoderic's sons (cf. Sigibert, Corbus and Meroveus, and also Childebertus) and became ruler of the united Frankish kingdom; he remained king for sixteen years, and is praised by Fredegarius for maintaining peace with neighbouring peoples and for his generosity towards the church and the poor; he is blamed by him for his excessive zeal for hunting and also for being over-influenced by the women around him; Fredegar. iv 42, cf. 43

(he became king of Burgundy and Austrasia in the thirtieth year of his reign), *Lib. Hist. Franc.* 40.

In 617, at the request of the Lombards, he ended the annual payment of tribute from them in return for a lump sum of thirty-six thousand *solidi* and made a pact of perpetual friendship with them; Fredegar. iv 45 (and cf. Agiulfus 2 and Warnacharius 2). In 623 he associated Dagobert in the rule with him and made him king of part of Austrasia; later, after a quarrel, he made over to him most of the remainder; Fredegar. iv 47, 53, *Lib. Hist. Franc.* 41. After the death of Warnacharius 2 (in 626) he assumed direct rule over Burgundy; Fredegar. iv 54.

He died in 629, after Oct. 18, and was buried in the church of St Vincent on the outskirts of Paris; Fredegar. iv 56, *Lib. Hist. Franc.* 42, and see, for the date, Krusch, *MGH, Scr. Rer. Mer.* vii, p. 491.

A letter of pope Gregory in June 601 was addressed 'Clothario regi Francorum'; Greg. *Ep.* xi 51.

Chlothildis daughter of Guntram L VI

Daughter of king Guntram; in 587 she was his sole surviving child; Greg. Tur. *HF* ix 20. Her mother was Austregildis and she and her sister Chlodeberga both became nuns (Deo sacratae puellae); *Conc. Gall.* 511-695, p. 235. See stemma 18d.

Chlothildis, Chlotildis (nun, at Poitiers); see Chrodieldis.

Chlodsinda; see Chlodosinda.

Fl. Ioannes Theodorus Menas Narses Chnoubammon Horion Hephaestus.

Chonomor comes (of Brittany) M VI

He sheltered Maclivus and saved him from Chanao; Greg. Tur. *HF* iv 4 (at ille, sc. Maclivus, ... post alium comitem regionis illius fugit, nomine Chonomorem).

Chorienes Persian commander (in Lazica) 549

On the name, see Justi, pp. 94-5, s.n. Farruxān, no. 7.

A Persian, he led a Persian invasion of Colchis in 549 accompanied by Alan allies; his death in battle near the river Hippis led to a Persian defeat; Proc. *BG* iv 1.3-6, 8.1.34-6. See further Dagisthaeus and Gubazes.

Choricus (of Gaza) rhetor (at Gaza) M VI

A native of Gaza, he studied rhetoric there under Procopius of Gaza (*PLRE* II, Procopius 8); Chor. *Or.* 2.7, 8.1.27-55, Phot. *Bibl.* 160. He was a close acquaintance of Procopius whose funeral oration he composed; Chor. *Or.* 8 (*Or. fun. in Proc.*) (the date was after 526, when Procopius was still living), cf. *Or.* 8. 32-55. He was a Christian; Phot. *Bibl.* 160.

He taught at Gaza while Procopius was still alive and after his death was the leading sophist there; Chor. *Or.* 8. 45, Phot. *Bibl.* 160. The names of several of his pupils are known because he wrote speeches to celebrate their marriages; Chor. *Or.* 5 (Zacharias 1), 6 (Procopius 1, Ioannes 4 and Elias 1). He was the author of several (extant) declamations, panegyrics and other speeches. The earliest is perhaps *Or.* 32 (Apologia mimorum), which alludes to *pantomimi* at Constantinople and was possibly written before 526 (by when pantomimes were banished, cf. Joh. Mal. 417). The earliest of his panegyrics is that on Aratius and Stephanus 7 (*Or.* 3) in 535/536; that on Summus (*PLRE* II) was written between 535 and 540, perhaps in 537/538. The *Encomium* on bishop Marcianus of Gaza was before 536 (*Or.* 1), as was his funeral oration on Marcianus' mother Maria (*Or.* 7); his funeral oration on Marcianus was between 536 and 542 (*Or.* 2).

He was unmarried; Chor. *Or.* 6.1.

See further Schmid, *P-W* III 2424-31.

Chorsamantis officer of Belisarius' bodyguard 537

Χορσόμαντος; Proc. *BG* I 16.1. Χορσάμαντις; Proc. *BG* II 1.21-32. The two names presumably refer to the same individual. Cf. Justi, p. 173.

A Hun (Μασσαγέτης); Proc. *BG* I 16.1, II 1.21. He was an officer (δορυφόρος) of the bodyguard of Belisarius, in Italy in 537; Proc. *BG* I 16.1, II 1.21.29. In early 537 he, Zarter, Aeschmanus and other δορυφόροι commanded soldiers from Belisarius' bodyguard who were sent against Etruria with Constantinus 3; Proc. *BG* I 16.1. They probably returned to Rome with Constantinus when Belisarius recalled him. See further Constantinus.

Chorsamantis proved a formidable fighter during the siege of Rome, but eventually perished when in a mood of tipsy folly he tried single-handed to take on overwhelming numbers; Proc. *BG* II 1.21-34. His

reputation stood high and his loss was much lamented; *BG* II 1.29 (the best of the δορυφόροι), 34.

Chosdaes Persian official 628

On March 24, 628, Heraclius received news at Ganzac about the fall of Chosroes 'ἀπό τινος ἀδοσηκρήτις Περσῶν, ἔχοντος ὄνομα Χοσδάη καὶ ἀξίωμα Ῥασνᾶν'; *Chron. Pasch.* s.a. 628.

Chosroes I Anoushirvan king of Persia 531-579

His nickname of Anoushirvan (anōshagh-ruvan) means 'with an immortal soul', cf. Christensen, *L'Iran sous les Sassanides*², p. 363 and Justi, p. 17, s.n. Anōš. For the name Chosroes, see Justi, p. 135, no. 18 (s.n. Husrawāh).

He was third son of king Cavades (*PLRE* II, pp. 273-4); Proc. *BP* I 11.3-5, II 9.12, Joh. Mal. 471 (second son), Theoph. AM 6013, *Hist. Nest.* II 24. Son of Cavades; Noeldeke, *Tabari*, 136, 145-7, 151, Zach. *HE* IX 6, 7, Proc. *BP* I 21.26, 23.1, Agath. IV 29.5, Evagr. *HE* IV 12, Mich. Syr. IX 21, Eutychius, *Annales*, col. 1075. His mother was the sister of Aspebedes (and cf. *PLRE* II, p. 169; see also Christensen, *op. cit.*, p. 336, n. 6 and p. 354); Proc. *BP* I 11.5, 23.6, Theoph. AM 6013. Brother of Caoses (*PLRE* II, p. 259); Proc. *BP* I 11.3, 21.20, II 9.12. Also brother of Zames (*PLRE* II, p. 1195); Proc. *BP* I 11.4, II 9.12. He was perhaps born in c. 496; cf. Christensen, p. 350, n. 1. Described as old in 572; Men. Prot. fr. 36.

He had several wives; Proc. *BG* IV 10.8. One was a Roman lady named Euphemia; Proc. *BP* II 5.28 (he married her in 540). Another was the daughter of a Turkish khan (Istami, younger brother of Sizabulus) by whom he had his son and successor Hormisdas; see Christensen, p. 380, n. 2, and p. 442, and cf. Joh. Eph. *HE* III 6.21, 22, Men. Prot. fr. 55, Evagr. *HE* V 15, Theoph. Sim. III 16.7, Nic. Call. *HE* XVIII 2, Mich. Syr. X 16, *Chron.* 1234, lxxiii, Bar Hebr., *Chron.*, p. 81, *Hist. Nest.* II 37, 38, Eutychius, *Annales*, col. 1077. Father also of Anasozadus; Proc. *BG* IV 10.8 (his eldest son), Noeldeke, *Tabari*, pp. 467ff. Another son, name unknown, is recorded in 543 as revolting against his father; Proc. *BP* II 24.8. See stemma 22.

Cavades wished to ensure his succession and to that end proposed that Chosroes be formally adopted by the emperor Justin; the proposal was only rejected following the intervention of Proculus (*PLRE* II, p. 924) (in 525/6); Proc. *BP* I 11.1-39, Evagr. *HE* IV 12, Theoph. AM 6013.

KING OF PERSIA a. 531-79: he succeeded to the throne on the death of Cavades in Sept. 531; Proc. *BP* I 21.17-19 (named by Cavades as his successor on his death bed). 22-3 (chosen by the assembled notables on

the reading of Cavades' wishes, over the claims of his older brother Caoses). 26, Noeldeke, *Tabari*, pp. 428-9 (on Sept. 13), Joh. Mal. 471, Agath. iv 29.5, *Chron.* 1234, lvi, Mich. Syr. ix 21, Bar Hebr., *Chron.*, p. 74, Eutychius, *Annales*, col. 1075. He died in the forty-eighth year of his reign, in early 579; Noeldeke, *Tabari*, pp. 429-30. He reigned for forty-seven years, six months; Eutychius, *Annales*, col. 1077, cf. Bar Hebr., *Chron.*, p. 74, *Hist. Nest.* II 37, 38 (both say forty-seven years), Agath. iv 29.6, Joh. Eph. *HE* III 6.21 (both say forty-eight years).

One of his first acts was to negotiate an end to the current war with Rome and the so-called 'Endless Peace' was signed in early 532; Proc. *BP* I 22.16-19, Zach. *HE* IX 7, Joh. Mal. 471, 477, and see Rufinus (in *PLRE* II, p. 956). He needed to consolidate his power at home and early in his reign crushed a conspiracy which aimed to replace him with Cavades, son of his brother Zames; he killed many male relatives, though Cavades himself escaped; Proc. *BP* I 23.1-6, *BG* IV 26.13, Joh. Mal. 472, *Hist. Nest.* II 24, cf. Christensen, pp. 381-2. He subsequently faced risings from his own sons, in 543 (see above) and 550 (by Anasozadus).

He remained at peace with the Romans during the 530s. An embassy to Justinian is recorded following the reconquest of Africa; Proc. *BP* I 26.2-4. In the late 530s he received envoys from the Ostrogoth Vitigis (seeking help against Rome) and the Armenians (seeking his protection and urging an end to the peace; cf. Bassaces); Proc. *BP* II 2.1-11, 14.11, *BG* II 22.17-20 (the Ostrogoths), *BP* II 3.31-57 (the Armenians; in autumn 539). As early as c. 537 he allegedly planned to break the peace and instigated Alamundarus (*PLRE* II, p. 42) to provoke the Romans, and in 539 accused Justinian of breaking the terms of the peace of 532 by attempting to win over Alamundarus and inciting the Huns to attack Persia; Proc. *BP* II 1.1, 1.12-15, *Anecd.* 11.12. To the embassy of Anastasius 6, sent in late 539 by Justinian to urge peace, he made no reply; Proc. *BP* II 4.14-26, 5.27. There followed a war which lasted from 540 to 544 when it was ended by a five-years peace, negotiated by Constantianus 1 and Sergius 3, effective from spring 545; cf. Proc. *BP* II 28.3-11. In 541, at the invitation of the Lazi under Gubazes, he invaded and seized Lazica, holding it until 547/8 when Gubazes reverted to a pro-Roman policy, fearing Chosroes' plans for Lazica, and called for help from Justinian; Proc. *BP* I 23.12, II 15.1, 15.12-35 (invitation from the Lazi), 17.1-28, 19.47-9, *BG* IV 12.21, and cf. Belisarius and Ioannes 20 Tzibus. His intention was to occupy Lazica permanently, with its access to the Black Sea, and use it as a base against the Romans; Proc. *BP* II 28.15-30, *BG* IV 7.12, Agath. II 18.6-7. The war with the Romans in Lazica lasted from 548 (see Dagisthaeus and Gubazes) until 556 (see

Martinus 2), when the embassy of Isdigousnas Zich negotiated a truce, both sides agreeing to keep what forts and strongholds they currently held and to cease fighting; Agath. iv 30.7-10, v 1.1, Men. Prot. fr. 3.

In the meantime Chosroes had sent an embassy in 547/8; Proc. *BP* II 28.31-44 (see Isdigousnas). In 550 the five-year peace ended and protracted negotiations involving Petrus 6 and Isdigousnas ended in the renewal of peace for a further five years from autumn 551, excluding Lazica; Proc. *BG* IV 11.2-10, 15.1-4, 17.9-10. This agreement was due to expire in autumn 556; direct evidence of its renewal is lacking, but the presence of a Persian envoy in Constantinople in May 556 (Joh. Mal. 448, and cf. Musonius 1) and the resumption of negotiations in 561 (see below) suggest that it was.

In 561 negotiations for a general peace took place (see Petrus 6 and Isdigousnas) and a fifty-year peace was agreed under which the Persians undertook to abandon Lazica to the Romans and to maintain the peace in return for annual payments of gold; only the dispute over Suania (north-east of Lazica and a Persian sphere of influence) remained unresolved; Men. Prot. fr. 11, fr. 13, Theoph. AM 6055. Attempts to resolve the dispute over Suania in 567 were unsuccessful; Men. Prot. fr. 15-17 (and see Ioannes 81 (son of Domnentiolus), Timotheus 2, Isdigousnas and Mebodes).

Early in 572 the Armenians revolted against Persia with Roman support and war broke out again, in the east from 572 to 574, briefly in 575, and again in 578, and in Armenia from 572 onwards (see Iustinianus 3, Marcianus 7, Mauricius 4, and also Adarmaanes and Tamchosroes). Chosroes sent an embassy under Sebochthes at the very beginning of the war, ostensibly to discuss the moneys due under the terms of the fifty-year peace (now ten years old), but it was coldly received; Men. Prot. fr. 36. The loss of Dara to the Persians in 573 and the subsequent deterioration in the emperor's mental state led to diplomatic activity (see Iacobus 2, sent by Chosroes, and Zacharias 2, sent by Sophia, in late 573/early 574) and a one-year truce (from spring 574 to spring 575); Men. Prot. fr. 37-8. A further embassy in 575 (see Traianus 3 and Zacharias 2) produced, after a brief resumption of warfare, a three-year truce (from spring 575 to spring 578), excluding Armenia; Men. Prot. fr. 39-40, 50, Evagr. *HE* V 12. In 575 Chosroes pursued the war in Armenia himself (cf. Sebeos II, p. 9) and deliberately delayed meeting a Roman envoy, Theodorus 33 (son of Bacchus), until the situation was to his advantage; Men. Prot. fr. 41. Then he sent the envoy Nadoes, and Tiberius in reply sent a major embassy (of Zacharias 2, Theodorus 34 (son of Petrus 6), Ioannes 90 and Petrus 17) to discuss peace; protracted negotiations reached no agreement and warfare again

broke out in the east (in early 578, cf. Mebodes 2 and Mauricius); Men. Prot. fr. 46, 47. A further embassy from Tiberius, under Zacharias 2 and Theodorus 36, was en route to renew peace talks with Chosroes in early 579 when news reached them of his death; Men. Prot. fr. 54-5.

Chosroes died in early 579 (in Feb./March; Higgins, pp. 24-5); Agath. iv 29.7-10., Men. Prot. fr. 55, Joh. Eph. *HE* iii 6.20, 21, Evagr. *HE* v 15, Theoph. Sim. iii 16.7, Nic. Call. *HE* xviii 2, Mich. Syr. x 16, *Chron.* 1234. lxxiii, Bar Hebr., *Chron.*, p. 81, *Hist. Nest.* ii 37, 38.

For domestic affairs inside Persia during the reign of Chosroes, see Christensen, ch. viii.

He was greatly interested in Greek philosophy and had Greek writings translated into Persian; in addition he was visited by a group of philosophers with Damascius (*PLRE* ii, pp. 342-3, and see Diogenes 1) and by Vranius, whom he allegedly admired; Agath. ii 28-32 (the depth of his understanding is doubted by Agathias, who despised Vranius), Joh. Eph. *HE* iii 6.20 (also sympathetic to Christianity), *Chron.* 1234, lvi, *Hist. Nest.* ii 24.

For the attitude of Procopius to him (an innovator; Proc. *BP* i 23.1, *Anecd.* 18.28), cf. Christensen, pp. 379-80, Cameron, *Procopius*, pp. 162-63.

He was apparently prone to illness and surrounded himself with doctors; Proc. *BG* iv 10.10, and cf. Tribunus. He suffered from the plague in 543; Proc. *BP* ii 24.8. Nevertheless he took part in military campaigns in 540 (Proc. *BP* ii 5-13), 541 (*BP* ii 15.1, 17, 19.47-8), 542 (*BP* ii 20-1), 543 (*BP* ii 24), 544 (*BP* ii 26-7) and again in old age in 573 (Theoph. Sim. iii 10.6-11.2), and 575 (Men. Prot. fr. 41, Theoph. Sim. iii 12.12-14.11, Sebeos ii, p. 9 and cf. Iustinianus 3).

Chosroes II Parwez

king of Persia 590-628

For his full name, cf. *Chron.* 1234, lxxx, *Hist. Nest.* ii 42, Euty chius, *Annales*, col. 1081, and see Justi, p. 135.

Son of Hormisdas IV; Evagr. *HE* vi 17, Nic. Call. *HE* xviii 18-19, Theoph. Sim. iii 8.12, iv 3.13, Theoph. AM 6080, Zon. xiv 12, Sebeos ii, pp. 13-14, Thomas Artsruni ii 3, Anon. Guidi, p. 15 = p. 15, *Hist. Nest.* ii 42, 58, Bar Hebr., *Chron.*, p. 85, Agapius, p. 441, Euty chius, *Annales*, col. 1081, *Chron.* 1234, lxxx. He had a brother; Theoph. Sim. iv 4.16.

Father of Cavades qui et Siroes (his successor); *Chron. Pasch.* s.a. 628, Theoph. AM 6118, Nic. *Brev.* 19, Zon. xiv 16, Cedr. i 734, Moses Dasxurançi ii 13, Sebeos xxvii, p. 85, Thomas Artsruni ii 3, Anon. Guidi, pp. 28-9 = pp. 24-5, *Chron.* 319 s.a. 938, *Chron.* 1234, c, *Hist. Nest.* ii 92, *Chron. Iac. Edess.*, p. 327 = p. 251, Bar Hebr., *Chron.*, pp. 89-90,

Agapius, p. 452, Euty chius, *Annales*, col. 1091. He had several other children by various wives; cf. Theoph. AM 6118. His youngest son was Merdasan; Theoph. AM 6118, Cedr. i 734. Two infant children are alluded to in 590; Evagr. *HE* vi 17. He is said to have married a daughter of the emperor Maurice called Maria; Mich. Syr. x 23, *Chron.* 1234, lxxxi, Bar Hebr., *Chron.*, p. 85, *Hist. Nest.* ii 43, 58, and see Maria 6. His chief wife was Shirin, q.v. See stemma 22.

KING of Persia a. 590 Feb. 15-628 Feb. 28; he succeeded to the throne on the overthrow of his father in early 590; Evagr. *HE* vi 17, Theoph. Sim. iii 8.12, iv 3. 13, 7.1, Theoph. AM 6080, Zon. xiv 12, Cedr. i 695, Nic. Call. *HE* xviii 18-19, Sebeos ii, pp. 13-14, Thomas Artsruni ii 3, *Chron.* 1234, lxxx, Anon. Guidi, p. 15 = p. 15, Bar Hebr., *Chron.*, p. 85, *Hist. Nest.* ii 42, 58, Agapius, p. 441 ff., Euty chius, *Annales*, col. 1081. The date of his accession was Feb. 15, 590; see Higgins, pp. 26-7 and cf. Theoph. Sim. iii 8.12.

In 590 he was driven from the throne by the rebel Bahram Chobin and fled to the Roman Empire to seek help; Maurice gave him military assistance (see Comentiolus 1 and Narses 10) and he regained the throne in 591 after Bahram's defeat at Blarathon; Evagr. *HE* vi 17-19, *Chron. Pasch.* s.a. 591, Theoph. Sim. iii 8.12, iv 9-10, 14 ff., Theoph. AM 6080, 6081, Cedr. i 695, Zon. xiv 12, Nic. Call. *HE* xviii 20, Sebeos ii, pp. 13-14, Thomas Artsruni ii 3, Anon. Guidi, p. 15 = p. 15, *Chron.* 724, p. 145 = p. 112, *Chron.* 1234, lxxx-lxxxi, Mich. Syr. x 23, Bar Hebr., *Chron.*, p. 85, Agapius, pp. 441 ff., 446 ff., 452 (before Oct. 591), *Hist. Nest.* ii 42, 43, 58, Euty chius, *Annales*, col. 1081.

According to some sources, Maurice adopted Chosroes; Theoph. Sim. v 3.11 (παῖδα Χοσρόην ἀποκαλῶν), Theoph. AM 6081.

From the restoration of Chosroes to the death of Maurice there was no further warfare between Rome and Persia, in spite of their differences; cf. Theoph. Sim. viii 1.1 ff., 15.7, Sebeos iii-xxi. With the murder of Maurice in late 602, Chosroes resumed the war, which then lasted to 628. Success went initially to the Persians, who frequently overran and then occupied Syria, Palestine and Egypt, taking Jerusalem probably in 614 and Alexandria in 616/617. They advanced well into Asia Minor and reached Chalcedon in 615 or 616. From 622 to 628 Heraclius mounted a determined counter-offensive from Lazica and Armenia and in a series of campaigns he wore down the Persians and forced the overthrow of Chosroes. See Theoph. AM 6095-6118, Sebeos xxi-xxvii and, for events in the war, cf. Germanus 13, Narses 10, Philippicus and Priscus 6, and, on the Persian side, Ashtat Yeztayar, Dzuhan Veh, Senitam Chosrov, Rhazates, Shahrbaraz, Shahin, Sarablangas and Cardarigan 2.

Chosroes was overthrown and executed in Feb. 628 and succeeded by his eldest son Cavades *qui et Siroes*; *Chron. Pasch.* s.a. 628 (the rising was on Feb. 24, Cavades was crowned on Feb. 25 and Chosroes executed on Feb. 28), *Nic. Brev.* 19, *Theoph. Sim.* viii 12.13, *Capt. Hier.* xxiv 1, *Theoph. AM* 6118, *Cedr.* i 734, *Zon.* xiv 16, *Nic. Call. HE* xviii 41, *Sebeos* xxvii, p. 85, *Thomas Artsruni* ii 3, *Moses Dasxurançi* ii 13, *Chron.* 724, p. 147 = p. 113, *Anon. Guidi*, pp. 28-9 = pp. 24-5, *Chron. Iac. Edess.*, p. 327 = p. 251, *Chron.* 819 s.a. 938, *Chron.* 1234, c (killed on 9 šebat, = Feb. 9), *Bar Hebr.*, *Chron.*, pp. 89-90, *Hist. Nest.* ii 92, *Agapius*, p. 452, *Euty chius, Annales*, col. 1091. Cf. also *Georg. Pisid. Her.* i 64 (τέκνου γὰρ ὀρμαῖς ὁ σφαγεὺς ἀνηρέθη).

Chosroes III king of Persia 631/632

Of the Sassanid royal family; while still only a boy he succeeded to the Persian throne on the death of Boran; he did not live long; *Sebeos* xxviii, p. 90, *Thomas Artsruni* ii 3.

A son of Cavades (one of the sons of Hormisdas IV), he succeeded Ardashir as king in Chorasán, according to some sources before Boran, according to others (see above) after, but was soon murdered; see *Justi*, pp. 135-6, s.n. Husrawaḥh, no. 24. See stemma 22.

Chosroes I Armenian noble L VI

Cf. *Justi*, p. 135, s.n. Husrawaḥh, no. 20.
'Chosrov (Chosroes), lord of the Vahewuni'; one of the pro-Persian Armenians honoured by king Chosroes in c. 596; subsequently died a natural death in the royal palace; *Sebeos* xi, pp. 39-41. Cf. *Gagik Mamikonian*.

Chosroes 2 honorary consul VII

Κοσροῦς ἀπὸ ὑπάτων; *Zacos* 2891 (seal; obv.: +KO/COPOΣ/ΑΠΟΝΠΑ/ΤΩΝ+; rev.: +ΔΟΝ/ΛΟΝΤΗC/ΘΕΟΤΟ/ΚΟΝ).

Senitam Chosroes

Chosroperozes Persian 590

A Persian, captured by the Romans during the war with Hormisdas and released to Chosroes in 590; *Theoph. Sim.* iv 14.4. Cf. *Samen*.

Chotro cubicularius (of Childebert II); Frankish envoy 582/585

Cubicularius; envoy of Childebert II to Maurice; his fellow-envoy was a bishop Iocundus (not otherwise known); *Ep. Austras.* 42 (*MGH*,

Épp. iii, pp. 148-9). His name is spelt either Cothro or Chotro. For the date of this embassy (582/585, possibly 583/584) and the circumstances, see *Goubert*, ii i, pp. 106-7.

Chramnelenus dux (under Dagobert and Clovis II) 635-642

Of Roman descent (ex genere Romano); *Fredegar.* iv 78. Son of Waldelenus and Flavia (who, to judge by her name, was a Gallo-Roman; cf. also *Fredegarius*, above), brother of bishop Donatus of Besançon and two sisters; *Ionas, V. Columb.* i 14 (*MGH, Ser. Rer. Mer.* iv, 80).

dvx a. 635-642: he succeeded his father as *dux* (the date is not known); *Ionas, loc. cit.* (qui nobilitate et sapientia pollens, post patris obitum in eius honore est suffectus) (he therefore held office between the Jura and the Alps). *Dux* under Dagobert, in 635 he was one of ten *duces* who accompanied Chadoind on an expedition to subdue the Wascones; *Fredegar.* iv 78. In 642, under Clovis II (Chlodoveus) he plotted with Flaiochad and other *duces* against Willibad and in September took part in the battle near Autun in which Willibad was killed; *Fredegar.* iv 90.

He founded a monastery in the Jura above a stream called Novisona; *Ionas, loc. cit.*

Chramnesindus wealthy citizen of Tours L VI

A wealthy citizen of Tours, originally from near Bourges; involved in a feud with someone called Sicharius whom he killed in 587, he eventually regained his property which had briefly been confiscated by Brunichildis; *Greg. Tur. HF* vii 47, ix 19. Cf. *Flavianus* 2 and *Sicharius*.

Chramnichis Frankish dux (in north Italy) 574/575

Dux Francorum; in 574 or 575 he led a Frankish army into the region of Tridentum; he defeated and killed Ragilo and then moved south to plunder Tridentum but was then pursued by Eoin and himself defeated and killed at Salurnum, north of Tridentum; *Paul. Diac. Hist. Lang.* iii 9.

Chramnulfus Frankish noble 626

Unus ex proceribus (under Chlotharius II); in 626 he conspired with Waldebertus to murder Godinus 2 for Chlotharius; *Fredegar.* iv 54.

Chramnus son of Chlotharius I M VI

On the name, see *Schönfeld*, p. 142.

Son of Chlotharius I (*PLRE* ii, Chlothacharius) and Chunsina, nephew of Childebert I, he was half-brother of Guntharius, Childericus,

Charibertus, Guntchramnus, Sigibertus, Chilpericus and Chlothinda; Greg. Tur. *HF* iv 3, Mar. Avent. s.a. 555, s.a. 556, s.a. 560. He married Chalida; Greg. Tur. *HF* iv 17. See stemma 18a.

In 555 he was sent by his father to Clermont, where he made himself very unpopular and committed many crimes; he associated with a band of riotous youths for whose amusement he had girls of good family abducted; he dismissed the *comes* Firminus 1 in favour of Salustius and undertook to depose the bishop Cautinus in favour of the priest Cato; Greg. Tur. *HF* iv 9, 11, 13, 16. He then left Clermont for Poitiers where he conspired against his father with his uncle Childebert; Greg. Tur. *HF* iv 16, Mar. Avent. s.a. 555. He then left Poitiers for the Limousin which he subjected to his own rule; he was attacked at Nigremont by his brothers Charibert and Guntram but tricked them into withdrawing to Burgundy and then followed them, capturing Chalon-sur-Saône and marching to Dijon; from there he went to Paris to meet Childebert and became his ally, swearing opposition to Chlotharius; Greg. Tur. *HF* iv 16, 17, cf. Mar. Avent. s.a. 556 (he ravaged his father's kingdom). He harassed Austrapius, *dux* at Tours, in 556; Greg. Tur. *HF* iv 18.

After Childebert died in 558, Chramnus met his father but they were not reconciled and in 560 he fled with his wife and daughters for refuge with the *comes* Chanao in Brittany; Chlotharius marched against him, battle was joined, Chanao was killed and Chramnus fled but was captured with his family while trying to escape by sea and they were all put to death; the date was just one year before the death of Chlotharius himself (in 561); Greg. Tur. *HF* iv 3 (his death), 20, 21 (his father died just one year later), Mar. Avent. s.a. 560.

Chrestus ex praefectis VII

Χρηστοῦ ἀπὸ ἐπιάρχων; Zacos 1119 (seal; obv.: Virgin Hodegetria and child; rev.: ΧΡ|Η|C/Τ|Θ|Α|Π|Ο/Ε|Π|Α|Ρ|Χ/Ω|Ν).

Christodora supporter of Phocas (in Egypt) 609

She lived at Athribis (in Lower Egypt); after her brother was murdered, she gave her strong support to Phocas and Bonosus 2 against the forces of Heraclius; Joh. Nik. 107.29-30.33.35.39 (pp. 545ff. Zotenberg).

CHRISTODORVS vir magnificus (at Constantinople) 597

Husband of Theoctista 1, in Constantinople; styled *magnificus* and *domnus* by Gregory (cf. Marinus 6^o); he was ignorant of Latin (see Gordia 1); Greg. *Ep.* vii 27 (a. 597 June).

Fl. Christodote illustria (Egypt) 574/578

Φλ. Χριστοδότη σὺν Θεῶ ἰλλουστρία, daughter of Ioannes 52 (*patricius*); sent a claim for payment to Fl. Eustathius 7 (ἀργυροπράτης); she alludes to her brother, Cometas 7; *PSI* 1 76 Oxyrhynchus (dated a. 574/576). See Keenan, *ZPE* 29 (1978), pp. 191-209.

Christodotus mathematician E VII

Teacher of mathematics in 'the region of Fourth Armenia'; Ananias of Shirak, in *BZ* 6 (1897), p. 572 (when Ananias found that Christodotus 'had not the whole science but only a smattering of it', he left him and went on to Constantinople).

Christopemptus scholasticus (at Alexandria) E VII

Congratulated by Maximus Confessor in a letter to his colleague Iulianus 40 on remaining true to the right faith; Max. Conf. *Ep.* 17 (*PG* 91. 580-4) (τοῦ σὺν αὐτῷ δεσπότη μου κυρίου Χριστοπέμπτου τοῦ σοφωτάτου σχολαστικοῦ). See further Iulianus.

Fl. Christophorus 1 ?v.c. (Egypt) 568-570

Son of Theodorus and a landowner at Antinoe; *P. Cairo Masp.* 67162, 5 (Φλαυῖφ Χριστοφόρω τ[ῷ] λαμ[π]ροτάτῳ υἱῷ τοῦ τῆς ἀρίστης μνήμης Θεοδώρο(υ)) Antinoe, dated 568 May 22, cf. *P. Cairo Masp.* 67151, 285-6 (a bequest of 50 *solidi* by Fl. Phoebammon 5 to τῷ λαμ[π]ρ(-στάτῳ) κ[υ]ρ[ι]ῷ Χριστοφόρω υἱῷ Θεοδώρου) Antinoe, dated 570 Nov. 15.

Christophorus 2 vestiarites (Egypt) VI

Ὁ κύρις Χρυστόφορος σὺν Θε(εῶ) βηστιαρίτης; paid a rent of four *solidi*; *Stud. Pal.* viii 781 = xx 157 provenance unknown. The use of the formula σὺν Θεῶ implies late sixth century. Βηστιαρίτης perhaps = *vestiarius*, but whether this is an imperial dignity (perhaps implied by σὺν Θεῶ) or means a clothes merchant (the rent was for a storehouse - (ὑπὲρ) ἐνοικί(ου) κελλ(αρίου?)) - is not certain.

Christophorus 3 protector (East) M VI/E VII

Ἦν τις ἀνὴρ φιλόχριστος... Χριστόφορος μὲν προσαγορευόμενος, στρατευόμενος δὲ ἐν τῷ παλατίῳ ἐν τῇ τῶν προτικτόρων καλουμένη σχολῇ, at Constantinople; his mercy and charity towards a dead brother are recorded; Joh. Mosch. *Pratum, Auct.* 33, cf. *Pratum, Auct.* 34 (a second story about him, set in the Chalce of the palace).

Fl. Christophorus 4

pagarch and topoteretes at Heracleopolis 644, 646, 647

Son of Apa Cyrus 4; *SB* 9750 (cited below). Brother of Theodoracius 3; *SB* 9751.

He held office at Heracleopolis as pagarch and *topoteretes* in the early years of the Arab occupation; *SB* 9751 (a. 644 June 1; orders from the emir 'Αβδέλλα το Χριστοφόρω (καί) Θεοδωρακίω παγάρχ(οις) 'Ηρακλέ(ου)s), *SB* 9754 (a. 646 June 4; Φλ. Χριστοφόρω τῷ μεγαλοπρε(πεστάτω) τοποτηρητῆ ταύτ(ης) τῆς 'Ηρακλ(έου)s π(όλεω)s), *BGU* I 304 (a. 647 Nov. 20; Φ[λ]. Χρ[ιστοφόρω τῷ] μεγαλ(οπρεπεσ)τ(άτω) παγάρχ(ω) τοῦ βορρ(ινοῦ) σκέλου)s ταύτης τῆς πολ(ι)τ(είας)).

The text of *SB* 9750 reads: + Φλ. Χριστοφόρω τῷ μεγαλοπρεπεστάτω υἱῷ τοῦ ἐνδοξοτάτου κυρίου 'Αππα Κύρου παγάρχω τοῦ βορρί(ου) σκέλου)s ταύτης τῆς 'Ηρακλ(έου)s π(όλεω)s). The evidence of *SB* 9755 proves that Apa Cyrus held that post on July 19, 642, and it is therefore probable that the word παγάρχω in *SB* 9750 should read παγάρχου.

Christophorus (?) 5

ex praefectis (?) E/M VII

Χριστοφόρω ἀπό ἐπαρχων(?); *Zacos* 1432 (seal; obv.: cruciform monogram of Θεοτόκε βοήθει; rev.: cruciform monogram (369), possibly of Χρηστοφόρω ἀπό ἐπαρχων).

Chrodegarius

Frank; vir illustris (in Gaul) E VII

Named at the beginning of a fragmentary document concerning wills and the monastery of St Denis, confirmed in 627 by Chlotharius II; Marini, *P. Dip.* 59 (...viris inlustribus Chrodegario...).

Chrodieldis (Clotildis)

daughter of Charibert M/L VI

Daughter of king Charibert; Greg. Tur. *HF* ix 39. Her mother was probably either Marcovefa or Merofled; cf. Greg. Tur. *HF* iv 26.

In 589 she lived as a nun in the convent of St Radegund at Poitiers; there she led a revolt against the abbess Leuovera, aided by Basina, and committed offences against both church canons and public order; for this she was condemned and excommunicated by an episcopal commission in 590; Greg. Tur. *HF* ix 39, x 15-17. Later in 590 she was pardoned by Childebert, received back into communion and, having refused to return to the convent, was given by the king a *villa* near Poitiers once owned by Waddo 2; Greg. Tur. *HF* x 20.

Chrodinus

Frankish dux (in Austrasia) M VI

Of distinguished (Frankish) ancestry; Ven. Fort. *Carm.* ix 16, lines 7-8

(clarus ab antiquis, digno generosior ortu, regibus et patriae qui placiturus eras). Said to have had relatives throughout the nobility of Austrasia; Fredegar. iii 58 (cum omnes primates cum liberis in toto Auster mihi consanguinei sint). He was born in 512 (see below).

According to Fredegarius (not supported in this by Gregory of Tours) he was offered the post of *maior domus* by the Austrasians early in the reign of Sigibert (the text has 'in infantia Sigiberti') but refused on the grounds that so many of the nobility were his relations that he would be unable effectively to ensure law and order; Fredegar. iii 58. He then recommended Gogo instead; Fredegar. iii 59.

dux, ? under Sigibert and Childebert II: Ven. Fort. *Carm.* ix 16 title (Ad Chrodinum ducem), line 1 (addressed as 'inclite dux'), Greg. Tur. *HF* vi 20 title (de obitu Chrodini ducis). The evidence of Fredegarius suggests that he served under Sigibert and then presumably under Childebert. In the poem addressed to him by Venantius, he is described as famous in Italy and 'Germania' (line 5 *Italia terra tibi, pariter Germania plaudunt*), which presumably here means north-east Gaul, i.e. Austrasia, the kingdom of Sigibert; this would also be his *patria* (line 8 cited above). There is little sign in the poem that Venantius knew him well personally, but he perhaps met him (cf. line 17 *mitis in alloquio*) at Sigibert's court.

He died aged seventy in 582; Greg. Tur. *HF* vi 20.

He was famous for his lavish generosity to the poor and to churches; Greg. Tur. *HF* vi 20 (*vir magnificae bonitatis et pietatis, eleemosynarius valde pauperumque refector, proflus ditator ecclesiarum, clericorumque nutritor. Nam saepe a novo fundans villas, ponens vineas, aedificans domos, culturas erigens, vocatis episcopis quorum erat parva facultas, dato epulo, ipsas domos cum cultoribus et culturis, cum argento, peristromatibus, utensilibus, ministris et famulis benigne distribuebat, dicens: 'Sint haec ecclesiae data, ut dum de his pauperes reficiuntur, mihi veniam obtineant apud Deum.' Multa autem et alia bona de hoc viro audivimus, quae insequi longum est*), Ven. Fort. *Carm.* ix 16, lines 9-18 (his charity, kindness and justice), Fredegar. iii 58.

Chrodoaldus 1

follower (vassal) of Theodericus II E VII

Husband of an aunt of king Theodebert II, he was a loyal follower of Theodericus II; in 610 he met St Columbanus at Tours; Ionas, *V. Columb.* 1 22 (*amitam Theudeberti regis in coniugium habebat, regi tamen Theuderico fidelis erat*; he was bound to Theoderic by oaths of loyalty - foederis iura, foedus fidei promissae). His wife was possibly Chlodosinda, sister of king Childebert, but may have been an unknown sister of Failcuba; see stemma 18c.

He was perhaps a Burgundian, in view of his attachment to Theoderic, and not therefore identical with the Austrasian Chrodoaldus 2.

Chrodoaldus 2 Frankish noble (in Austrasia) E VII

An Agilolfing, one of the nobles of Austrasia (quidam ex proceribus de gente nobili Ayglolfinga), he fell out of favour with Dagobert, allegedly through the schemes of bishop Arnulf, Pippinus and other nobles, and was assassinated in 624 on Dagobert's orders at Trier, in spite of the intervention of Chlotharius II; described as arrogant and wealthy and for ever seizing other people's property; Fredegar. iv 52.

Father of Fara; Fredegar. iv 87.

Crodobertus dux of the Alamanni 630

In 630 the army of the Alamanni 'cum Crodoberto duce' won a victory over the Slavs; Fredegar. iv 68.

Chrodolenus father of Vrsinus (in Gaul) L VI/E VII

Father of Vrsinus, Beppolenus 2 and Chaimedes; dead by 628; Marini, *P. Dip.* 60.

Chrysanthus vestiarius VII

Χρυσάνθ(ω) βεστιαρίω; Zacos 1433 (seal; obv.: cruciform monogram of Θεοτόκε βοήθει; rev.: ΧΡΥ[С]/ΑΝΘΟΒ/ΕΤΙΑ/ΡΙΩ).

CHRYSATORIVS (v.c.) (Italy) M VI

Of noble birth, he was a relation of bishop Probus of Reate and father of Maximus 5 (a monk whom Gregory met during his own time as a monk); he lived in Valeria and had a great reputation for avarice; being very rich and very wicked, he was surrounded on his deathbed by evil spirits come for his soul; Greg. *Dial.* iv 40, *Hom. in Evang.* i 12.7 (*PL* 76. 1122) (quidam vir nobilis in Valeria provincia nomine Chrysaorius fuit, quem lingua rustica populus Chryserium vocabat).

Chryses architect M VI

Native of Alexandria and an architect (μηχανοποιός δεξιός), employed by Justinian in Mesopotamia, at Dara and elsewhere; responsible for damming the river at Dara; Proc. *Aed.* ii 3.2-23.

CHRYSOGONVS v.c., cancellarius (in Italy) E VII

Witness of the donation to the church of Ravenna made by Stephanus 58 at Rome; Marini, *P. Dip.* 92 = *P. Ital.* 18-19B, lines 41 Chrisogonus v.c. cancel(larius) and 65 Chrisogonus v.c. cancell(arius).

Chrysonas ex praefectis VII

[X]ρυσωνᾶ ἀπὸ ἐπόρχω[v]; Zacos 1434 = Dumbarton Oaks seal 55.1.483 (seal; obv.: cruciform monogram of Θεοτόκε βοήθει; rev.: [X]PV/CΩNA/ΑΠΟΕΠ/ΑΡΧΩ[N]).

Chucus high official (under Chlotharius II) 617

One of three high officials under Chlotharius II (see Gundelandus and Warnacharius 2) in 617 who accepted a bribe of one thousand *solidi* from Lombard envoys; Fredegar. iv 45. Gundeland and Warnachar were *maiores domus palatii* (in Neustria and Burgundy respectively); Chucus was perhaps *maior domus* in Austrasia. If so, he probably succeeded Rado.

Probably identical with Hugus, quidam primatis procerum, recorded in *V. S. Arnulfi* 14.

Chundo cubicularius (of Guntram) 590

Cubicularius regis; executed in 590 on Guntram's orders at Chalon-sur-Saône after allegedly killing an aurochs (cf. Dalton ii, 594) in the royal forests of the Vosges; Guntram later regretted his haste in killing 'fidelem sibi que virum necessarium'; Greg. Tur. *HF* x 10.

Chunsena mother of Chrammus E/M VI

Wife or mistress of Chlotharius I, to whom she bore Chrammus; Greg. Tur. *HF* iv 3.

Cilla Lombard commander 603

Mentioned by pope Gregory in 603 in a letter to Smaragdus; he promised Gregory to observe the thirty-day truce made by Smaragdus, provided that the imperial forces did likewise, and he also released his prisoners, but Gregory feared that he would still attack if the opportunity arose; Greg. *Ep.* xiii 36 (a. 603 June). Evidently a Lombard commander, possibly a *dux*.

CITONATVS vir magnificus (Italy); ?praefectus annonae 590

Vir magnificus Citonatus; he informed pope Gregory that, contrary to the report of Iustinus 8, supplies of corn from Sicily were short of what was needed; Greg. *Ep.* i 2 (a. 590 Sept.). He was possibly *praefectus annonae*.

Civcilo comes palatii (of Sigibert) M VI

Former *comes palatii* of Sigibert, killed in 577/578 by Chilperic's men for his loyalty to Merovech; Greg. Tur. *HF* v 18 *ad fin.* (quondam comes palatii Sigiberti regis fuerat).

Claudia (*ILCV* 163) IV/VI: *PLRE* II.

Claudia (*CIL* v 7138) V/VI: *PLRE* II.

Claudia religiosa femina ?VI
CIL v 366 = *ILCV* 219 b Parentium. See further Fausta.

CLAVDIANVS ?proconsul Dalmatiae 549

Claudianus was governor of Salona in 549 (ὄσπερ τότε Σαλώνων ἦρχε); at the news of Indulf's attack on Laureate he sent an army by sea against him; *Proc. BG* III 35.27. He evidently had military powers and perhaps combined them with the civil authority; Procopius normally employs specific terms (e.g. στρατιῶται, κατάλογοι, φυλακή) when alluding to purely military posts, and the only other occasions where he writes of the ἄρχων of a city concern the post of *dux et augustalis* at Alexandria (cf. Hephæstus, Liberius (*PLRE* II) and Rhodon). Dalmatia was recovered for the Romans in 536 (cf. Constantianus 2) and remained Roman thereafter, in spite of Gothic attacks (*Proc. BG* I 16.8-18, in 537) and Lombard raids (*Proc. BG* III 33.12, in the 540s); its administration was perhaps already under a *proconsul* (cf. Marcellinus 3, and see Stein, *Bas-Emp.* II 801), possibly combining civil and military authority.

Claudius I leading notable (under Guntram) 585

Sent in 585 by Guntram to kill or capture Eberulfus at Tours; he first visited Fredegundis in Paris and obtained promises of rewards for killing Eberulf, and then went to Châteaudun and obtained three hundred men from the *comes* there, before proceeding to Tours; there he ingratiated himself with Eberulf before killing him, but was then killed himself by Eberulf's men; he had a wife who came from Meaux; *Greg. Tur. HF* VII 29. His name suggests that he was a prominent Gallo-Roman under Guntram. He evidently had authority over the *comes* at Châteaudun, and was allegedly addressed by Eberulf as 'dominus meus'.

Claudius 2 dux Lusitaniae ?587-589

A Spaniard, of noble Roman family, and a catholic; *Vit. Patr. Emer.* XVII 39 (nobili genere ortus, Romanis fuit parentibus progenitus).

V.C., DVX LVSITANIAE a. 587(?)–589: virum clarissimum ducem Emeretensis civitatis, *Vit. Patr. Emer.* XVII 39 (in ?587, cf. below); dux Lusitaniae, *Joh. Bicl. s.a.* 589; dux, *Isid. Hist. Goth.* 54. Alluded to in *Vit. Patr. Emer.* XVII 39 as 'vir illustris' and 'vir egregius', and described as

a learned, experienced and skilful soldier (in proeliis strenuus... in bellica studia eruditus, in causis bellicis nihilominus exercitatus).

Possibly in 587 he suppressed an attempt at rebellion against Reccared and bishop Massona of Merida, led by the Arian bishop Sunna and several *comites civitatis*; *Vit. Patr. Emer.* XVII–XVIII, and cf. for the date *Joh. Bicl. s.a.* 588 and Garcia Moreno, p. 41, no. 35, n. 3.

In 589 in Septimania he defeated the army of Guntram under Boso 2 near Carcassonne, although outnumbered, taking many prisoners and looting the Frankish camp; *Joh. Bicl. s.a.* 589, *Isid. Hist. Goth.* 54, cf. *Greg. Tur. HF* IX 31, *Fredegar. iv* 10, and see Boso 2.

In 599 he received a letter from pope Gregory, praising his loyalty to Reccared and enlisting his aid for an abbot Cyriacus visiting Spain; *Greg. Ep.* IX 230 (a. 599 Aug.; addressed 'Claudio in Spaniis'; he is styled 'gloria vestra').

Claudius 3 cancellarius (of Childebert II) before 591

Claudius quidam ex cancellariis regalibus; miraculously cured of a fever by St Martin while Gregory of Tours was at Childebert's court in 591; *Greg. Tur. Mir. S. Mart.* IV 28, cf. IV 26 for the date.

Claudius 4 maior palatii (of Theoderic II) 606

A Gallo-Roman of Burgundy, appointed successor of Protadius in 606 (subrogatur maior domus Claudius genere Romanus); praised in glowing terms by Fredegarius as an intelligent and sensible person, patient, capable, well educated and an excellent raconteur, trustworthy and amiable, who had learnt from the experience of his predecessors to practise moderation in office; his one fault was apparently corpulence through overeating; *Fredegar. iv* 28.

Venantius Honorius Clementianus Fortunatus

Clementina patricia (Italy) LVI

Addressee of three letters from pope Gregory; *Ep.* I 11 (a. 590 Dec.), IX 85 (a. 598 Dec./599 Jan.), X 6 (a. 600 March) (all addressed 'Clementinae patriciae'; she is styled 'gloria vestra' and 'gloriosa filia'). Also mentioned in *Greg. Ep.* III 1 (a. 592 Sept.; styled 'gloriosa Clementina' and 'nobilis femina').

Possibly daughter of Clementinus 1; cf. Sundwall, *Abhandlungen*, p. 109. Possibly also wife of Eutherius, about whose death she wrote to Gregory in 590, receiving in reply a letter of consolation; *Greg. Ep.* I 11 (cited under Eutherius). She lived in Campania, apparently at Naples; in 592 Gregory instructed the *rector* of the papal patrimony in Campania to investigate the role of Clementina and her servants in an assault on

the visitor of the see of Naples, bishop Paul of Nepes (*Ep.* III 1) and in 600 he informed her of the election of a new bishop of Surrentum (*Ep.* x 6).

Clementinus 1 patricius (in Italy) 546

One of the 'viri illustres et magnifici' to whom pope John II wrote a letter in early 534, before March 24; *ACOec.* IV II, p. 206 (= Mansi VIII 803 = *PL* 66, 20). Cf. Ampelius 1.

PATRICIUS a. 546: Proc. *BG* III 26.13 (πατρικίος ἀνήρ).

Some time before 546 he surrendered a fort near Naples to Totila and the Goths (perhaps in 542, cf. Totila, p. 1329); consequently, when Rome fell to Totila (Dec. 17, 546), he did not flee with the Roman troops but remained there, fearing the emperor's displeasure, and sought safety in a church; Proc. *BG* III 26.13.

Clementinus 2 army officer (East) 537

He led a military force which helped Ephraem of Antioch to persecute monophysites in the east in early 537 ('mense kanūn', of indiction 15, to the start of the first indiction); Zach. *HE* x 1.

Cleonicus honorary consul VII

Κλεονίκω ὑπάτῳ; Zacos 2845 (seal; obv.: eagle, with cruciform monogram of Θεοτόκε βοήθει; rev.: +ΤΩ/ΔΟΝΛΩ/COVKΛΕ/ONIKΩV/ΠΑΤΩ+).

Cleopatra daughter of the emperor Maurice L VI/E VII

Daughter of Maurice and Constantina 1; sister of Anastasia 5 and Theoctiste 3; *Chron. Pasch.* s.a. 602, 605. For the fate of the sisters and their mother (all eventually executed in 605 or 607), see Constantina.

Perhaps identical with Sopatra, named as a daughter of Maurice and a disciple of St Eustolia in the *Synaxarium of Constantinople* (ed. Delchaye, *Prophylazum ad ASS, Nov.*), cols. 207-8 (Nov. 9).

Cleph Lombard king 572-574

Clebus; Mar. Avent. Cleph or Claffo; elsewhere.

Of noble Lombard family (nobilissimum de suis virum); husband of Masa; Paul. Diac. *Hist. Lang.* II 31. Father of Authari; *Origo Gent. Lang.* 6, *Hist. Lang. cod. Goth.* 6, Paul. Diac. *Hist. Lang.* III 16. See stemma 20c.

dux of the Lombards, at 'Beleos', a. 572: when made king in 572, he was 'dux Langobardorum', Mar. Avent. s.a. 573. Described as 'Cleph de Beleos', *Origo Gent. Lang.* 6, cf. *Hist. Lang. cod. Goth.* 6 ('de Peleos'). Beleos is a geographical indication, probably of some town or city in north Italy, where Cleph was dux, but its identity seems unknown.

king of the Lombards a. 572-574: chosen as king after the murder of Alboin in 572; Mar. Avent. s.a. 573, *Origo Gent. Lang.* 6, *Hist. Lang. cod. Goth.* 6, Paul. Diac. *Hist. Lang.* II 31. Murdered by a slave in 574, after reigning two years; Mar. Avent. s.a. 574, *Origo Gent. Lang.* 6 (two years), *Hist. Lang. cod. Goth.* 6 (two years, six months), Paul. Diac. *Hist. Lang.* II 31 (one year, six months), Fredegar. IV 45.

Said to have killed or exiled many Romans; Paul. Diac. *Hist. Lang.* II 31, cf. Mar. Avent. s.a. 573 (plures seniores et mediocres ab ipso interfecti sunt).

Clericus son of Ioannes *qui et Gylus* 562

Son of Ioannes 74 (*qui et Gylus*); in October 562 he had his hands cut off while taking part in fighting among the Blues in the Pittacia district; Joh. Mal. 492.

Co...tus vir gloriosissimus (Egypt) E/M VI

Dead by May 3, 555, when his heirs are mentioned at Aphrodito; *P. Lond.* v 1692a, line 13 κατὰ τὰ ὅρια τῶν κληρονόμων τοῦ τῆς ἐνδοξο[τ(άτης)] μνήμ(ης) Κο...το(υ).

Coch (Κόχ) Avar envoy 593

Envoy of the Avar khan to Priscus 6 at Durostorum in 593; Theoph. Sim. VI 6.6ff.

The name recurs, of another barbarian, in Men. Prot. fr. 70 (= Suid. s.v. ἄτρακτον, s.v. εὐθύωρον); not the same man.

Fl. Colluthus 1 ?v.c., scriniarius (in Egypt) M VI

Son of Ammonius; a *scriniarius* attested in documents from Aphrodito, probably in 539; *P. Cairo Masp.* 67327, lines 37, 42, 47, *P. Lond.* v 1702, lines 1, 6. Both documents are rent receipts to Apollos (father of Fl. Dioscorus 5) who was still alive in 541 but dead by 543; one (*P. Cairo Masp.*) alludes to a third indiction, presumably 539/540.

He is alluded to in two other documents, both concerning nephews of his by his sister; *P. Cairo Masp.* 67313 probably from Antinoe (among friends asked to help the nephews concerning an inheritance is ὁ λαμπρότα[τος] ἡμῶν θε[ί]ος κατ[ά]μ[η]τέρα ὁ κύριος Κόλλ[ο(υ)θ]ος ὁ σκρινιάριος), *P. Cairo Masp.* 67099 probably from Aphrodito (line 4... τῶ λαμπρ(οτάτῳ) κυρίῳ Κ[ολ]λούθῳ τῶ εἰ[ρ]ημῶν θε[ί]ῳ ἡμ[ῶν] κατὰ μητέρα). One nephew bore the name Philemon (*P. Cairo Masp.* 67313).

Since λαμπρότατος is not linked with σκρινιάριος and occurs only before the name, in the position usually reserved for flattery rather than

technical accuracy, its use here is probably loose. Cf. however Cosmas 14 for a contrary example.

Colluthus 2 notarius (at Antaeopolis) M VI

The *protocometae* of Aphrodito, including Apollos, were summoned, probably to Antaeopolis, πρὸς Κόλλουθον τὸν νοτάριον, perhaps by Menas 5 (the pagarch); *P. Cairo Masp.* 67061, lines 2–3 Aphrodito. Cf. Menas.

COLLVTHVS 3

v.c., comes; cancellarius and pagarch (of Antaeopolis) 567/568

Two sets of verses composed in his honour by Fl. Dioscorus survive; *P. Cairo Masp.* 67120 verso (= *Pap.* 1) and *P. Cairo Masp.* 67187 verso (= *Pap.* 2) (the latter verses are apparently on behalf of Antaeopolis).

Son of Apa Dios; *Pap.* 1, line 18. Brother of Callinicus 4, Dorotheus 7 and Marcus 7; *Pap.* 1, right col., line 29, left col., line 41. He was probably a native of Antaeopolis; *Pap.* 2.

COMES ET CANCELLARIUS ET PAGARCHVS: *Pap.* 1, lines 17–18 Εἰς τὸν κόμητα Κόλλουθον τὸν πάγα[ρ]χον. He is attested in a papyrus of late 567/early 568 as ὁ λαμπροτάτος κύριος Κόλλουθος ὁ καγκελλάριος κ(αὶ) παγάρχης; *P. Cairo Masp.* 67005, line 19 (possibly from Antinoe; a petition, written by Dioscorus, to the *dux* Athanasius 3, which claims that orders from Colluthus for the release of a widow of Aphrodito had not been obeyed) (for the date, see Athanasius). In another document of about the same date (also addressed to Athanasius) Colluthus is accused by the council of Ombi (in the Upper Thebaid) of pagan leanings and of rousing the Blemmyes to attack the people of Ombi; *P. Cairo Masp.* 67004 (possibly from Antinoe; Colluthus is styled simply (line 2) [ὁ λα]μπρό(τατος)).

To judge by the dates, Colluthus was pagarch of Antaeopolis at the same time as Menas 5.

Colluthus 4 doctor (at Hermopolis) VI

Mentioned in a document from Hermopolis; *Stud. Pal.* III 77, lines 1–2 ἔσχον πα(ρὰ) τοῦ κυρ(ίου) Κόλλουθου τοῦ σοφοτά(του) ἀρχειάτρου (for the ἐμβολή of an eleventh indiction).

COLLVTHVS 5 vir spectabilis (in Egypt) L VI/E VII

Named in a list of minor officials and others, whose purpose is not stated; *P. Oxy.* 1108, line 5 τὸν περίβλ(επτον) Κόλλουθον. The date is that given by the editors of *P. Oxy.*

Colluthus 6 advocatus fori Thebaidis ?602

Mentioned in a document from the Hermopolite nome in which a certain Aurelius Pekysis made an agreement with Colluthus and Ioannes v.c., comes (Ioannes 229); *P. Ross.-Georg.* V 42, line 3...Κολλούθω σχολ]αστικῷ φόρου Θεβαΐδος υἱῷ τοῦ τῆς λογίας μν[ή]μης... and line 8 τῷ λογικωτά]τῳ Κολλούθω [σχο]λαστικῷ. The document alluded to Τιβε]ρίου Ν[έ]ου as *augustus* (i.e. the emperor Maurice) and mentions a seventh indiction (either 588/589 or 603/604); the editors describe it as in the same hand as *P. Ross.-Georg.* III 49 (dated a. 604/605) and assign it the date ?602.

Possibly identical with Κόλλουθος σὺν Θε(εῶ) σχ(ολαστικός) Ἐρμ(ου)-π(όλεως) [...]; *Stud. Pal.* III 409, line 1, from Hermopolis (a receipt issued by him).

Columba gloriosa filia (in Africa) 601

Joint addressee with Savinella and Galla of a letter from pope Gregory praising them for their good works and sending keys of St Peter; styled 'gloriosa filia'; Greg. *Ep.* XII 2 (a. 601 Sept.). The bearer of the letter, Hilarus 'cartularius noster', worked in Africa.

Colympadius (?) ex praefectis VII

Κολυμπαδίου (?) ἀπὸ ἐπάρχων; Dumbarton Oaks seal 58.106.1421 (seal; obv.: cruciform monogram (182) of, perhaps, Κολυμπαδίου; rev.: cruciform monogram (28) of ἀπὸ ἐπάρχων). The name is very doubtful; another possibility might be Λαμπαδικίου.

Comentiolus 1 patricius; MVM 598–602

A native of Thrace; Evagr. *HE* VI 15, Nic. Call. *HE* XVIII 18.

SCRIBO a. 583; Theoph. Sim. I 4.7 (ἄνδρα τῶν σωματοφυλάκων τοῦ βασιλέως ὑπερφερόμενον, ὃν σκρίβωνα τῇ Λατινίδι φωνῇ Ῥωμαῖοι κατονομάζουσιν).

In 583 he accompanied Elpidius 1 on an embassy to the khan of the Avars; Theoph. Sim. I 4.6–7, Theoph. AM 6075, Cedr. I 692. They met the khan at Anchialus to discuss a treaty, but the khan's inflexible attitude provoked Comentiolus to an outspoken statement (supposedly narrated at Theoph. Sim. I 5.1–16); put in chains by the irate khan, he was released on the following day after the other Avar leaders intervened; Theoph. Sim. I 4.7–6.3.

?DVX or COMES REI MILITARIS (in Thrace) a. 584; in the following year, after a truce with the Avars (?spring, cf. Elpidius), Comentiolus was given a military command (οὐκ ἄκομψον ταξιαρχίαν πιστεύεται) and sent to expel the Slavs from Thrace; he defeated them near the river Erginia; Theoph. Sim. I 7.3, cf. Theoph. AM 6076, Cedr. I 692, Zon. XIV

12. He was probably *comes rei militaris* or *dux* (rather than *magister militum*); cf. Theodorus 21 for the title.

MVM *praesentalis* a. 585: following this success he was made *magister militum praesentalis* and again sent against the Slavs; Theoph. Sim. I 7.4 (διά τοι τοῦτο καί στρατηγός ὑπό τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος αὐθις χειροτονθεῖς ἀποστέλλεται καί Ῥωμαϊκαῖς ἄξιας λαμπρύνεται τήν τε τοῦ πραισέντου τήν παρά Ῥωμαίοις λεγομένην ἔνοπλον ἡγεμονίας τιμήν ἀποφέρειται), Theoph. AM 6076 (στρατηγός). The word αὐθις is difficult, since Comentiolus had not previously been *magister militum* (the normal meaning of στρατηγός in this sort of context); either στρατηγός here means simply commander and Comentiolus' title is then elaborated by Theophylact in the rest of the sentence (cf. also Theoph. Sim. VIII 1.10, cited below, p. 325), or, less probably, αὐθις should be taken with ἀποστέλλεται and Theophylact regarded as having misrepresented his source.

PATRICIVS: Comentiolus was a *patricius*, possibly in 589, *CIL* II 3420 = D 835 (see below), and certainly at his death in 602, *Chron. Pasch. s.a.* 602. He perhaps received the title in 585; Theoph. Sim. I 7.4 (Ῥωμαϊκαῖς ἄξιας λαμπρύνεται, i.e. honours were conferred in addition to the title of MVM *praesentalis*).

In summer 585 Comentiolus went to Adrianople and met and defeated a large horde of Slavs under Ardagast close by, near the fort of Ansinon in the district of Astice; Theoph. Sim. I 7.5-6, Theoph. AM 6076, Cedr. I 692, Zon. XIV 12.

Apparently in autumn 586 he was made supreme commander (i.e. στρατηγός αὐτοκράτωρ) against the Avars when they broke the treaty and harried cities in Moesia and Scythia; Theoph. Sim. I 8.10-11 (βασιλεὺς δὲ Κομεντίολον στρατηγὸν ἀνίστησι καί τῆς πάσης ἡγεμονίας κηδεμόνα τουτουὶ προεστήσατο). It is not possible to tell whether he remained MVM *praesentalis* or was appointed to some other post (?MVM *per Thracias* or *quaestor exercitus*). According to Theoph. Sim. I 8.1, the date was late in the same year as Comentiolus' earlier activities against the Slavs (585); however at I 8.11 the narrative of the Danube wars breaks off abruptly with the appointment of Comentiolus and when it resumes at II 10.8, equally abruptly, it apparently relates the ensuing campaign against the Avars but does so under the year 587; cf. Theoph. Sim. II 10.5-6 and see Heraclius 3. In the Chronicle of Theophanes (AM 6079) the break in Theophylact's narrative is ignored and the events of Theoph. Sim. I 8.10-11 are connected directly with those of II 10.8ff. and placed in a year corresponding apparently to 586/587.

On campaign in, apparently, 587, Comentiolus went to Anchialus

and assembled an army ten thousand strong; the four thousand least warlike he left to guard his camp while the remaining six thousand were divided equally between himself, Castus and Martinus 3; Theoph. Sim. II 10. 8-9, Theoph. AM 6079. He remained inactive at Marcianopolis while Castus and Martinus engaged the Avars (cf. Rusticius) and then when they rejoined him he took his whole force up into the Haemus mountains (to a place called Sabulente Canalion); Theoph. Sim. II 11.1-9, Theoph. AM 6079. After further delays, during which the Avars overran Thrace, he led his troops down to Astice intending to take the khan unawares but a disturbance involving the Roman baggage animals warned the Avars and the khan escaped; Theoph. Sim. II 11.9-15.12, Theoph. AM 6079.

PATRICIVS (see above) and MAGISTER MILITVM SPANIAE a. 589: sent by Maurice to Spain against barbarian enemies (presumably the Visigoths), he had one of the gates of Carthago Nova strengthened; *CIL* II 3420 = D 835 = *ILCV* 792 = Vives, *Inscripciones cristianas*, n. 362 Cartagena (Carthago Nova), dated Sept. 589/Aug. 590 (year eight of Maurice, = Aug. 589-Aug. 590, in indiction eight, = Sept. 589-Aug. 590) (Comenciolus sic haec iussit patricius, missus a Mauricio Aug(usto) contra hostes barbaros, magnus virtute magister mil(itum) Spaniae). If this is really the same person, Comentiolus had left Spain by the date of the inscription and was involved in the war with Persia (see below), and it was presumably not yet known in Spain that he would not be returning. Cf. however Comitiolus 2, with whom the Comenciolus of the inscription could possibly be identical.

MVM *PER ORIENTEM* a. 589-591: probably in autumn 589 he was appointed MVM *per Orientem* in place of Philippicus; Theoph. Sim. III 5.16 (στρατηγός), Theoph. AM 6080 (στρατηγὸν τῆς ἀνατολῆς) (= Cedr. I 695), Evagr. *HE* VI 15 (= Nic. Call. *HE* XVIII 18). His army, led by Heraclius 3, defeated the Persians at Sisarbanon near Nisibis after Comentiolus himself had allegedly taken flight to Theodosiopolis; Theoph. Sim. III 6.1-5, Evagr. *HE* VI 15 (he fought bravely), Theoph. AM 6080, Nic. Call. *HE* XVIII 18, Cedr. I 695, and see Whitby, pp. xxii-iii. Later in 589 he laid siege to Martyropolis and captured the nearby stronghold of Acbas; Evagr. *HE* VI 15, Theoph. Sim. IV 2.1 (ὁ Ῥωμαίων στρατηγός), Nic. Call. *HE* XVIII 18.

In spring 590 while at Hierapolis he received from Probus 5 the news that Chosroes was asking for Roman help to regain his throne and he wrote to Maurice for instructions; Theoph. Sim. IV 10.9 (ὁ στρατηγός). On the emperor's orders he welcomed Chosroes to Hierapolis; Theoph. Sim. IV 12.8, Theoph. AM 6080, Nic. Call. *HE* XVIII 20. In summer he accompanied Chosroes from Hierapolis to Constantina, after Maurice's

decision to assist the Persian; Theoph. Sim. iv 14.5, 15.7, cf. Evagr. *HE* vi 18 (unnamed στρατηγός sent to assist Chosroes). At Constantina he executed Sittas 2 and other Romans who had formerly betrayed Martyropolis; Theoph. Sim. iv 15.13–18. Subsequently he was replaced (by Narses 10) as commander of the forces helping Chosroes, following a complaint from Chosroes that he was too disrespectful; Theoph. Sim. v 2.7–8 (probably in Jan. 591). However he remained as a subordinate commander and took part in the subsequent campaign in Persia, commanding the right wing of Narses' army (ταγματάρχην τοῦ δεξιῦ κέρατος τοῦ μαχίμου – perhaps as *dux*); Theoph. Sim. v 8.1–2.

MVM a. 598–602 (?PER THRACIAS, a. 598–601): he campaigned as MVM against the Avars in 598 and 599, retained the command in the same area in 600, when no fighting occurred, and probably also for a time in 601, and was still MVM at his death in 602 (see below). In office in 598, Theoph. Sim. vii 13.9 (ὁ τῶν Ῥωμαίων στρατηγός), 13.11 (ὁ πολέμαρχος), 14.3.5, viii 1.9 (ὁ στρατηγός); in 599, Theoph. Sim. viii 1.10 (reappointed στρατηγός), 4.5 (ὁ στρατηγός); in 600, Theoph. Sim. viii 4.8 (reappointed στρατηγός); in ?601, Joh. Ant. fr. 218b (ὁ στρατηγός, in Thrace); in 602, at his death, *Chron. Pasch.* s.a. 602 (ὁ στρατηλάτης). When recording his death, Theophylact noted that his narrative had frequently mentioned Comentiolus as στρατηγός τῆς Εὐρώπης; Theoph. Sim. viii 13.2 (ἀναιρεῖται τε καὶ Κομεντιόλος ἐκεῖνος, ὃν πολλάκις ὁ λόγος στρατηγὸν τῆς Εὐρώπης ἀνέδειξεν), cf. Nic. Call. *HE* xviii 41 (from Theophylact). Theophanes, also in recording his death, styles him ὁ στρατηγός τῆς Θράκης; Theoph. AM 6100. Comentiolus and Priscus 6 are styled οἱ στρατηγοὶ τῶν Εὐρωπαϊῶν κλιμάτων in Nic. Call. *HE* xviii 37 (narrating events of 599 and derived from Theoph. Sim. viii 1.11ff. where the expression does not occur). Comentiolus was certainly MVM from 598 to 602 and possibly MVM *per Thracias* in 598 to 601; the expression στρατηγός τῆς Εὐρώπης alludes to the area of his command, not to his formal title, on which cf. Priscus (who was made στρατηγός τῆς Εὐρώπης in 588, Theoph. Sim. vi 4.7, but whose official title was MVM *per Thracias*, Theoph. Sim. vi 5.13). The two statements recording his reappointments refer to his reappointments as commander against the Avars.

In spring 598 he was sent to Moesia to campaign against the Avars (cf. Theoph. AM 6092, sent with infantry to aid Priscus 6); the khan left Tomi (soon after Easter) and approached him near Nicopolis, and Comentiolus withdrew to the fort of Zicidiba (near Nicopolis, cf. Proc. *Aed.* iv 11.20); on the next day he reached Iatrum, with the Avars close by, and prepared his forces for battle but in so disorganised a manner that the army retreated in disorder for several days and suffered heavy

losses while Comentiolus fled first to Drizipara, where the citizens refused him entry, and then on to the Long Walls; Theoph. Sim. vii 13.8–14.10, Theoph. AM 6092, Nic. Call. *HE* xviii 28. His arrival in Constantinople created a panic; Theoph. Sim. vii 15.4. Later in the year, after the Avars had made peace and withdrawn, Comentiolus was accused of treachery by envoys from the Thracian armies; the case however was dropped at the emperor's request after he had initially ordered an enquiry to calm public disquiet, and Comentiolus was subsequently reappointed to his command; Theoph. Sim. viii 1.9–10, Theoph. AM 6092, Zon. xiv 13, Cedr. i 700. It was probably on this occasion that he was replaced by Philippicus; Joh. Ant. fr. 218b.

Reappointed for the campaign of 599; Theoph. Sim. viii 1.10 (αὖθις ὁ Κομεντιόλος γίνεται στρατηγός). Departing from Constantinople in summer, he was first reconciled with the troops and then led his army to the Danube to join forces with Priscus at Singidunum; Theoph. Sim. viii 1.11, Theoph. AM 6093. They had orders from Maurice to break the peace with the Avars; Theoph. Sim. viii 2.1. They went to Viminacium where Comentiolus allegedly feigned illness to avoid having to fight; Theoph. Sim. viii 2.3–7, Theoph. AM 6093. Priscus had to assume sole responsibility for the conduct of the ensuing campaign; Theoph. Sim. viii 1.6–7. Later in the year, his health restored, secured a guide to take him and the army along the long disused Via Traiani, so that he could winter in Constantinople; however the route was extremely difficult and severe winter conditions exacted a heavy toll of men and animals; eventually he reached Philippopolis, where he spent the winter before going to Constantinople in the spring of 600; Theoph. Sim. viii 4.3–8, Theoph. AM 6093, Nic. Call. *HE* xviii 37.

In summer 600 he was again appointed to his command but in this year there was no warfare on the Danube frontier; Theoph. Sim. viii 4.8–9. For 601 the command was entrusted to Petrus 55.

Late in 602 Comentiolus was entrusted by Maurice with the defence of the walls of Constantinople against Phocas; Theoph. Sim. viii 8.7, Theoph. AM 6094. He was one of the adherents of Maurice executed by Phocas; Theoph. Sim. viii 13.2 (cited above), *Chron. Pasch.* s.a. 602, Theoph. AM 6100 (referred to under the year 608), Zon. xiv 13, Cedr. i 700, Nic. Call. *HE* xviii 41.

On the bias against Comentiolus in Theophylact, see Whitby, pp. xxiii–iv, and 210–11, nn. 8 and 9.

Comentiolus 2 patricius; ?MVM per Orientem 610

Brother of the emperor Phocas; he was a *patricius* (τὸν πατρίκιον Κομεντιόλου; in 610 he was commander of the army in the east when Phocas was overthrown; refusing to recognise Heraclius, he took his troops to Ancyra to winter (i.e. 610–611) and arrested Heraclius' envoy Philippicus; he threatened to execute him and other prominent men but was assassinated himself by Iustinus 14 before he could do so; *V. Theod. Syc.* 152 (γενομένης δὲ τῆς ἀνταρσίας ὑπὸ Κομεντιόλου τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ Φωκᾶ κατέχοντος τότε τὸν στρατὸν καὶ ἐλθόντος αὐτοῦ ἀπὸ τῆς ἀνατολῆς σὺν τῷ στρατῷ ἐν Ἀγκύρᾳ τῇ μητροπόλει ἐπὶ παραχειμαδίῳ). He is alluded to in *V. Theod. Syc.* 161.

Comentiolus Theoph. Byz. fr. 1 = Phot. *Bibl.* 64): see Domnentiolus and cf. Ioannes 81.

COMETAS (father of Ioannes 25): *PLRE* II, p. 306.

COMETAS 1 ?governor of Thebais E/M VI

An ancestor of Athanasius 3, mentioned in the panegyric on Athanasius written by Fl. Dioscorus 5; *P. Cairo Masp.* 67097 = *REG* 24 (1911), p. 428, lines 10–11, 98–9 (cited under Athanasius). See further Cyrillus 1.

Cometas 2 brigand-hunter 537

Ἀληστοδιώκτης of Antioch, sent by the patriarch Ephraem to seize and arrest the monophysite bishop John of Tella; John was seized on Feb. 1, 537; *Zach. HE* x 1 ('per virum quendam cui nomen Cometas'). Elias, *V. Joh. ep. Tell.*, pp. 43–4 ('necnon et is etiam qui ab Ephraim missus est ut hoc negotium perficeret, qui a Bēth Bālāš castro erat et in territorio Antiochenorum id quod "latronum strangulator" ibi vocatur factus erat, cui nomen fuit Cometas').

COMITAS qui et DIPVNDIARISTES 3

praetor plebis 547–551

Full name; *Joh. Mal.* 483, *Joh. Mal. frag. Tusc.* (PG 85. 1820–21) (cited below).

PRAETOR PLEBIS a. 547–551 Aug.: in 547 Comitas conducted the trial of Andreas 5 and Ioannes 41 Dandax for the murder of the bishop of Cyzicus; *Joh. Mal.* 483 (ὄντος κόμητος (sic; presumably a scribal error for Κομίτα) πραιτώρος τοῦ ἐπίκλην Διαπουνδαρίστου). In c. March 550 he recovered the imperial crown eight months after it had been lost (in July 549, *Theoph. AM* 60.11); *Joh. Mal. frag. Tusc.* (PG 85.1820) (διὰ

Κομίτα πραιτώρος τοῦ ἐπίκλην Διαπουνδαρίστου). In August 551 he was sent to remove pope Vigilius and his followers by force from the church in Constantinople where they had sought refuge; *Joh. Mal. frag. Tusc.* (PG 85.1821) (Κομίταν τὸν πραιτῶρα τὸν ἐπίκλην Διαπουνδαρίστην), *Vigilius, Ep.* 1 (ed. Schwartz), p. 4 (a comitatu praetoris (could the text originally have been: a Comita tunc praetore?) cum multitudine armatorum militum veniente), *Ep.* 4, p. 22 (in tantum ut illic praetor, ad quem fures et homicidae tantummodo pertinent, mitteretur; he finally gave up the attempt and left). For the *praetor plebis* (πραιτῶρ τῶν δήμων) at Constantinople, cf. *Just. Nov.* 13, 14 praef., 79.2, 80 praef., 90.1.1. They were *spectabiles*; *Just. Nov.* 13.4.1.

Comitas 4 agens in rebus (East) 550

Born in 500; *ACOec.* IV i, p. 127 (aged fifty in 550).

AGENS IN REBUS and PATER CIVITATIS (MOPSVESTIAE) a. 550 June 17: he was one of the elderly laymen living in Mopsuestia called to testify before the synod there; *ACOec.* IV i, p. 120 (Comitas dixit: Comitas dicor; agens in rebus et pater huius civitatis), p. 127 (agens in rebus et pater civitatis). Cf. Eumolpius.

Comitas 5 envoy to the Avars 568

Probably in early 568 he was sent with the interpreter Vitalianus 2 on an embassy to Baian, khan of the Avars; they were held captive by him while he tried to capture Sirmium; *Men. Prot. fr.* 26. Cf. Bonus 4 and Stein, *Stud.*, pp. 11–12.

Comitas 6 interpreter (in Dara) 573

A 'well-known person', he was an interpreter ('διερμηνεύτης') between the Romans and the Persians and was sent from Dara during the siege of 573 to negotiate with Chosroes; he chose not to inform the citizens of the Persian offer to abandon the siege in return for five *centenaria* of gold, as he considered the city impregnable; after the fall of Dara (Nov. 573) he was blinded for this by Chosroes; *Joh. Eph. HE* III 6.5, *Mich. Syr.* x 9.

Cometas 7 vir gloriosissimus ?VI

In two papyri from Oxyrhynchus are recorded payments, one of barley and one a money contribution for fuel for the baths (at Oxyrhynchus), both made δ(ιὰ) τοῦ οἴκ(ου) τοῦ ἐνδοξ(στάτου) Κομήτου; *P. Oxy.* 2020 (sixth century), 2040 (sixth or seventh century). Evidently owner of land near Oxyrhynchus and apparently a *vir gloriosissimus* and therefore a man of high (phonorific) rank.

Possibly identical with Cometas, son of Ioannes 52 and brother of Flavia Christodote, recorded in a papyrus from Oxyrhynchus in 574/578; *PSI* 1 76, line 4 τοῦ ἐνδοξ(οτάτου) μου ἀδελφοῦ τοῦ κυρίου Κωμήτου. Cf. Christodote.

Cometas 8, chartularius; poet M VI

Author of two poems included in the *Cycle* of Agathias; *Anth. Gr.* v 265, ix 586 (both Κομητᾶ χαρτουλαρίου). Cf. Alan and Averil Cameron, *JHS* 86 (1966), p. 8.

Cometas 9 scholasticus; poet M VI

Author of a poem included in the *Cycle* of Agathias; *Anth. Gr.* ix 597 (Κομητᾶ σχολαστικοῦ).

Comitas 10 ex praefectis M/L VI

Κομητᾶ ἀπὸ ἐπάρχων; Zacos 2807 (seal; obv.: square monogram (186) of Κομητᾶ; rev.: + ΑΠΟ/ΕΠΑΡ/ΧΩΝ).

Comitas 11 vestitor et scho(larius?) VI

Κομητᾶς βεστίτωρος (καὶ) σχολ(αρίου?); Zacos 582 = Dumbarton Oaks seal 55.2.54 (seal; obv.: square monogram (187) of Κομητᾶς; rev.: ΒΕΣΤΙ/ΤΩΡΟ/ΣΧΟΧ).

Comitas (*SB* iv 7475): the name on this inscription from Ombi is to be read as κόμ(ητος) Πᾶ (cf. *SEG* viii 780). See Pas.

Fl. Comitas Theodorus Bassus

COMITATICIVS comes Miseni 598-599

Identical with the unnamed successor of Vectas as *comes Miseni*, who in 598 wrongly claimed as his due the twenty urns of wine given freely each year to Vectas by Theodorus 48; *Greg. Ep.* ix 53 (a. 598 Nov.; to Maurentius 3). Commended to the favour of Maurentius by Gregory, following good reports by the deacon Cyprianus and others (*laudabile Comitaticii nobis studium, et quam utilitatem in Miseni castro fecerit, indicavit*); *Greg. Ep.* ix 65 (a. 598 Nov./Dec.). In spring 599 Gregory ordered the subdeacon Anthemius to see that certain money, received by bishop Benenatus of Misenum 'pro construendo illi castro' and allegedly embezzled by him, be paid to Comitaticius (*Comitaticio comiti praedictae civitatis*) and used for the intended purpose; *Greg. Ep.* ix 121 (a. 599 Feb./April).

Comitiolus 1 excubitor (in Italy) L VI

Father of Maria 8 and father-in-law of the clericus *Pardus*; an *excubitor*,

he died before 599 Jan. when pope Gregory gave instructions that bequests due under his will to two of his freedmen and to a church of St George should be paid notwithstanding the reluctance of Maria his heir; *Greg. Ep.* ix 89 (a. 599 Jan.). The addressee of the letter, Sabinus, was a subdeacon and *rector* of the papal patrimony in Bruttium; presumably Comitiolus had lived and owned property there.

Comitiolus 2 vir gloriosus; ?MVM per Spanias L VI/E VII

Gloriosus Comitiolus; accused by two Spanish bishops, Ianuarius of Malaga and Stephanus (see unknown), of wrongfully condemning them and expelling them from their sees; pope Gregory sent the *defensor* Ioannes to Spain to investigate and ordered that, if the bishops were in the right, Comitiolus should restore any property of theirs or the church's which he had seized and should indemnify them for expenses incurred; since an unconfirmed report said that Comitiolus had died, Gregory further ordered that, if such was the case, Comitiolus' heir should make restitution; *Greg. Ep.* xiii 47 (a. 603 Aug.), cf. xiii 49 (Ianuarius was allegedly expelled violently by clerics 'una cum hominibus gloriosi Comitioli').

Comitiolus was a *vir gloriosus* in Spain and evidently held high office, perhaps as *magister militum per Spanias*; it is possible that Comenciolus, *patricius* and MVM *per Spanias* in 589/590 was the same man (see Comentiolus 1), but it seems impossible to identify Comitiolus with Comentiolus 1 since the latter certainly died in Constantinople in 602 whereas the whole tone of Gregory implies that Comitiolus was still in Spain in 603.

Comito sister of Theodora E/M VI

Eldest daughter of Acacius (keeper of bears for the Green faction under Anastasius); sister of the empress Theodora and of Anastasia; *Proc. Anecd.* 9.3.9, *Joh. Mal.* 430, *Theoph. AM* 6020, *Cedr.* 1 643. Aged seven when her father died, she was introduced by her mother to a career on the stage as soon as possible; *Proc. Anecd.* 9.3.8-9.

Wife of Sittas 1; *Joh. Mal.* 430 (the marriage is recorded among events of 528), *Theoph. AM* 6020, *Cedr.* 1 643.

Commissus (?) scholasticus (in Sicily) 592

The words 'Commissi scolastici' are proposed by some editors in a corrupt passage in a letter of pope Gregory to the subdeacon Petrus, *rector* of Sicily; Gregory instructed Petrus to make a payment to the man involved in this case, but it is very doubtful whether 'Commissus' is

correctly restored; Greg. *Ep.* II 38 (a. 592 July), and cf. the numerous manuscript variants.

COMMODOVS comes (Italy) 587

Comes; owner of land near Tibur in 587; Marini, *P. Dip.* 89 = *MGH, Epp.* II, App. 1, p. 438 (fundus qui appellatur Momordianum iuris comitis Commodi). The document is dated Dec. 28, 587.

Gallienus Concessus (*CIL* XIII 3, p. 753) IV/VI: *PLRE* II.

Conda domesticus (of several Frankish kings) M VI

Subject of a eulogy by Venantius Fortunatus; *Carm.* VII 16. He was doubtless one of the prominent leaders at Sigibert's court when Venantius arrived in Gaul and was made welcome there. The poem was therefore composed, probably, c. 566.

Not of noble ancestry, he ennobled his ancestors by his merits; *Carm.* VII 16, lines 7-12.

From boyhood to old age he had served at the royal court, under a succession of kings, and reached the highest offices; *Carm.* VII 16, lines 1-6. 15-16 (a parvo incipiens existi semper in altum perque gradus omnes culmina celsa tenes).

TRIBUNVS under Theoderic I (a. 511/533); *Carm.* VII 16, lines 17-18 (Theudericus ovans ornavit honore tribunalum: surgendi auspiciam iam fuit inde tuum).

COMES, and then DOMESTICVS under Theodebert I (a. 533/547): *Carm.* VII 16, lines 19-26 (esp. 19-20 Theudebercthus enim comitivae praemia cessit, auxit et obsequiis cingula digna tuis, 23-26 instituit cupiens ut deinde domesticus esses: crevisti subito, crevit et aula simul. Florebant pariter veneranda palatia tecum, plaudebat vigili dispositive domus).

DOMESTICVS and adviser of Theodebald (a. 547/555): *Carm.* VII 16, lines 27-32 (Theodebaldi etiam cum parva infantia vixit, huius in auxilium maxima cura fuit. Actibus eximiis sic publica iura fovebas, ut juvenem regem redderes esse senem: ipse gubernabas, veluti si tutor adesses, commissumque tibi proficiebat opus).

DOMESTICVS of Chlotharius (presumably a. 555/561): *Carm.* VII 16, lines 33-4 (Chlotharii rursus magna dominatus in aula, quique domum simili iussit amore regi).

Venantius explicitly states that he remained in office under a succession of kings; *Carm.* VII 16, lines 35-8 (esp. 35-6 mutati reges, vos non mutastis honores, successorque tuus tu tibi dignus eras).

?DOMESTICVS under Sigibert (a. 561/575): under Sigibert, when Venantius was writing, he was lavishly rewarded and welcomed to the

king's table, but it is not clear that he was still *domesticus*; *Carm.* VII 16, lines 39-42 (nunc etiam placidi Sigibercthi regis amore sunt data servitiis libera dona tuis, iussit et egregios inter residere potentes, convivam reddens proficiente gradu), but cf. *Carm.* VII 16 title (de Condane domestico).

In old age he took part in a battle against the Saxons, and lost two sons in it; *Carm.* VII 16, lines 47-52. This was perhaps under Chlotharius in 555; cf. Greg. Tur. *HF* IV 16. Nevertheless, at the date of the poem he still had a child or children alive; Ven. Fort. *Carm.* VII 16, line 58 (atque suum reparat proles opima patrem).

Praised for his generosity; *Carm.* VII 16, lines 55-6.

Conober (Fredegar. III 54, *Lib. Hist. Franc.* 28): see Chanao.

Conon (*BCH* 1886, p. 595) V/VI: *PLRE* II.

Conon I vir illustris; ?MVM vacans 537-548

VIR ILLUSTRIS a. 537: *Marcell. com. Addit.* ad a. 538 (Ioannes magister militum cum Batza, Conone, Paulo Remaque illustribus). For the date, see below.

?MVM (VACANS) a. 537-548: there is no evidence to explain why Conon held the rank of *vir illustris*; he was perhaps a *magister militum (vacans)*, but this is not certain. In 546 he and Bessas (probably MVM *vacans*; *PLRE* II) were styled στρατηγοί, but in the context, a speech attributed to the hungry people of Rome, the word is probably rhetorical; Proc. *BG* III 17.2-5.

In 537 Conon and Paulus 5 were sent from Constantinople to Naples with three thousand Isaurians to reinforce Belisarius in Italy; Proc. *BG* II 5.1, *Marcell. com. Addit.* ad a. 538 (apparently under the overall command of Ioannes 46). At Naples they were joined by Ioannes and ordered to sail to Ostia with necessary supplies for Rome; Proc. *BG* II 5.3. On arrival at Ostia the Isaurians landed unopposed and dug a trench to defend the harbour; Proc. *BG* II 7.1-2, cf. *Marcell. com. Addit.* ad a. 538 (wrongly said to have camped at Portus; see Ioannes). After the supplies were conveyed to Rome, Conon presumably went there with most of the other reinforcements; Proc. *BG* II 7.12.

In early 538 he was sent by Belisarius with a substantial force of Isaurian and Thracian infantry to occupy Ancona; Proc. *BG* II 11.5. Some of his men were sent to garrison Ariminum (cf. Proc. *BG* II 11.4-6, 11.21-2), but Conon remained in command at Ancona; Proc. *BG* II 13.8 (Κόνων δέ, ὃς τῆ τοῦ χωρίου φυλακῆ ἐφειστήκει). In summer 538 a Gothic force under Vacimus marched against Ancona; Conon led his

troops out to meet them but the Romans were greatly outnumbered and suffered heavy losses; the survivors, including Conon himself, were only saved because the inhabitants of Ancona let ropes down from the walls to haul them up; Ancona was almost lost in the attack; Procopius criticizes Conon for his folly in going outside the fortifications; Proc. *BG* II 13.8–15.

In 542 Conon was commander of the garrison of Naples, with one thousand Romans and Isaurians under him, when the city was besieged by Totila; Proc. *BG* III 6.2. The city was hard pressed by the siege; Proc. *BG* III 6.14. Conon sent Demetrius 4 to Portus to ask Demetrius 3 for help; Proc. *BG* III 6.22. He later sent an urgent message to Maximinus 2 in Sicily when supplies were exhausted; Proc. *BG* III 7.2. Finally Conon accepted Totila's offer of safety for himself and his men and surrendered the city (probably in spring 543); Proc. *BG* III 7.16–20. He was given ships by Totila and intended to sail with his men to Rome, but was prevented from leaving Naples by adverse winds; they were well-treated during the delay by Totila, who finally provided them with horses and pack-animals and an escort to go to Rome by land; Proc. *BG* III 8.6–9.

In 546 Conon and Bessas were in command of the army in Rome during the siege by Totila; Proc. *BG* III 17.2 (τοῖς τοῦ βασιλέως στρατοῦ ἄρχουσι, Βέσσαι τε καὶ Κόνωνι), 17.10 (Βέσσας τε καὶ Κόνων, οἵπερ τοῦ ἐν Ῥώμῃ φυλακτηρίου ἦρχον). Before the siege they had laid up a great supply of grain, which they then sold very profitably to the wealthier Romans as the siege went on; Proc. *BG* III 17.10. They ignored reports that Isaurians in the garrison planned to betray the city to the Goths; Proc. *BG* III 20.12. Conon fled with the other commanders when Totila entered Rome; Proc. *BG* III 20.17, 23.1. The date was Dec. 17, 546; *Marcell. com. Addit. ad a.* 547.

In late 547/early 548 Conon was put in command of the garrison which Belisarius left in Rome; Proc. *BG* III 27.16, 30.7. He was killed by his own troops in 548; they accused him of trafficking in corn and other supplies to their detriment; Proc. *BG* III 30.7.

Conon 2 ?dux et augustalis Thebaidis 550/558

In a papyrus from Antinoopolis, *P. Lond.* v 1708, probably written by Fl. Dioscorus 5 in late 567, the name of Conon is twice inserted into the text by Dioscorus, once to date the transfer to the home of one Psates of Apollos (father of Dioscorus) who had previously lost his sight in the time of Horion (line 94) and once to correct the date ἀπὸ Ὀρίωνος to ἀπὸ Κόνωνος (line 208). The context shows that Conon was probably *dux et augustalis* of the Thebais after Horion. For the dates, cf. *P. Lond.* v, pp. 121–2.

Conon 3 patricius VII
 Κόνωνος πατρικίου; Zacos 899 (seal; obv.: +ΚΟ/ΝΩ/ΝΟC; rev.: +ΠΑ/ΤΡΙ/ΚΙΩ). Two more specimens occur in Zacos' series, one of which is Dumbarton Oaks seal 55.1.2026.

Fl. Marianus Michaelius Gabriellus Sergius Bacchus Narses Conon Anastasius Dominus Theodorus Callinicus

Consentius defensor patrimonii (in Campania) L VI
 Father of Faustus 3; dead by 599, he had been *defensor* of the papal patrimony in Campania; Greg. *Ep.* IX 93 (a. 599 Jan.; to Faustus; tempore quo quondam Consentius defensor pater gloriae vestrae commissi sibi patrimonii Campaniae curam gessit), 94 (same date; to Anthemius *rector* of the patrimony in Campania; Consentius *defensor*).

CONSOLANTIA (?c.f.) (in Sicily) 603

Magnitudo vestra; joint addressee with Paschalis of a letter from pope Gregory; they were in debt to the Roman church and Gregory sent his *chartularius* Adrianus as *rector* to Sicily to work out a solution for them; Greg. *Ep.* XIII 25 (a. 603 Feb.; addressed 'Paschali et Consolantiae Siciliae'). Possibly husband and wife.

Constans I chartularius M/L VI
 Constanti (ch)artulario; Zacos 773A (seal; obv.: CON/STA/NTI; rev.: .AR/ΤΥΛΛΑ/Ρ^s).

Constans 2 (Heraclius Constantinus) = Constans II
 Augustus 641–668

He was named Heraclius at his baptism, received the name Constantinus at his coronation, and was popularly known as Constans; cf. Ostrogorsky, *Byz. Emp.*² (trans. Hussey), p. 114.

Grandson of Heraclius, son of Heraclius Constantinus, in 641 he succeeded his uncle Heraclonas on the throne; Theoph. AM 6121, 6133, Cedr. I 750, 754, Nic. *Brev.* 29, *Chron.* 1234, cxxv, *Hist. Nest.* II 107, Bar Hebr., *Chron.*, p. 96, Agapius, p. 478. See stemma 6.

He was born on Nov. 7, 630 (indiction 4), and baptised on Nov. 3, 631 (indiction 5); Theoph. AM 6122, Cedr. I 750.

Constantianus I MVM (vacans) 544–545

A native of Illyricum, he was an advocate (ρήτωρ) and had a reputation for cleverness; Proc. *BP* II 24.4. Probably an advocate at

Constantinople, from where presumably he was sent on his first embassy (cf. below).

In 543 he and Sergius 3 were sent on an embassy to Chosroes to negotiate a peace; Proc. *BP* II 24.3, 28.2. On the journey he fell ill and so much time was lost that the situation changed, Justinian ordered further warfare, and the embassy, apparently, never reached Persia; Proc. *BP* II 24.5-11.

MVM (VACANS) a. 544-545: in 544, after the deaths of the στρατηγοὶ Iustus 2 and Peranius, Constantianus and Marcellus 5 were sent to the eastern front to replace them; Proc. *BP* II 28.1-2. Marcellus and Iustus were relatives of Justinian; presumably therefore Constantianus was considered to be the replacement for Peranius. Styled 'magister militum'; *Marcell. com. Addit.* ad a. 546, cf. *Jord. Rom.* 377 (he served with Martinus 2).

In 544 he was again sent with Sergius on an embassy to arrange a peace with Chosroes; they found him in Assyria, near Seleucia-Ctesiphon, and offered peace if he would restore the places he held in Lazica; after further negotiations, the Romans sent to Chosroes the doctor Tribunus and a sum of money and a peace for five years was agreed (in spring 545); Proc. *BP* II 28.3-11, cf. *Marcell. com. Addit.* ad a. 546, *Jord. Rom.* 377.

Constantianus 2

MVM (vacans) ?549-562; honorary consul; patricius

COMES SACRI STABULI a. 536 (?544): τῶν βασιλικῶν ἱπποκόμων ἤρχεν; Proc. *BG* I 7.26 (in 536). He perhaps held this office until 544, when Belisarius was appointed to it and sent to Italy, possibly as the successor of Constantianus (cf. below).

In 536, after the death of Mundus in Dalmatia, Constantianus was sent to Illyricum to raise an army and try to reoccupy Salona; Proc. *BG* I 7.26. He went to Epidamnus where he remained until his preparations were complete and then sailed with his whole force to Epidaurus; in the meantime Salona was occupied by a Gothic force under Gripas; Proc. *BG* I 7.27-8. From Epidaurus Constantianus sailed to the island of Lysina where he sent spies to learn what the Goths were doing; when they reported that Gripas had withdrawn from Salona, because of the size of the Roman army and the poor state of the city's fortifications, he set sail immediately at full speed for Salona; landing his army close to the city he first sent his bodyguard Siphilas with five hundred men to occupy the narrow approach to the city and then on the following day entered it with his whole force by land and sea; his first act was to begin repairing the fortifications; Proc. *BG* I 7.32-6. After seven days the

Goths withdrew back to Ravenna and Constantianus was left in control of Dalmatia and Liburnia; he set out to conciliate the Goths who were settled in the area; Proc. *BG* I 7.36, 15.15. These events were apparently completed by midsummer 536; Proc. *BG* I 7.37 (end of the first year of the war).

In spring 537 a Gothic force under Asinarius and Vligisalus set out with many ships to recover Dalmatia and besiege Salona; Proc. *BG* I 16.8-10. At the news of Asinarius' preparations (he levied troops among the Suevi), Constantianus withdrew all Roman troops from the strongholds round about into Salona, constructed a moat round the city and prepared to withstand a siege; Proc. *BG* I 16.14-15. The Goths besieged the city by land and sea; the Roman ships then destroyed or captured the Gothic fleet, but the Goths only tightened the siege by land; Proc. *BG* I 16.16-18. The end of the siege is not recorded by Procopius, but the Goths probably abandoned it eventually; in spring 538 Vligisalus was in Italy (Proc. *BG* II 11.1) and Dalmatia was firmly in Roman hands in 539 and 540 (Proc. *BG* II 21.41, 28.2).

Constantianus presumably remained in Dalmatia from 537 until 540 while the war continued in Italy. In 540, after the fall of Ravenna (in May) and the subsequent recall of Belisarius, he was sent from Dalmatia to Ravenna by Justinian, apparently to assume command of the army there; Proc. *BG* II 30.2, *Marcell. com. Addit.* ad a. 540.6 (Bessas (*PLRE* II) left Ravenna to go against Ildebadus, 'Constantino (sic) Ravennam de Dalmatiis, ut praesset exercitui, ab imperatore directo'). With most of the other commanders he remained inactive in late 540 and 541 while the Gothic strength revived; Proc. *BG* III 1.34, and cf. Vitalis 1. After the death of Ildebadus in 541, Constantianus in Ravenna received an offer from Totila to surrender Tarbesium (Treviso) in return for pledges of safety; he accepted the offer and promised all that Totila asked, but the arrangement came to nothing when Totila was invited by the Goths to become their king; Proc. *BG* III 2.8-12.

Constantianus was stationed at Ravenna in 541 with Alexander 5; Proc. *BG* III 3.2. Late in 541, after criticisms by Justinian of their inaction, the Roman commanders met in Ravenna and decided to attack Verona and then march against Totila in Ticinum; Proc. *BG* III 3.1-3. When the army, some twelve thousand strong, set off (probably in spring 542), it had eleven commanders (ἀρχοντες), of whom Constantianus and Alexander are said to have been the chief (ὧν οἱ πρῶτοι ἐτύγγανον Κωνσταντιανός τε καὶ Ἀλέξανδρος); Proc. *BG* III 3.4. The army made camp in the plain close to Verona; Proc. *BG* III 3.5. Here the Romans accepted an offer to betray the city, but were reluctant to proceed until the entrance was secured, and so the other commanders

sent Artabazes ahead to achieve this; Proc. *BG* III 3.8-10. The Goths fled from Verona, but the Romans halted outside the city while their commanders squabbled over the division of the spoils; the Goths noticed this, re-entered the city and retook it; Proc. *BG* III 3.14-16. The Romans then arrived having resolved their quarrels only to find the city barred to them with Artabazes trapped inside; Proc. *BG* III 3. 18-19.

After the failure at Verona, the Romans crossed the Po to Faventia, where they awaited Totila but were again divided in their counsels and so did nothing; Proc. *BG* III 3.22, 4.9. For the Roman defeat which ensued at Faventia, see Proc. *BG* III 4.19-32. After the battle the commanders all scattered to the safety of various cities where they then remained on the defensive; Proc. *BG* III 4.32. Constantianus was in Ravenna; Proc. *BG* III 6.8. He seems not to have taken part in the campaign to relieve Iustinus 2 in Florence, which ended in the defeat of Mucellis (Mugello).

In 543 Constantianus wrote to Justinian a letter supported by the other commanders in Italy maintaining that it was impossible to continue the war in Italy because of lack of supplies and indiscipline in the army; Proc. *BG* III 9.1-6 (probably written in late summer, cf. *BG* III 7.20).

There is no further mention of Constantianus in Italy and he may therefore have been recalled and succeeded both as *comes sacri stabuli* and as commander in Italy by Belisarius (who went in 544). Although Constantianus seems not to have exercised any authority over his military colleagues, he was perhaps regarded as the senior commander in Italy; cf. *Marcell. com. Addit.* ad a. 540.6 (ut praesesset exercitui), Proc. *BG* III 3.4 (cited above), 9.5 (it was he who wrote the letter to Justinian in 543).

In late 548 in Constantinople Constantianus and Buzes were informed by Germanus (*PLRE* II) of the conspiracy planned by Artabanes; Proc. *BG* III 32.41. Later, when the affair was brought to the emperor's notice and Germanus himself was accused (early 549), they defended him in consistory before the emperor; Proc. *BG* III 32.45. Constantianus was evidently one of the emperor's close advisers and a person of trust at court.

MVM (vacans) ?a. 549-562: presumably MVM in 549 and 551 and perhaps continuously to 562; see below.

In spring 549 (on the date, cf. Aratius) Constantianus, Buzes and Aratius were given command of a force of cavalry, over ten thousand strong, and sent to help the Lombards against the Gepids and Heruls; Proc. *BG* III 34.40 (ὧν δὴ Κωνσταντιανὸς καὶ Βούζης καὶ Ἀράτιος ἦρχον). When the Gepids unexpectedly made peace with the Lombards,

the Roman generals remained in Illyricum to protect it from raids by the Gepids and Heruls; Proc. *BG* III 34.45-7.

Early in 551 he was one of the commanders of the army under Scholasticus sent against the Slavs who were plundering the Balkan peninsula; Proc. *BG* III 40.34 (for his colleagues and the date, cf. Aratius). The Romans were badly defeated near Adrianople and the standards of Constantianus were captured; they later had a victory and recovered the standards, after which the Slavs returned home; Proc. *BG* III 40.36-45.

HONORARY CONSVL a. 553 May 25: *ACOec.* IV I, p. 185 (cited below).

He was in Constantinople on May 25, 553, when he was summoned with other high officials (cf. Belisarius) by pope Vigilius to convey to the emperor the pope's judgement on the Three Chapters, the so-called *Constitutum*; they refused to do so; *ACOec.* IV I, p. 185 (nec non et Iustinum et Constantianum gloriosissimos consulares).

PATRICIVS ET MVM a. 562: Joh. Mal. 495 (Κωνσταντιανου τοῦ στρατηλάτου), Joh. Mal., fr. 49 (*Exc. de Ins.*, p. 175) (Κωνσταντίνου (sic) τοῦ πατρικίου καὶ στρατηλάτου) (and cf. below).

In 562, on 11 December, Constantianus and Marinus 2 conducted a second examination of the conspirators accused of plotting against Justinian (see Sergius 6); Joh. Mal. 495, Joh. Mal., fr. 49.

Augusta quae et Constantina (Aelia Constantina) 1

Augusta 582-602

Her name was originally Augusta; Evagr. *HE* V 22, Joh. Eph. *HE* III 3.47, 5.13, *Chron.* 1234, lxxvi, Bar Hebr., *Chron.*, p. 83. The name Constantina was given to her by her father (see below) when he betrothed her to Maurice; Evagr. *HE* V 22, VI 1 (Αὐγοῦσταν, τὴν καὶ Κωνσταντίναν), Joh. Eph. *HE* III 3.47, 5.13. Her official name as empress was Aelia Constantina; *P. Monac.* 9.24, 12.47, 13.16, 14.95.

Daughter of Tiberius 1 and Anastasia 2; Joh. Eph. *HE* III 3.47, 5.13 (the younger daughter), Evagr. *HE* V 22, Theoph. Sim. I 1.4, 10.1ff., VIII 15.1, *Chron. Pasch.* s.a. 582, Theoph. AM 6071, Cedr. I 689, 707-8, Zon. XIV 11, 14, Mich. Syr. X 21, *Chron.* 1234, lxxvi, Bar Hebr., *Chron.*, p. 83, *Patr. Const.* III 46, 157. Sister of Charito; Theoph. AM 6071, Cedr. I 689, Zon. XIV 11. See stemma 3.

While her father was Caesar (a. 574-578) she lived with her mother in the *domus Hormisdæ*, not in the imperial palace as was usual, and then perhaps in Daphnusia (cf. Anastasia); Joh. Eph. *HE* III 3.8.

Betrothed to (the future emperor) Maurice when her father was on his death-bed (Aug. 582), she married him shortly afterwards; Joh. Eph. *HE* III 3.47, 5.13, Evagr. *HE* V 22 (= Nic. Call. *HE* XVIII 5, 8), Theoph.

Sim. I 1.4, 10.1-12, Joh. Bicl. s.a. 581, Greg. Tur. *HF* vi 30, *Chron. Pasch.* s.a. 582. Wife of Maurice; Evagr. *HE* vi 1, *Chron. Pasch.* s.a. 602, *P. Monac.* 9.24, 13.16, Theoph. AM 6074, 6093, 6094, Cedr. I 690, 701, 707-8, Zon. xiv 11, 14, Nic. Call. *HE* xviii 5, 42, *Chron.* 1234, lxxvi, Mich. Syr. x 21, *Hist. Nest.* II 41, Bar Hebr., *Chron.*, p. 83, Paul. Diac. *Hist. Lang.* III 15, *Patr. Const.* III 46, 157, Joh. Nik. 95.1 (p. 523 Zotenberg). They had nine children, six sons (Theodosius 13 (the eldest), Tiberius 3, Petrus 49, Paulus 49, Iustinus 13 and Iustinianus 4) and three daughters (Anastasia 5, Theoctiste 3 and Cleopatra); *Chron. Pasch.* s.a. 602, s.a. 605, Joh. Bicl. s.a. 587, Theoph. AM 6077, 6095, Mich. Syr. x 21, Bar Hebr., *Chron.*, p. 83. See stemma 4.

AVGVSTA: styled Augusta in *P. Monac.* 9.24 (dated a. 585 May 30), 12.47-8, 13.16-17 (a. 594 Jan. 18), 14.95-6, Greg. *Ep.* IV 30, v 38-9 (letters addressed 'Constantinae Augustae' in 594 and 595), Theoph. AM 6093.

On Nov. 22, 602, she fled with her husband and children from Phocas; *Chron. Pasch.* s.a. 602, Theoph. Sim. VIII 9.7. Following the murder of Maurice she was placed under house-arrest with her three daughters; Theoph. Sim. VIII 15.1 (before the fifth month of Phocas, therefore in Nov. 602/April 603), Theoph. AM 6095, Nic. Call. *HE* xviii 41. Later, she and her daughters were taken to Hagia Sophia by Scholasticus 4, apparently as part of a plot to overthrow Phocas and replace him with Germanus 11; the move provoked uproar in the city and abuse was hurled at Constantina by the Greens in the hippodrome; she and her daughters were removed from the church only after the emperor gave pledges of their safety following protests by the patriarch Cyriacus, and were confined in the monastery of St Mamas; *Chron. Pasch.* s.a. 603, Theoph. AM 6098, Joh. Nik. 103.8 (p. 539 Zotenberg), Cedr. I 711, *Patr. Const.* III 185. The date, evidently before the death of Cyriacus in October 606 (*Chron. Pasch.* s.a. 606 and Theoph. AM 6098 both date this to the fourth year of Phocas), was either 603 (the first year of Phocas, *Chron. Pasch.*) or 606 (the fourth year of Phocas, Theoph.). From the monastery she corresponded secretly with Germanus, apparently encouraged by rumours that her son Theodosius 13 was still alive, but was eventually betrayed by the bearer of the letters, Petronia, and delivered to Theopemptus 7 to be tortured; under torture she named Romanus 13 as privy to their plans: she and her daughters were executed in the harbour of Eutropius at Chalcedon, the same place as Maurice; *Chron. Pasch.* s.a. 605, Theoph. AM 6099, Cedr. I 711, Zon. xiv 14, Nic. Call. *HE* xviii 41. The date is again uncertain, either 605 (the third year of Phocas, *Chron. Pasch.*) or 607 (the fifth year of Phocas, Theoph.).

She was buried in the church of St Mamas, near the Porta Xylocercou; Cedr. I 707-8, Nic. Call. *HE* xviii 41, Zon. xiv 14 (all citing a verse epitaph on her), and cf. Grierson, *Tombs and Obits*, p. 47.

Constantina 2 daughter of Burgolenus L VI

Daughter of Burgolenus (and Domnola); a nun in the convent founded by Radegund at Poitiers, in summer 589 she accompanied Chrochildis on her visit to Guntram and remained behind in the convent in Autun; Greg. Tur. *HF* IX 40.

CONSTANTINA 3 clarissima puella L VI

Domna Constantina clarissima puella; she died before her marriage; Greg. *Ep.* VII 26 (a. 597 June; to Andreas 16).

CONSTANTINA 4 daughter of Mauricius M VI/VII

Daughter of Mauricius 6 and sister of Patricia 4; her sarcophagus was in the basilica at Rusguniae repaired by her father; she died aged three and was buried on Nov. 1 of a ninth indiction; *BCTH* 1900, p. 146 = *AE* 1900, 52 = D 9217b = *ILCV* 234b = Pringle, no. 46 Rusguniae. See further Mauricius.

Constantinianus 1 cura epistularum (of the PPO Italiae) 534-535

He served in the *officium* of the PPO Italiae and reached the position of *cura epistularum* in 534; Cass. *Var.* XI 23 (title: de cura epistularum) hic itaque (= Constantianus) epistularum canonicarum curam proventus accipiat. For the *cura epistularum* (third in rank of the *exceptores promoti*), see Stein, *Untersuchungen*, pp. 37, 67-70, and Jones, *LRE* II, p. 587 with n. 58.

Possibly identical with Constantianus 2.

Constantinianus 2 ?officialis of the PPO Italiae 533/537

Ordered by the PPO Cassiodorus Senator (a. 533/537; *PLRE* II) to repair the via Flaminia and restore the *cursus publicus* and to ensure that supplies levied from the provinces for the army and the royal table were properly collected and forwarded; he is described as operating under the eyes of the PPO himself (cogitate etiam quod praesens facta vestra diiudico; perhaps implying proximity to Ravenna) and the prospect of promotion is set before him by Cassiodorus (militiam vestram transcenditis, si rerum domino placere possitis); Cass. *Var.* XII 18 (addressed 'Constantiniano viro experientissimo'). He seems to have served in the *officium* of the praetorian prefecture.

Possibly identical with Constantianus 1.

Constantinus (Just. *Nov.* 159; vir gloriosissimus; son of Hierius and Maria, husband of Maria); see *PLRE* II, Constantinus 18.

Constantinus (*IGC* 134) V/VI: *PLRE* II.

Iulius Celsus Constantinus: reader of Caesar ?E/M VI: *PLRE* II.

Constantinus 1 CSL inter agentes et magister libellorum 528–533

He was evidently a legal expert since he served on commissions on the *Codex Iustinianus* and the Digest (see below).

V. ILL., CSL INTER AGENTES ET MAGISTER LIBELLORVM a. 528 Feb. 13–533 Dec. 16; vir illustris, comes largitionum inter agentes et magister scrinii libellorum et sacrarum cognitionum; Just. *Const.* 'Haec' (a. 528 Feb. 13), *Const.* 'Summa' (a. 529 April 7). Vir illustris, comes sacrarum largitionum et magister scrinii libellorum sacrarumque cognitionum; *CJ* I 17.2 = Just. *Const.* 'Tanta' (a. 533 Dec. 16; the Greek version of this, *Const.* Δέδωκεν, reads: ὁ μεγαλοπρεπέστατος κόμης τῶν θείων λαργιτιόνων καὶ ἀντιγραφεὺς τοῦ θείου σκρινίου τῶν τε θείων λιβέλλων καὶ τῶν βασιλικῶν διαγνώσεων). He was not the actual CSL (not even in 533 Dec., in spite of his title; cf. Cratinus) but a titular holder of the office (presumably conferred to give him the illustrate) who was allowed to rank as if his office was actual (hence 'inter agentes'; cf. also Stein, *Bas-Emp.* II 429 and Tribonianus 1). His actual post was that of *magister libellorum* (the *cognitiones* was not a separate *scrinium* but one of the functions of the *magister libellorum*; cf. *Not. Dig. Or.* XIX: magister libellorum cognitiones et preces tractat).

In 528 and 529 Constantinus was a member of the commission which worked on the first edition of the *Codex Iustinianus*; Just. *Const.* 'Haec' (appointment of the commission, on Feb. 13, 528), *Const.* 'Summa' (completion of their work, on April 7, 529). For his colleagues, see Tribonianus 1. In the list of commissioners he is named seventh in order of precedence, after Tribonianus (*Mag. Off. inter agentes*) and before Theophilus (honorary *Mag. Off.*).

Subsequently he was chosen by Tribonianus to work on the commission which produced the Digest (Dec. 530–Dec. 533) (qui semper nobis ex bona opinione et gloria sese commendavit); *CJ* I 17.2 = Just. *Const.* 'Tanta' (= *Const.* Δέδωκεν) (the project was completed, on Dec. 16, 533; those who worked on it are styled 'viri magnifici et studiosissimi').

Constantinus 2 advocate of the PPO Orientis (530–) 533–534

Advocate (patronus causarum) at the bar of the PPO Orientis and member of the commissions which worked on the Digest (from Dec. 530

to Dec. 533) and on the second edition of the *Codex Iustinianus* (from 533 to Nov. 534); *CJ* I 17.2.9 = Just. *Const.* 'Tanta' (a. 533 Dec. 16; completion of work on the Digest; Constantinus was one of the 'viri prudentissimi, qui patroni quidem sunt causarum apud maximam sedem praefecturae, quae orientalibus praetoriis praesidet' chosen to compile the Digest; he is named tenth of the advocates, see Leontius 1), Just. *Const.* 'Cordi' (a. 534 Nov. 16; completion of the revised *Codex Iustinianus*; he was one of the three 'viri eloquentissimi togati fori amplissimae sedis' included in this commission; they were Menas 2, Constantinus and Ioannes 9, whose names occur in the same order in *Const.* 'Cordi' as in *Const.* 'Tanta', indicating that the names are listed in sequence, presumably of seniority).

Constantinus 3

patricius 537/538; ?MVM vacans (in Italy) 535–537/538

Native of Thrace; Proc. *BG* I 5.3.

In late 531, after the Roman defeat at Callinicum, Belisarius was dismissed 'et Constantinus ei Darae successit'; Zach. *HE* IX 6. Constantinus did not succeed Belisarius as MVM *per Orientem* (cf. Mundus) but presumably took command of the army at Dara when Belisarius left. In view of his later career he was more probably a field army commander than the *dux Mesopotamiae*.

?MVM VACANS (in Italy) a. 535–537/538 and PATRICIUS a. 537/538: one of three ἄρχοντες λόγιοι sent under Belisarius to reconquer Sicily and Italy in 535; Proc. *BG* I 5.3 (the other two were Bessas (*PLRE* II) and Peranius; they are distinguished from officers who commanded units of cavalry and infantry and were probably *magistri militum vacantes*). At his death in 537/538 (see below) Constantinus was a *patricius*; *Marcell. com. Addit.* ad a. 538.

Present in Sicily in 535/536 with Belisarius and Antonina; Proc. *Anecd.* I.24–5.

In early 537, after Belisarius had secured Rome, Constantinus was sent to win over the cities of Tuscany with an army which included many of Belisarius' own bodyguards (cf. Chorsamantis); Proc. *BG* I 16.1. He easily took Spolegium and Perugia and some other places, whose inhabitants welcomed him; he left a garrison in Spolegium and remained with the rest of his army in Perugia; Proc. *BG* I 16.3–4. Although outnumbered, he met and defeated a Gothic army near Perugia and sent its commanders, Vnilas and Pissas, captive to Belisarius in Rome; Proc. *BG* I 16.6–7. Shortly afterwards, when Vitigis marched against Rome, Constantinus was recalled there with most of his army, leaving garrisons in Spolegium and Perugia only; Proc. *BG* I 17.1–3, II 8.4.

At the start of the siege of Rome (spring 537), Constantinus was put in command at the Porta Flaminia, where the gates had been closed and blocked because there was a Gothic camp nearby; Proc. *BG* I 19.16. He was also responsible for defending the Mausoleum of Hadrian and the adjacent walls (presumably the stretch of wall, mainly along the river, between the Porta Aurelia Nova and the Porta Flaminia) which were difficult of access for an attacker and therefore thinly manned; Proc. *BG* I 22.12-16. During the great assault mounted by the Goths on the city on the eighteenth day of the siege (perhaps March 10, cf. Belisarius), Constantinus successfully defended the walls by the river from a surprise attack and also repelled a determined assault on the Mausoleum of Hadrian and the Porta Aurelia Nova; Proc. *BG* I 22.18.25. Later in the siege he led a force of Huns in a successful skirmish against superior numbers of Goths in the *campus Neronis*; Proc. *BG* II 1.4-10.

During winter 537/538 a quarrel between him and Belisarius led to his downfall; while at Spolegium (early 537) he had sent his bodyguard Maxentius to steal two daggers with scabbards adorned with gold and precious stones from Praesidius; in spite of strong pressure from Belisarius, to whom Praesidius had appealed, Constantinus refused to give them up; finally, in fear for his life, he tried to stab Belisarius but was arrested and eventually executed; Proc. *BG* II 8.1-18, cf. *Marcell. com. Addit.* ad a. 538 (reversusque Campania (sc. Belisarius) contrarium sibi de medio aufert Constantinum patricium). This occurred during the three-months truce in the siege; cf. Proc. *BG* II 6.36, 7.13, 10.12. According to Procopius in the *Anecdota*, Constantinus had previously incurred the enmity of Antonina, the wife of Belisarius; after the affair of the daggers he would have been released and was killed only because of pressure on Belisarius by Antonina; Proc. *Anecd.* 1.24-5, 28-9.

Constantinus 4

QSP 548/549-562

He apparently had a legal education, and was still a young man without practical (forensic) experience of the law when appointed QSP (cf. below); Proc. *Anecd.* 20.20 (νόμων μὲν ὄντα οὐκ ἀμελέτητον, νέον δὲ κομιδῇ καὶ οὐπω ἀγωνίας δικανικῆς ἐς πείραν ἔλθόντα). He was among the closest friends of the emperor; Proc. *Anecd.* 20.21.

QSP a. 548/549-562 (-?565/566): appointed on the death of Iunillus (in 548 or 549); Proc. *Anecd.* 20.20. He is the latest QSP named by Procopius and so was in office when the *Anecdota* was composed, in 550. Quaestor sacri palatii; *ACOec.* IV I, pp. 27, 183. Quaestor (or κοιμιστωρ); Vigilius, *Ep.* 1, *ACOec.* IV I, p. 200, Joh. Mal. 494, Joh. Mal. fr. 49, Proc. *Anecd.* 20.15.

Probably in August or September 551 he was one of the 'memorati

iudices' who persuaded pope Vigilius to return to the palace of Placidia; later, on Jan. 28, 552, he was one of the 'gloriosi iudices' who failed in their mission to persuade the pope to return to Constantinople from Chalcedon; Vigilius, *Ep.* 1 (ed. Schwartz), pp. 1-2 (see Belisarius, p. 217, for the dates and the other 'iudices'). On May 1, 553, he, Belisarius and others twice visited Vigilius but failed to persuade him to attend the Fifth Ecumenical Council; *ACOec.* IV I, pp. 27-8, 185. He himself attended the Council on May 8, 553; *ACOec.* IV I, pp. 27-8. Between May 8 and May 26 he was sent by Justinian with Cethegus (*PLRE* II), Petrus 6 and Patricius 4 to meet the western bishops; *ACOec.* IV I, p. 186. At the seventh session of the Council on May 26, 553, on Justinian's orders he presented a collection of documents damaging to Vigilius' reputation, and when the Council accepted these he introduced a proposal to erase Vigilius' name from the diptychs; *ACOec.* IV I, pp. 183, 200.

In 562 Nov./Dec. he was one of the high officials who investigated a plot against Justinian (his colleagues were Procopius 3, Iulianus 15 and Zenodorus); later he and Iulianus were replaced when suspected of favouring one of the accused, Aetherius; Joh. Mal. 494, Joh. Mal. fr. 49.

No successor to him is recorded under Justinian and it is possible that he was still in office when Justinian died; he may have been succeeded early in the reign of Justin II by Anastasius 14; cf. Stein, *Bas-Emp.* II 736, n. 1.

According to the very hostile remarks of Procopius, Constantinus was a great thief and braggart who was employed by Justinian to steal and pervert justice; he very quickly accumulated a vast fortune and assumed such superior airs that even bribes to him had to be paid through his assistants; he took great pains to avoid meeting people where there was no profit for himself; Proc. *Anecd.* 20.20-3.

Constantinus 5

diocetes (in Egypt) M VI

Addressee of verses by the poet Fl. Dioscorus on his birthday; *P. Cairo Masp.* 67120 verso B 4 εἰς Κωνσταντῖνον, Κωνσταντίνου διοικήτου, and D, and see *REG* xxiv (1911), p. 438, n. 7. The papyrus comes from the Antaeopolite nome, doubtless Aphrodito; Constantinus was an estate manager presumably in the area.

Constantinus 6

?MVM M VI

Στρατηγός; named in a late source of doubtful reliability as conveying eight green (marble) columns from Ephesus for the building of Hagia Sophia; *Narr. de aed. S. Soph.* 2. He could be identical with Constantinus 3, but the anecdote is probably unhistorical.

Constantinus 7 v.d., comitiacus (in Italy) 557

At Reate in 557 he made public a document for Flavianus, the specially appointed guardian of Landerit and Lendarit; Marini, *P. Dip.* 79 = *P. Ital.* 7, lines 104-7 ego Flavianus v.h. his exemplaribus gestorum a me datis subscripsi quae per Constantinum v.d. comitiacum aedidi. Ego Constantinus ededi sub d(ie) m̄ id(us) Decembris ꝑꝑ Basili v.c. anno XG+. The date is Dec. 6, 557.

CONSTANTINVS 8 ?governor of Apulia et Calabria 559

(This entry replaces that under Constantinus 11 in *PLRE* II, p. 313. Cf. below.)

Called 'filius noster vir magnificus Constantinus iudex' in a letter of Pelagius I, written in Feb. 559, ordering that he, Aemilianus 3 and Ampelius 2 be informed of the consecration of the deacon Anastasius as bishop of Luceria (in Apulia); Pelag. I, *Ep.* 29 (this letter was written by Pelagius, not Gelasius, as in Thiel, *Gelas. Ep. fr.* 3; cf. Ampelius).

Constantinus was probably the civil governor of *Apulia et Calabria*.

Constantinus 9 scholasticus and advocatus fori Thebaidis 566

Κωνσταντίνον καὶ Ἰωάννην τοὺς σοφωτάτους σχολαστικο[ύς] / καὶ συνηγόρους φόρου Θηβαΐδος ἀνδράς τοῦ δικαίου ἀντιπιοιούμενους; he and Ioannes 80 were chosen as arbitrators by parties to a dispute at Aphrodito; *P. Lond.* v 1707 Antinoopolis (brought from Aphrodito) (a. 566 Oct. 5).

Constantinus 10 PPO (of Italy or Illyricum) 596

In 596 pope Gregory wrote to bishop Stephanus, whose see is unknown, to urge Constantinus to administer the law justly (communem vero filium excellentissimum virum domnum Constantinum praefectum quantum plus diligitis, tantum exhortari adsidue debetis, ut in causis in quibus mixtus est semper omnipotentis Dei iudicium ante cordis oculos habeat); *Greg. Ep.* VII 8 (a. 596 Oct.). Presumably PPO of Italy or Illyricum; possibly the latter, if Stephanus was the bishop of Scodra (Scutari) in Dalmatia mentioned in 591 (*Greg. Ep.* I 36) and replaced by a Constantinus by 602 (*Greg. Ep.* XII 11) (and cf. Goubert, II II, p. 56, n. 218), but this is very uncertain.

Constantinus 11 silentiarius M/L VI

The son of a *patricius*, he was a *silentiarius* at Constantinople (ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει ἦν τις πατρικίου υἱός, ὀνόματι Κωνσταντίνος, σελευτιάριος); he fell ill but was miraculously cured after writing to Symeon the Younger; *V. Sym. Iun.* 151.

Constantinus 12 patricius; (dux et augustalis Alexandriae) L VI

'Constantine the patrician who had been appointed governor of the city of Alexandria' ('le patrice Constantin, nommé préfet d'Alexandrie par l'empereur'; Zotenberg), investigated the case of Abaskirōn and his brothers and son Isaac and had the brothers executed and Isaac exiled; *Joh. Nik.* 97.27 (p. 532 Zotenberg). The date was under Maurice.

Con(stanti(n)us?) 13 ?bucellarius ?VI

Owner of a seal; Dumbarton Oaks seal 58.106.3675 (obv.: bust of St John the Baptist, with cross in left hand; rev.: CON/b^o). The interpretation is obscure; neither 'ba(silic)u' nor 'bu(cell)a(ri)u' is very convincing; possibly 'ba(i)u(l)u(s)' (?).

Constantinus 14 comes Abydi VI

Constantinu com(ito)s Abydu; Zacos 2871 (seal; obv.: CON/STAN/TINϣ; rev.: COM/SAβϣ/θϣ✱).

Constantinus 15 honorary consul VI

Κωνσταντίνου ἀπο ὑπάτου; Dumbarton Oaks seal 58.106.2231 (seal; obv.: square monogram (197) of Κωνσταντίνου; rev.: +ap/οypα/του).

Constantinus 16 illustrius VI

Κωνσταντίνου ill(ustriu); Zacos 305 (seal; obv.: square monogram (199) of Κωνσταντίνου; rev.: ILLI).

Constantinus 17 ?patricius VI

Κωνσταντίνου ?πατρικίου; Zacos 310 (seal; obv.: square monogram (198) of Κωνσταντίνου; rev.: square monogram (254), partially soluble as πατρικίου, possibly πατρικίου καὶ σχολαστικοῦ, though this is uncertain).

Constantinus 18 scribo VI

Constantinu scribonos; Zacos 786 = Dumbarton Oaks seal 55.1.4404 (seal; obv.: +CONS/ταντι/ηϣ; rev.: SCR/ιϣOn/OS).

CONSTANTINVS 19 comes (in Cyprus) M VI/M VII

Κωνσταντίνον τὸν κόμη(η)τα, τὸ τ[έκνον] τοῦ ὑπάτου, φύλα[ττε] ἀστρόφος, ἀγία Θεοτόκε; Mitford and Nicolaou, *Inscriptions from Salamis*, no. 56.

Constantinus 20 ?vir gloriosissimus (Egypt) VI/VII

Mentioned in an assessment of farmers at Bouto in the Hermopolite

nome; *Stud. Pal.* xx 222, line 20 (verso) Μεμφ' κερ' Κω[νσ]ταντίνου ἐνδοξ(οτάτου), perhaps an allusion to wine jars.

Constantinus 21 illustrius et chartularius M VI/M VII

Κωνσταντίνου ἰλλουστρίου (καί) χαρτουλαρίου; Zacos 1376a, Zacos 1376b = Fogg Art Museum seal 1176 (two seals, dated VII Zacos, M VI/M VII Oikonomides; obv.: [+]ΚΩΝ/CTAN/TINOV/ΙΛΛΣ (1376a), +ΚΩΝ/CTANT/INOVI/ΛΛΣ (1376b); rev.: horse galloping to right, cruciform monogram (359 on 1376a; 361 on 1376b) of χαρτδλαριδ). A similar specimen is recorded by Schlumberger, in *Rev. Num.* (1905), p. 348, no. 280.

Constantinus 22 honorary consul M VI/M VII

Κωνσταντίνου ἀπὸ ὑπάτων; Zacos 303 (seal; obv.: cruciform monogram (201) of Κωνσταντίνου; rev.: ΑΠΟ/ΥΠΑ/ΤΩΝ).

Constantinus 23 MVM M VI/M VII

Κωνσταντίνου στρατηλάτου; Zacos 1352 = Dumbarton Oaks seal 58.106.2652 (seal; obv.: the name ΚΩΝCTA|N|TINOV arranged in a cross; rev.: CTPA/THAA/TOV).

Constantinus 24 MVM M VI/M VII

Κωνσταντίνου στρατηλάτου; Zacos 309 (seal; obv.: cruciform monogram (201) of Κωνσταντίνου; cruciform monogram (324) of στρατηλάτου).

Constantinus 25 ex praefectis M VI/M VII

Κωνσταντίνου ἀπὸ ἐπάρχων; Zacos 301 (seal; obv.: cruciform monogram (201) of Κωνσταντίνου; rev.: cruciform monogram (28) of ἀπὸ ἐπάρχων).

Constantinus 26 ex praefectis M VI/M VII

[Κων]στα[ν]τίνω ἀ[π]ὸ ἐπάρχων; Dumbarton Oaks seal 58.106.2463 (seal; obv.: cruciform monogram of Θεοτόκε βοήθει; rev.: [+ΚΩ]/[N]CTA[N]/TINΩ[Π]/ΟΕΠΑΡΧ/ΩΝ+).

Constantinus (?) 27 ex praefectis M VI/M VII

Κωνσταντίνου(?) ἀπὸ ἐπάρχων; Dumbarton Oaks seal 58.106.4747 (seal; obv.: square monogram (200), of uncertain interpretation, possibly Κωνσταντίνου, perhaps also (Nesbitt) Κωνσταντίνου ὑπάτου (καί); rev.: +ΑΠΟ/ΕΠΑΡΧΩΝ). Perhaps therefore Κωνσταντίνου ὑπάτου (καί) ἀπὸ ἐπάρχων.

CONSTANTINVS 28 proconsul M VI/M VII

Κωνσταντίνου ἀνθυπάτου; Zacos 775 (seal; obv.: ΚΩΝ/CTAN/TIN8; rev.: AN/ΘΥΠΑ/ΤΟΥ). A second specimen occurs in Zacos' series, and a closely similar seal is recorded in Schlumberger, *Sigill.*, pp. 438-9, no. 6.

Constantinus 29 scribo M VI/M VII

Κωνσταντίνου σκριβωνος; Zacos 308 = Dumbarton Oaks seal 55.1.90 (seal; obv.: cruciform monogram (202) of Κωνσταντίνου; rev.: cruciform monogram (303) of σκριβωνος).

Constantinus 30 scribo M VI/M VII

Κωνσταντίνου σκριβωνος; Zacos 787 = Dumbarton Oaks seal 55.1.1953 (seal, dated VII Zacos, M VI/M VII Oikonomides; obv.: +ΚΩ/NCTA/NTIN/[O]V; rev.: +CK/PIBΩ/NOC).

Constantinus 31 scriniarius M VI/M VII

Κωνσταντίνου σκρινιαρίου; Zacos 2790 (seal; obv.: cruciform monogram (201) of Κωνσταντίνου; rev.: cruciform monogram (308) of σκρινιαρίου).

Constantinus 32 scriniarius M VI/M VII

Κωνσταντίνου σκρινιαρίου (?); Dumbarton Oaks seal 58.106.2659 (seal; obv.: cruciform monogram of Θεοτόκε βοήθει; rev.: cruciform monogram (203) of Κωνσταντίνου[υ] (?) σκρινιαρίου[υ] (?), or perhaps νοταρίο[υ]).

Constantinus qui et Lardys 33

PPO Orientis; patricius; curator domus divinae 602

Full name; Theoph. Sim. viii 9.5.12, 13.3, *Chron. Pasch.* s.a. 602, Theoph. AM 6094, Nic. Call. *HE* xviii 39. Λαρδύς was apparently his nickname among the masses (cf. Theoph. Sim. viii 9.12, 13.3) and suggests a connection with bacon or pork.

Some of his titles are listed in *Chron. Pasch.* s.a. 602: Κωνσταντίνος ὁ Λαρδύς, ἀπὸ ἐπάρχων γενόμενος πραιτωρίων^(a) καὶ λογοθέτης καὶ κουράτωρ τῶν Ὀρμίσδου^(b).

He ranked high among the leading senators under Maurice; Theoph. Sim. viii 9.6 (τῶν ἐς συγκλήτου βουλὴν ἐπιφανέστατος), Nic. Call. *HE* xviii 39.

(a) PPO ORIENTIS before a. 602: appointed some time before 602, Theoph. Sim. viii 9.6 (τὴν ἡγεμονίαν τῶν φόρων τῆς ἑώρας πρό τινος

καιροῦ ὑπὸ τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος ἀπειλήφει, ὃν ἑπαρχὸν πραιτωρίων εἶωθασιν ὀνομάζειν Ῥωμαῖοι), Nic. Call. *HE* xviii 39. It is not clear from Theophylact if Constantinus was still PPO at the end of Maurice's reign, but the language of *Chron. Pasch.* (cited above) suggests that he ceased to be PPO before assuming his financial office (below).

PATRICIVS a. 602: Greg. *Ep.* xiii 1 (cited below), Theoph. Sim. viii 9.6 (τὴν τε τῶν πατρικίων ἀξίαν περιεβέβλητο οὗτος), Nic. Call. *HE* xviii 39. Although omitted by the *Chron. Pasch.*, this title is securely attested.

(b) CVRATOR (DOMVS DIVINAE) a. 602: according to *Chron. Pasch.* he was *curator (domus divinae) rerum Hormisdæ* but the historical fragment on the fall of Maurice preserved at the beginning of book thirteen of pope Gregory's letters (Greg. *Ep.* xiii 1) describes him as 'patricius et curator de Placidias', i.e. *curator domus divinae rerum Placidiae*. It seems impossible to establish which set of imperial estates was subject to Constantinus; both sources are virtually contemporary and this office is unfortunately omitted by Theophylact.

In 602 he was one of Maurice's leading supporters; Theoph. Sim. viii 9.6 (τοῦτον ὁ Μαυρίκιος ἐν τοῖς προτερεύουσι τῶν ἀρχόντων ἐκέκτητο), Greg. *Ep.* xiii 1 (one of 'aliqui procerum, qui ei cohaerebant'). He and Domentziolus 1 antagonised the Greens and provoked a protest by them in the hippodrome; Theoph. AM 609.4. Later, when Germanus 11 took refuge in Hagia Sophia, the house of Constantinus was burnt down by the Greens during riots against Maurice; Theoph. Sim. viii 9.5, Nic. Call. *HE* xviii 39, Theoph. AM 609.4. He accompanied Maurice in his flight from Phocas; Theoph. Sim. viii 9.7, Theoph. AM 609.4. Sent with Maurice's son Theodosius 13 to seek help from Chosroes, he presumably returned with him when Maurice recalled him; he was executed with Theodosius at Chalcedon; *Chron. Pasch.* s.a. 602, Theoph. Sim. viii 9.12, 13.3, Greg. *Ep.* xiii 1, Theoph. AM 609.4, cf. Paul. Diac. *Hist. Lang.* iv 26 (where he is apparently mistaken by Paul for a son of Maurice), and see further Theodosius.

Constantinus 34

Caesar 617

Son of Heraclius and Martina, he was born in 615 and baptised at Blachernae by the patriarch Sergius; Theoph. AM 610.6 (Κωνσταντίνος ἑτέρος, so-called to distinguish him from Heraclius Constantinus 38), Cedr. I 715.

CAESAR a. 617: he was proclaimed Caesar by his brother Heraclius Constantinus on Jan. 1, 617; Theoph. AM 610.8 (προεβάλετο καίσαρα Κωνσταντίνον τὸν μικρόν, τὸν ἴδιον ἀδελφόν, τὸν ἐξ Ἡρακλείου καὶ Μαρτίνης γεννηθέντα), Cedr. I 715.

He is not heard of again and presumably died young.

Constantinus 35

sacellarius 628/629

Addressee of a letter from Maximus Confessor which alludes to the restoration of peace (in 628/629; this letter is identical with *Ep.* 43, addressed to the *cubicularius* Ioannes 261); Max. Conf. *Ep.* 24 (πρὸς Κωνσταντίνου σακελλάριον).

Possibly identical with the addressee of Max. Conf. *Ep.* 5 (of uncertain date, addressed πρὸς Κωνσταντίνου). According to Photius two letters of Maximus were addressed Κωνσταντίνῳ ἰλλουστρίῳ καὶ ἀπὸ σακελλάριων, presumably this same man; Phot. *Bibl.* 192(B).

Constantinus 36

QSP 640/641

A letter sent by Pyrrhus (patriarch of Constantinople 638/639–641) to pope John IV (640–642) was read out by Constantinus; it was cited in 645 in the disputation between Maximus Confessor and Pyrrhus; *PG* 91. 328B (ἀναγνωσθεῖς διὰ Κωνσταντίνου κουαίστωρος). He is named by Photius as author of sermons on the two energies; Phot. *Bibl.* 231 (Κωνσταντίνός τις, τῶν κουαιστώρων φέρων τὸ ἀξίωμα; this form of words suggests that his quaestorship was honorary).

Constantinus 37

army commander (in Egypt) 641/642

Constantinus and Theodorus 166 were the two Roman military commanders at Alexandria with Cyrus 17 when Roman rule in Egypt ended and the whole country came under Arab control; Joh. Nik. 119.22 (p. 572 Zotenberg) ('a general of the army who was master of the local levies' ('le général de l'armée, Constantin, qui était maître de la milice')) – he possibly accompanied Cyrus to Egypt on his recall from exile in 641, cf. 120.5 Cyrus was on the island of Rhodes with troops, who were ordered to return to Constantinople), 120.22 (p. 576 Zotenberg) (Cyrus reported 'to Theodore and the general Constantine' the terms which he made with the Arabs), 120.70 (p. 583 Zotenberg) ('the commander-in-chief of the army' ('général de l'armée')), sc. in Egypt, he accompanied Theodorus to Alexandria), 120.72 (they all left Alexandria for good).

Also alluded to in Joh. Nik. 120.50 ('Jütäljūs, the son of Constantine, named Theodore') (p. 580 Zotenberg; 'Ioūīālios, appelé Théodore, fils de Constantin').

Heraclius Constantinus 38

= Constantinus III, Augustus 641

Son of the emperor Heraclius by his first wife Eudocia; *Chron. Pasch.* s.a. 612, Nic. *Brev.* 5, Theoph. AM 610.3, 610.4, 610.8, Cedr. I 714, Zon. xiv 15, Joh. Nik. 116.4.7 (p. 564 Zotenberg), 120.2 (p. 573), Leontius,

V. Ioh. El. 6, Sebeos xxiv, p. 67, xxvi, p. 80, Mansi x 610, Const. Porph. *de cer.* II 27, Mich. Syr. xi 1, *Chron.* 1234, cxxv, Bar Hebr., *Chron.*, p. 96, *Chron. Iac. Edess.*, p. 325 = p. 249, *Hist. Nest.* II 107, Agapius, p. 478. He was born on May 3, 612; *Chron. Pasch.* s.a. 612, *Nic. Brev.* 5, Theoph. AM 6103, Cedr. I 714.

AVGVSTVS a. 613 Jan. 22–641 June: he was crowned Augustus while still a babe in arms, on Jan. 22, 613; *Chron. Pasch.* s.a. 613, Theoph. AM 6104 (who gives the date as Dec. 25, 612), *Nic. Brev.* 9, Sebeos xxiv, p. 67, xxvi, p. 80, Cedr. I 714, Zon. xiv 15, Mich. Syr. xi 1.

He assumed the consulship on Jan. 1, 617, when he also promoted his infant half-brother Constantinus 34 to Caesar; Theoph. AM 6108, Cedr. I 715. He perhaps assumed it again in c. 630; *Nic. Brev.* 22–3 (the same time as Heraclonas was made Caesar).

His official name, in full, was Flavius Heraclius novus Constantinus; *Chron. Pasch.* s.a. 613 (Φλάβιος Ἡράκλειος νέος Κωνσταντίνος). Called Ἡράκλειος ὁ μικρός, ὁ καὶ νέος Κωνσταντίνος (or similar); Theoph. AM 6103, 6104, 6108, 6122, Cedr. I 714, Zon. xiv 15, *Nic. Brev.* 5 (Ἡράκλειος ὃν δὴ καὶ Κωνσταντίνον ὠνόμασεν), 9 (Ἡράκλειον, ταῦτόν δὲ εἶπεῖν Κωνσταντίνον – διώνυμος γὰρ ὢν ἐτύγχανεν), cf. Boniface IV, *Ep.* (= *MGH, Epp.* III, p. 455 = *Ep. aevi Mer. Coll.* 12) (dated a. 613 Aug. 23, imperantibus dominis nostris piissimis Augustis Heraclio... et Heraclio Constantino novo, filio eius). On the coinage he is called Hera(c)lius Const(antinus) (or similar); *Imp. Byz. Coins* I, pp. 186ff. He is normally called simply Constantinus later in his father's reign; cf. e.g. Const. Porph. *de cer.* II 27–8 (Κωνσταντίνος δεσπότης), 29 (Κωνσταντίνε Αὐγουστε), *Nic. Brev.* 21, 28–9, Leontius, *V. Ioh. El.* 6, Theoph. AM 6132.

He was the brother of Epiphania *quae et* Eudocia and half-brother of Constantinus 34, Heraclonas, David 8, Marinus 12, Augustina and Martina 2. See stemma 6. Probably in 629/630 he married Gregoria 3 (daughter of Nicetas 7), to whom he had been betrothed in infancy; *Nic. Brev.* 9, 21, Zon. xiv 15, cf. Georg. Pisid. *Bell. Avar.* 537–41. Father of Heraclius Constantinus (the emperor Constans II, a. 641–668); Theoph. AM 6122 (born Nov. 7, 630), 6133, Cedr. I 750, Zon. xiv 18, *Chron.* 1234, cxxv, Agapius, p. 478. Father also of Theodosius (recorded as brother of Constans II); Theoph. AM 6151, Cedr. I 762, Zon. xiv 19.

On his father's death in 641 (Jan. or Feb.) he became emperor, jointly with his younger brother Heraclonas, as senior Augustus, but after four months he fell ill and died; rumour had it that his stepmother Martina had poisoned him; *Nic. Brev.* 28–9 (103 days), Leontius, *V. Ioh. El.* 6, Sebeos xxx, pp. 99–100, xxxii, p. 103, Theoph. AM 6121, 6132 (four months), Cedr. I 753, Zon. xiv 15, Joh. Nik. 116.4ff. (pp. 564–6

Zotenberg), 119.18 (p. 572), Mich. Syr. xi 15, *Chron.* 1234, cxxv, *Hist. Nest.* II 107, Bar Hebr., *Chron.*, p. 96, Agapius, p. 478, Vardan, p. 85, *Chron. Iac. Edess.*, p. 325 = p. 249. He may have died on April 20; see Grierson, *Tombs and Obits*, pp. 48–9.

Constantinus 39

honorary consul VII

Κωνσταντίνω ἀπὸ ὑπάτων; Zacos 776 (seal; obv.: ΘΕΟΤΟ/ΚΕΒΟΗ/ΘΗ+; rev.: +ΚΩ/NCTANT/INΩΑΠΟ/VPATΩ/N).

Constantinus 40

honorary consul VII

Κωνσταντίνου ὑπάτου; Zacos 780 (seal; obv.: [Θ]ΕΟ/ΤΟΚΕ/ΒΟΗΘΗ; rev.: ΚΩNC/TANTIN/OVVITA/ΤΟV). Possibly the same man owned the seal, Zacos 781 (obv.: ΘΕΟΤΟ/ΚΕΒΟΗ/ΘΗ; rev.: ΚΩNC/TANTI/NΩVITA/ΤΩ); another specimen of 781 occurs in Zacos' series and a very similar one is recorded in Panchenko, *Katalog*, p. 140, no. 398.

Constantinus 41

honorary consul VII

Κωνσταντίνου ὑπάτου (?); Zacos 1125a and b (two seals; obv.: Virgin and child with angels; rev.: cruciform monogram (205), possibly of Κωνσταντίνου ὑπάτου).

Constantinus 42

honorary consul VII

Κωνσταντίνω ὑπάτω; Zacos 1441 (seal; obv.: cruciform monogram of Θεοτόκε βοήθει; rev.: +ΚΩN/CTANT/INΩVITA/ΤΩ+).

Constantinus 43

domestic VII

Κωνσταντίνου δομestikou; Zacos 779 = Dumbarton Oaks seal 58.106.3974 (seal, dated M VI/M VII Zacos, VII Oikonomides; obv.: ΚΩN/[C]TANTI/NOV; rev.: +ΔO/MECT[I]/KOV).

Constantinus 44

MVM VII

Κωνσταντίνου στρατηλάτου; Zacos 788 = Dumbarton Oaks seal 58.106.1228 (seal; obv.: +ΚΩNC/TANT[I]/N[O]V; rev.: +/CTPA/THAAT/OV+). Similar specimens are recorded in Gray Birch, *BM Seals*, p. 71, no. 17834, Constantopoulos, *Molybdoboulla*, no. 209d, and Laurent, *Médaillier*, no. 76.

Constantinus 45

patricius VII

Κωνσταντίνω πατρικίω; Zacos 784 (seal; obv.: +ΘΕΟ/ΤΟΚΕΒ/ΟΗΘΕΙ; rev.: +ΚΩN/CTANTI/NΩPAT/PIKIΩ).

Constantinus 46 ex praefectis VII

Κωνσταντίνου ἀπὸ ἐπάρχων; Zacos 2989 (seal; obv.: patriarchal cross on Calvary; rev.: cruciform monogram (204) of Κωνσταντίνου ἀπὸ ἐπάρχων, or ? ἐπάρχου).

Constantinus 47 ex praefectis VII

Κωνσταντίνου ἀπὸ ἐπάρχου; Zacos 1436b (seal; obv.: cruciform monogram of Θεοτόκε βοήθει; rev.: +ΚΟCΤ/ΑΝΤΙΝΟ[V]/ΑΠΕΠΑ[P]/ΧΟV).

Constantinus (Zacos 302): see Ioannicius.

Fl. Triadius Marianus Michaelius Gabrielius Constantinus

Theodorus Martyrius Iulianus Athanasius

Tiberius Constantinus

Constantiolus ?MVM et dux Moesiae (Secundae) 528

Wrongly called 'Constantinus' in Theoph. AM 6031. For the Constantinus named in Zach. HE ix 6, see Constantinus 3.

Son of Florentius; Joh. Mal. 438, Theoph. AM 6031. His father was perhaps the consul of 515; cf. PLRE II, Florentius 5.

?MVM ET DVX MOESIAE (SECVNDAE) a. 528: in 528 he succeeded Iustinus I as dux Moesiae; Joh. Mal. 437-438 (καὶ ἐγένετο ἀντ' αὐτοῦ Κωνσταντίολος ὁ Φλωρεντίου στρατηλάτης τῆς Μυσίας), Theoph. AM 6031. Ὁ στρατηλάτης; Joh. Mal. 438, Theoph. AM 6031. He was probably dux Moesiae Secundae with the rank of magister militum; cf. Baduarius I, Godilas I and Iustinus I.

In 528 Constantiolus, Ascum and Godilas led the Roman army which defeated the Bulgars who had invaded Scythia and Moesia and were overrunning Thrace; after the victory, however, they were surprised and routed by other Bulgars, and Ascum and Constantiolus were captured; Ascum was carried off into captivity, but the Bulgars ransomed Constantiolus for ten thousand solidi, paid by the emperor, and he returned to Constantinople; Joh. Mal. 438 (10,000 solidi), Theoph. AM 6031 (1,000 solidi).

In 531, after the Roman defeat at Callinicum (on April 19; see Belisarius), Constantiolus was sent by Justinian to the east to investigate the circumstances; travelling via Antioch, he visited the Roman commanders, including the magister officiorum Hermogenes, and questioned them; on his return to Constantinople he reported his findings to

Justinian, and as a result Belisarius was replaced as MVM per Orientem by Mundus; Joh. Mal. 465-466. There is no mention of this enquiry by Procopius, who presumably suppressed it in order to protect the reputation of Belisarius.

In 532, on the second day of the Nika riot (Jan. 14), Constantiolus was sent by Justinian with Mundus and Basilides to calm the excited crowds and learn the reason for their anger; they reported that the crowds were inveighing against Ioannes II the Cappadocian, Tribonianus I and the PVC Eudaemon I, and these three were then removed from office; Joh. Mal. 475, Chron. Pasch. s.a. 532. Later, Justinian is said to have considered flight, leaving Constantiolus and Mundus to guard the palace; Theoph. AM 6024. On the last day of the riot, he took part with Mundus and Belisarius in the attack on the crowd in the hippodrome; Joh. Mal. 476, Chron. Pasch. s.a. 532, Theoph. AM 6024.

Constantius (CIL v, p. 618, n. 8) IV/VI: PLRE II.

C. Papirius Constantius (CIL XI 1728) IV/VI: PLRE II.

Constantius I ?v.d. (in Italy) M VI

Owner of an estate adjoining one sold in c. 540; Marini, P. Dip. 118 = P. Ital. 27, line 3 fundum Quarantula quod est iuris Constantii ad (sic; perhaps = v.d.).

CONSTANTIVS 2 vir magnificus, tribunus (of Naples) 592

Appointed by pope Gregory, who wrote urging the soldiers in Naples to obey him (magnificum virum Constantium tribunum custodiae civitatis deputavimus praesesse); Greg. Ep. II 34 (a. 592 July; addressed 'universis militibus in Neapoli'). Cf. Brown, Gentlemen, p. 179, n. 7.

Constrius MVM (in Africa) VI/VII

Constrius magistru militum; Bull. Soc. Nat. Ant. Fr. 1908, p. 164 = AE 1908, 184 = ILCV 235b (seal, at Carthage; obv.: bust of the Virgin between two crosses; rev.: +/CONSTR/IVSMAGIS/TRVMILI/TVM).

Copiosus doctor (at Rome) L VI

Brother of the monk Iustus (who died in Gregory's former monastery in c. 590), still practising as a doctor at Rome when the Dialogi were being written (in 593/594); Greg. Dial. IV 57.

Corbus son of Theoderic II 604-613

Born to Theoderic in 604 by a concubine; Fredegar. IV 24. Brother of

Sigibert, Childebert and Meroveus; Fredegar. iv 39, 42. See stemma 18e.

Captured and killed with Sigibert in 613 by Chlotharius; Fredegar. iv 42.

Fl. Cresconius Corippus poet M/L VI

Author of a poem celebrating the exploits of the MVM Ioannes 36 Troglita, the *Iohannis* (or *Iohanneis* or *Iohannias*; cf. *Iohannis*, ed. Diggle and Goodyear, praefatio, p. xi) *seu de bellis Libycis*, and later of another poem celebrating the accession of Justin II and describing the ceremonies, *In Laudem Iustini Augusti minoris* (cited as *Iust.*).

His full name is known only from a now lost manuscript of the *Iohannis*; cf. Partsch, *prooemium*, pp. xliii, xlvi, n. 2 (Fl. Cresconius Corippus). In other MSS of the *Iohannis* he is called Cresconius (or Crestonius), in MSS of *Iust.*, Corippus.

A native of Africa, he was a *grammaticus*; *Codex Matritensis* (main MS of *Iust.*) (Corippus Africanus grammaticus). Nothing more is known about him, except from his works. He apparently taught somewhere other than Carthage; cf. *Ioh.*, praef., lines 25-6 quid (quod ego) ignarus, quondam per rura locutus, urbis per populos carmina mitto palam? He delivered the *Iohannis* at Carthage in the presence of the nobles there; *Ioh.*, praefatio ad proceres Carthaginienses, cf. lines 1 Victoris, proceres, praesumpsi dicere lauros, and 25-6 (above). The date was evidently in 549/550, soon after the last events celebrated in it (the last book breaks off while narrating events of 548).

In 565 he was present in Constantinople for the accession of Justin and composed his panegyric on him in 566 and 567. He wrote the work with the encouragement of Anastasius 14 whom he honoured with a panegyric that precedes the poem on Justin and was composed in late 565 or early 566; Coripp. *Iust.* 1 15-17, and cf. Anastasius. Books One to Three, describing the accession, were probably written first, in 566; Book One contains a probable allusion to the execution of Aetherius and Addaeus, on Oct. 3, 566; *Iust.* 1 60-1, and see Cameron, *Corippus*, p. 131. Book Four describes Justin's consular celebrations (on New Year's Day, 566). In the preface, Corippus alludes to his *Iohannis*; *Iust.* praef. 35-6 (quid Libycas gentes, quid Syrtica proelia dicam iam libris completa meis?).

By this time Corippus was apparently elderly; *Iust.* praef. 37 (senio dextram pie porrigere lesso), *Pan. Anast.* 48 (fessae miserere senectae). He had fallen on hard times and lost his property (the circumstances are not clear), and was attempting to restore his fortunes through Justin and Anastasius; *Iust.* praef. 41-8 (vince (sc. Justin) meae saevam fortunae, deprecor, iram: vincere fortunam plus est quam vincere bella. nudatus

propriis et plurima vulnera passus ad medicum veni, precibus pia pectora pulsans, ad medicum, verbo pestem qui submovet uno et sine composito medicamine vulnera curat. huic ego sananti, si qua est fiducia servis, grates semper ago, et pro munere carmina porto), *Pan. Anast.* 49-51 (vulneribusque meis solita pietate medere (sc. Anastasius), ut grates tibi laetus agam, sacrosque triumphos principis invicti felici carmine dicam). In a passage towards the end of *Pan. Anast.* (lines 41-8) Corippus, while imploring Anastasius to help him, appears to claim that he holds office as *princeps*, under the authority of Anastasius (who combined the posts of QSP and *mag. off.*) (47-8 sub cuius nomine gesto principis officium), and has obtained a letter from the emperor himself commending him to Anastasius for help in his troubles (lines 44 hi sacri... apices, 45 sanctio). The interpretation of this passage is difficult, but comparison of *Pan. Anast.* 42-4 with *Iust.* iv 182-5 suggests that Corippus may have been one of those alluded to in *Iust.* iv 181-2 namque illos donis conscriptis patribus aequos esse dedit, cum distet honor, whoever they were; they may have been *tribuni et notarii* or *scribarii* (cf. Partsch, p. xlv) or perhaps just orators (see Cameron, *Corippus*, p. 200 and *Continuity*, no. viii).

See also Skutsch, *P-W* iv 1236-46 and Cameron, *Corippus*, intro., and *Continuity*, no. VIII (= *CQ* 1980, pp. 354-8).

Çorpan T'arkhan Khazar general 629

General of the Khazars, sent against Armenia with three thousand troops to collect information and prepare the way for the main army of the khan; Moses Dasxurançi ii 16. Tarkan was a Turkish title; Dowsett, p. 104, n. 2.

Cosmas 1 father of Theodorus E/M VI

Anth. Gr. iv 3 lemma. See Theodorus 57.

Cosmas (Indicopleustes) 2 author M VI

Author of a work on geography (lost), a study of the courses of the stars (lost), and an extant *Christian Topography*, an attempt to give a description of the world based on the evidence of the Bible; *Cosm. Ind. Top.*, prol. 1-2. He was a merchant trading from Egypt; *Top.* ii 54, 56. He visited Adulis in Ethiopia during the reign of Justin I, when Elesboas was preparing for war against the Himyarites of Yemen, and twenty-five years before he wrote his *Topography*; *Top.* ii 56. His travels took him through the Mediterranean, the Red Sea and the Persian Gulf, *Top.* ii 29; and he visited Palestine and Mount Sinai, v 8, 14, 51-2. He records sailing past, but not landing on, the Isle of Dioscurides (Socotra); *Top.*

III 65. There is no evidence that he actually visited India or Ceylon; cf. *Top.*, ed. Wolska-Conus (*Sources chrétiennes* 141), p. 17. He records two solar eclipses, perhaps those of Feb. 6 and Aug. 17, 547; *Top.* vi 3.

His name was not known to Photius who, when he wrote the *Bibliotheca*, described the work as by a Christian (Χριστιανοῦ βιβλος); *Phot. Bibl.* 36. In the MS tradition only one MS gives the author's name, at the start of Book One, as Κοσμᾶ μοναχοῦ, but extracts from the work were included in many collections and his name is there given as Κοσμᾶς Ἰνδικοπλεύστης; cf. Wolska-Conus, *op. cit.*, p. 61.

He evidently retired and entered a monastery where he wrote his *Topography*; the work is strongly religious in character, and he himself records another (lost) work of his, a commentary on the *Canticum Canticorum* (*Top.* viii 3). See further Wolska-Conus, *op. cit.*, preface.

(Fl.) Cosmas 3 secretary of a dux Thebaidis (Egypt) M VI

[Φλ.]Κοσμᾶς νοταρ[?] Δωροθέου [στρ]ατηλ(άτου); *P. Cairo Masp.* 67289 provenance unknown. See Dorotheus 8.

COSMAS 4 comes (Egypt) M/L VI

A document from Arsinoe mentioned his son (name lost) in connection with a lease of land — ... σὶ ᾧ τοῦ τῆς μακαρίας μνήμης Κοσμᾶ γενομένου κόμετος; *P. Ross.-Georg.* III 39, line 5. The date of the papyrus was July 7, 584.

Cosmas 5 notarius (in Egypt) 583

Son of Theodorus; νοτάριος, from Antinoöpolis; witnessed an agreement in 583; *P. Monac.* 7, 94 Antinoöpolis.

Cosmas 6 illustrius (in Egypt) ?VI

Κοσμᾶς σὺν Θ(εῶ) ἰλλού(στριος); *Stud. Pal.* viii 958 ?Hermopolis. The document records a payment made on his behalf.

Cosmas 7 poet ?VI

Author of verses included in the Greek Anthology; *Anth. Gr.* xvi 114 (Κοσμᾶ). His date is unknown.

Cosmas 8 scholarius VI

Κοσμᾶ καὶ (?) Ἰωάννου σχολαρίων; Zacos 408a and b (two seals; obv.: square monogram (189) of Κοσμᾶ καὶ; rev.: square monogram (177), possibly of Ἰωάννου σχολαρίων).

Cosmas 9 ?consularis M VI/M VII

Κοσμᾶ ὑπατικοῦ (?); Zacos 404 = Dumbarton Oaks seal 58.106.3009

(seal; obv.: cruciform monogram (190) of Κοσμᾶ; rev.: cruciform monogram (370), possibly of ὑπατικοῦ, perhaps πατρικίου).

Cosmas 10 honorary consul M VI/M VII

Κοσμᾶ ἀπὸ ὑπάτων; Zacos 1358 = Dumbarton Oaks seal 58.106.4563 (seal; obv.: Κοσμᾶ arranged in a cross; rev.: ΑΠΟ/[V]ΠΑ/ΤΩΝ).

Cosmas 11 ?illustrius M VI/M VII

Κοσμᾶ (?) illustrii; Zacos 1359 (seal; obv.: Κοσμᾶ arranged in a cross; rev.: monogram (371), of very uncertain interpretation, possibly 'illustriu').

Cosmas 12 MVM M VI/M VII

Κοσμᾶ στρατηλάτου; Zacos 407 (seal; obv.: cruciform monogram (191) of Κοσμᾶ; rev.: CTPA/THΛA/TOV).

Cosmas 13 MVM M VI/M VII

Κοσμᾶ στρατηλάτου; Zacos 903 (seal; obv.: KOC/MA; rev.: CTPA/THΛA/TOV).

COSMAS 14 v.c., comes and meizoterus (in Egypt) ?L VI/E VII

Addressee of a letter from Victor 15 — + δεσπό(τη) ἐμ(ῶ) λαμπρο(τάτω) πα(ν)τιμα(ξίω) προσκυ(νητῶ) γν(ησίω) [ἀ]δὶλ(φῶ) Κοσμᾶ κόμε(τι) μειζοτέ(ρω); *P. Oxy* 158, line 6. For the date, see Victor.

If γνήσιος ἀδελφός is taken literally in this and related documents, then Cosmas was brother of Victor and also of Georgius 55, Menas 42 and Theodorus 170; the words are perhaps only a conventional greeting among social equals.

Cosmas 15 scholasticus (in Egypt) L VI/E VII

Ὁ σχολαστικός, at Alexandria, an acquaintance of John Moschus; nicknamed Ἐηροκρόνω; Joh. Mosch. *Pratum* 246 (171b) (at Alexandria, gave Moschus information about the abbot and philosopher Theodorus and the *lector* Zoilus), 247 (172a) (friend of Moschus, wrote against the Jews, owner of the largest (private) library at Alexandria), 248 (172b) (said to have spent thirty-three years in domestic reclusion), 249 (172c).

Presumably not identical with Cosmas, a wealthy twice-married Alexandrian who tried to bribe bishop John the Almsgiver to make him deacon, contrary to the canons; Leontius, *V. Ioh. El.* 13.

Cosmas 16 primicerius VI/VII

Primicerius; died aged sixty; commemorated by an epitaph in the

basilica of Servus at Sufetula; *MEFR* 83 (1971), p. 439 = *AE* 1971, 499 = Pringle, no. 50 Sufetula (Sbeitla), in Byzacena. It is uncertain whether he was an ecclesiastical, civil or military *primicerius*.

Cosmas 17

PVC VI/VII

Named on several glass weights: Zacos 2997a and b, Monneret de Villard, Catalogue C, nos 6a (= Schlumberger, *MéL.*, pp. 320-1, no. 4), 6b (= Constantopoulos, *Molybdoboulla*, no. 1188), 6c, 7a. All read: + ἐπί Κοσμά ἐπάρχου.

Possibly identical with Cosmas 19, but the name is not uncommon.

Cosmas 18

demarch of the Blues 602

He and Sergius 39 (of the Greens) gave Maurice lists of their faction members when the rebellion of Phocas occurred; Cosmas gave a list of nine hundred Blues; Theoph. Sim. viii 7.10-11. See further Sergius. Early in Phocas' reign he was roughly handled by Phocas' agent Alexander 18; Theoph. Sim. viii 10.11-12 (ὁ τὴν δημαρχικὴν περικείμενος ἐπιστασίαν), Theoph. AM 609.4 (ὁ τῶν Βενέτων δήμαρχος).

Cosmas 19

PVC 609

Sent by Phocas to punish the Greens in the hippodrome for insulting the emperor; they turned on him and set fire to the *praetorium*; Theoph. AM 610.1 (Κοσμάν τὸν ἐπαρχὸν τῆς πόλεως), cf. Joh. Ant. fr. 218e (= *Exc. de ins.*, fr. 109) (alluding to the same event and confirming the date late in Phocas' reign) (the name is restored from the Latin translation of Anastasius, for the Κώνσταν of the Greek manuscripts, by de Boor).

His name occurs in monogram on silverware datable to late in the reign of Phocas; Dodd, *BSS*, Table III, nos. 34-6 (= Feissel, below, p. 135), and see Feissel, *Rev. Num.*⁶ 28 (1986), p. 138.

Cosmas 20

QSP c. 620

Envoy of Heraclius to the Avar khan in c. 620 when the emperor was nearly captured by treachery; Nic. *Brev.*, p. 13 (Κοσμάν τὴν ἀξίαν ἦν δὴ κναίστορα καλοῦσι). Cf. Athanasius 10. For the date, see Theoph. AM 611.1 and cf. Stratos, I, p. 127.

Cosmas 21

dioecetes of the Blues 643/644

In office in the recent second indiction (τῇ οὖν ἀρτίως παρελθούσῃ δευτέρᾳ ἐπινημήσει) when he was visited by Stephanus 62, a deacon of Hagia Sophia and ποιητῆς μέρους Βενέτου; Stephanus, having fallen ill

shortly before the death of Heraclius, was cured by the martyr Artemius shortly after visiting Cosmas (ἀριστήσας πρὸς Κοσμάν τὸν τότε τοῦ Βενέτου διοικητῆν); *Mir. Artem.* 21 (p. 26). The date was presumably a second indiction soon after Heraclius' death, i.e. 643/644.

Cosmas 22

?v.c. (in Egypt) VII

Named in a document from Heracleopolis; *Stud. Pal.* iii 67, line 1 (+ τῶ λαμπροτάτῳ Κοσμα πατρὸς (for πατρι) πόλ(εως) υἱὸς (for υἱῶ) τοῦ τῆς μακαρ(ίας) [μνήμης...]). Apparently v.c. and *pater civitatis* of, presumably, Heracleopolis.

Cosmas 23

notarius (in Egypt) VII

A νοτάριος at Oxyrhynchus; delivered wages for grooms and the cost of a staging post; *P. Oxy.* 1863.

Cosmas 24

chartularius VII

Κοσμά χαρτουλαρί[ου]; Dumbarton Oaks seal 58.106.5343 (seal; obv.: cruciform monogram of Θεοτόκε βοήθει between the open wings of an eagle; rev.: + ΚΟC/MAXAP/ΤΟVΛΛΑ/ΠΙ...).

Cosmas 25

medicus VII

Κοσμά ἱατροῦ; Zacos 3030 (seal; obv.: cruciform monogram of Θεοτόκε βοήθει; rev.: ΚΟC/ΜΑΙ/ΑΤΡ/ΟV).

Cosmas 26

MVM VII

Κοσμά στρατηλάτῃ; Zacos 904 (seal; obv.: + ΘΕ/ΟΤΟΚΕ/ΒΟΗΘΙ; rev.: ΚΟC/ΜΑCΤΡΑ/ΤΗΛΛΑ/ΤΗ).

Cosmas 27

ex praefectis VII

Κοσμά ἀπὸ ἐπαρχῶν; Zacos 900 (seal; obv.: ΚΟCΜΑ/ΑΠΟΕΠΤΑ/ΡΧΩΝ; rev.: ΔΟVΛ/ΟVΤΗC/ΘΕΟΤΟ/ΚΟV).

Cosmas 28

ex praefectis VII

Κοσμά ἀπὸ ἐπαρχῶν; Zacos 901 = Dumbarton Oaks seal 55.1.1959 (seal; obv.: ΘΕΟΤ/ΟΚΕΒ/ΟΗΘΙ; rev.: ΚΟCΜΑ/ΑΠΟΕΠΤΑ/ΡΧΩΝ).

Cosmas 29

topoteretes VII

Κοσμά τοποτηρητοῦ; Zacos 1172 = Dumbarton Oaks seal 58.106.2289 (seal; obv.: Virgin and child; rev.: + ΚΟC/ΜΑΤΟΠ/ΟΤΗΡΗ/ΤΟV). A similar specimen in Zacos' series is Dumbarton Oaks seal 55.1.2316 (obv.: Virgin and child; rev.: + ΚΟC/ΜΑΤΟΠ/ΟΤΗΡΗ/ΤΟV).

Cosmiane (patricia) ?M/L VI

Wife of Germanus 9 *patricius* (therefore presumably a *patricia*); a monophysite, she was miraculously prevented from worshipping in the church of the Resurrection (in Jerusalem) until she adopted orthodoxy; Joh. Mosch. *Pratum* 59 (48).

Costus scholarius (at Nicomedia) 612

Cured by Theodore of Syceon in 612 at Nicomedia, where he lived; *V. Theod. Syc.* 156 (σχολάριος τῆς αὐτῆς πόλεως). The phrase does not mean that Nicomedia had officials called *scholarii* but that the *scholarius* Costus lived there.

Cottanas ?MVM per Orientem 609

Στρατηλάτης; sent with Bonosus 2 in 609 by Phocas to crush a Jewish rising at Antioch; they apparently failed to restrain them and so brought up troops, killing many and expelling others; Theoph. AM 6101 with Anastasius Bibliothecarius *ad loc.*, Cedr. I 712. His name occurs in several forms: Κοτταυᾶν, Κοτταάν, Κόττανα, Κοτταυα, also Κοττανᾶν (Cedr.), Cotyn (Anast.).

Counaxolan (Κουναξολάν) Turkish khan L VI

Theoph. Sim. vii 8.9–11. See Touldich.

Counimon (Κουνίμων) Avar envoy ?561

An Avar, envoy to Justinian probably in 561; a friend of Iustinus 4 to whom he disclosed the Avars' secret intentions; Men. Prot. fr. 9. See Iustinus for the date.

Cours ?MVM (in Armenia) 574–582

Κούρσος; Men. Prot., Evagr., Nic. Call. Κούρς; Evagr., Theoph. Sim. Qwrys; Joh. Eph., Mich. Syr. Κρούς; Theoph.

Called Σκυθῆς ἀνήρ; Evagr. *HE* v 14. Either a Hun or a Goth, probably the former since the name is not Germanic.

He served in Italy under Narses 1; Joh. Eph. *HE* iii 6.28 ('Narsis magni... quocum bellis magnis in regionibus Romanorum exercitatus erat').

?MVM (in Armenia) a. 574–582: in 574 and 575 he and Theodorus 32 commanded Roman forces in Armenia; probably in late 574 they invaded Albania and took hostages from the Albani and Sabiri, and in 575 they were ordered back to Albania by Tiberius Caesar to transport the peoples of the Albani and Sabiri to the Roman side of the river

Cyrus; during their absence (in spring) Armenia was attacked by the Persians; Men. Prot. fr. 41, fr. 42 (οἱ τῶν Ῥωμαίων στρατηγοί). Perhaps in autumn 575, Cours served in Armenia under the MVM *per Orientem* Iustinianus 3, taking part in the capture of Chosroes' camp; Evagr. *HE* v 14 (= Nic. Call. *HE* xviii 2) (on this passage, see Stein, *Stud.*, p. 83, n. 9; information about Cours' success in 579 (see below) is wrongly included here by Evagrius). In autumn 578 he served under the MVM *per Orientem* Mauricius 4 and was sent by him with Romanus 4 to plunder Persian territory across the Tigris; Theoph. Sim. iii 16.2. In 579 he and Ioannes 101 Mystacon were 'στρατηλάται' commanding Roman troops in Armenia; Cours defeated the Persians, catching them unawares and taking booty and prisoners, including one of their commanders and his son; Joh. Eph. *HE* iii 6.28, Mich. Syr. x 16, cf. Evagr. *HE* v 14 (see above) (for the date, see Stein, *Stud.*, p. 98). In late 582 he was ὑποστράτηγος under Ioannes Mystacon (recently promoted from Armenia to MVM *per Orientem*) and commanded the right wing of the Roman army facing the Persians at the confluence of the rivers Nymphius and Tigris; he took no part in the battle, allegedly through his jealousy for Ioannes, and the Romans through his inaction were defeated; Theoph. Sim. i 9.7–11, Theoph. AM 6075.

He was apparently a *magister militum* serving in or near Armenia from 574 to 582. His inactivity in 582 perhaps ended his career; he is not recorded thereafter.

Craterus ?rhetor M VI

Praised in three poems by Iulianus 11 (ex praefectis) as a highly accomplished public speaker able to sway his opponents (or ?rivals); *Anth. Gr.* vii 561 (praising his σοφία), 562, ix 661 (the seat from which he spoke is represented as praising him; the lemma has: εἰς βῆμα τοῦ σοφιστοῦ Κρατεροῦ). He died young; *Anth. Gr.* vii 561.

The allusions in vii 561 and 562 to ἀντίπαλοι suggest that he was an advocate, but do not prove that he was; since he is praised for σοφία and eloquence and not for justice and knowledge of law, he is more likely to have been a teacher of rhetoric. Cf. however *Anth. Gr.* xvi 316 (on Agathias).

Cratianus scriniarius VI

Κρατιανοῦ σκρινιαρίου; Zacos 1360 (seal; obv.: circular inscription of ΚΡΑΤΙΑΝΟΒ; rev.: circular inscription of CKPINIAPIΘ).

Cratinus

CSL (honorary); teacher of law in Constantinople (530-) 533

V.ILL., CSL (honorary) a. 533 Dec. 16: *CJ* 1 17.2 = Just. *Const.* 'Tanta' (cited below). His office was certainly honorific, granted to confer the rank of *illustris*; cf. Constantinus 1 (also CSL on the same date).

He was a teacher of law in Constantinople (one of two there under the regulations laid down in 425 by *CTh* xiv 9.3; the other was Theophilus 1) and served on the commission which worked on the Digest (from Dec. 530 to Dec. 533); *CJ* 1 17.2 = Just. *Const.* 'Tanta' (a. 533 Dec. 16; completion of the Digest; Cratinus was 'vir illustris et comes sacrarum largitionum et optimus antecessor huius almae urbis constitutus'; in the Greek version, *Const.* Δέδωκεν, this is rendered: ὁ μεγαλοπρεπέστατος καὶ σοφώτατος κόμης τῶν θείων λαργιτιόνων (νόμων δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς ἀγαθὸς ἐξηγητὴς ἐπὶ τῆς βασιλίδος ταύτης ἐστὶν πόλεως); see also Theophilus). One of the *virii illustres antecessores* to whom Justinian addressed his constitution regulating the course of studies for students of law on Dec. 16, 533; Just. *Const.* 'Omnem' (he is named seventh in the list and is last of the *virii illustres*; cf. Theophilus 1).

CREMIVS

comes (Egypt) VI

A document from Oxyrhynchus mentions his name in connection with an account concerning bricks; *P. Oxy.* 2197, line 172 (+ λήμ(α)τ(α) πλίνθ(ου) τῆς διοικ(ή)σεως τοῦ κόμ(ι)τος Κρημί(ου), referring to a second and third indiction). Perhaps he was *comes et diocetes*.

Crescens

magister militum (in Africa) VI/VII

Fidelis, magister militu(m), filius Gratiani, peregrinus (presumably not a native of Sufetula); died aged forty-five; commemorated by an epitaph in the basilica of SS Silvanus et Fortunatus at Sufetula; *MEFR* 83 (1971), p. 428 = *AE* 1971, 494 = Pringle, no. 51 Sufetula (Sbeitla), in Byzacena.

Crescentinus (*Anth. Lat.* 1 20) V/VI: *PLRE* II.

Crescentius 1

in office under Childebert I 511/558

Ordered by Childebert to carry out proposals of the *sacerdos* Paternus for helping the poor at Paris; he held office at the time – ad quem cura publica pertinebat; said to have ignored the king's orders at first and gone away, but to have then gone blind and only been cured after returning to Paternus, after which he did whatever Paternus asked; *Ven. Fort. V. S. Paterni* xv 44–5. Paternus (St Pair) was a priest long before he became bishop of Avranches in c. 551/552; he died in 564/565.

CRESCENTIVS 2

?v.c. (West) 599

Lator praesentium Criscentius vicarius noster; summoned to Sicily to present his accounts to Leontius 11; he took sanctuary in church until Gregory gave him a letter of support; *Greg. Ep.* ix 182 (a. 599 July). In a note *ad. loc.* the editor Hartmann suggested that the text should be read: v.c. filius noster. Criscentius may have been a *vicarius*, perhaps at Rome, although evidence is lacking for such a post at this date; the word *vicarius* generally denotes a junior military officer, deputy of e.g. the *tribunus* of a *numerus* (cf. Brown, *Gentlemen*, pp. 59–60). The persons summoned to appear before Leontius were high secular officials.

Cresconius: author of Christian poetry ?V/VI; *PLRE* II.

Cresconius

vir illustris (in Sicily) 559

An *illustris*, styled 'magnitudo tua', he was asked by Pelagius I to ensure (competenti sollicitudine custodire) that the Sicilian bishops did not exact more than two *solidi* by way of *cathedraticum* from their clergy or impose unreasonable expenses for entertainment on them; *Pelag. I, Ep.* 25, 32 (both in Feb. 559, addressed 'Cresconio illustri', on the same theme).

He was not the *praetor Siciliae* (see Leo 3) but otherwise it is not clear what position he held, if any; he was perhaps not an imperial official but one of the leading nobles in Sicily.

Fl. Cresconius Corippus.

Cronopius

bishop of Périgueux E/M VI

His epitaph was composed by Venantius Fortunatus; *Ven. Fort. Carm.* iv 8. He was of noble family (lines 11–12 nobilis antiquo veniens de germine patrum, sed magis in Christo nobilior merito); his father and grandfather had both been bishops (lines 7–10). He died aged eighty (line 29). As bishop of Périgueux he is attested at the Synod of Agde in 506, the First Synod of Orléans in 511 and the Second of Orléans in 533; cf. *Conc. Gall.* 314–506, pp. 213–18 (a. 506), *Conc. Gall.* 511–695, pp. 13–19 (a. 511), p. 102 (a. 533). Cf. Stroheker, no. 90.

Theodorus qui et Cteanus.

Cumquodeus

advocate (at Rome) L VI

Advocatus, at Rome; very recently dead when Gregory recalled the circumstances of his funeral, in the church of Sixtus on the Via Appia,

describing him as 'curis saecularibus obligatum lucrisque terrenis inhiantem'; Greg. *Dial.* iv 27. The *Dialogi* were written down in 594 and 595.

Cunigastus: vir illustris (in Italy) c. 527; *PLRE* II.

Cunimundus king of the Gepids 566/567

Cunimundus; Joh. Bicl. Κοιμοῦνδος; Men. Prot., Theoph. Sim. Cunimundus; *Origo Gentis Lang.*, *Hist. Lang. cod. Goth.*, Paul. Diac.

Father of Rosimunda; *Origo Gent. Lang.* 5, *Hist. Lang. cod. Goth.* 5, Paul. Diac. *Hist. Lang.* I 27, cf. Theoph. Sim. VI 10.8 (his unnamed daughter).

KING of the Gepids, a. ?-566/567: successor of Turisindus, Paul. Diac. *Hist. Lang.* I 27. King of the Gepids; Joh. Bicl. s.a. 572, Theoph. Sim. VI 10.8, *Origo Gent. Lang.* 5, *Hist. Lang. cod. Goth.* 5, Paul. Diac. *Hist. Lang.* I 27.

Probably in 566 the Lombards under Alboin attacked the Gepids, and Cunimund sent envoys to Justin requesting military help and offering to surrender Sirmium to the Romans in return; Justin sent Baduarius and the Lombards were defeated, but Cunimund then failed to carry out his part of the bargain; Theoph. Sim. VI 10.8-12 (Theophylact cites a romantic *casus belli*, the capture of Rosimunda by Alboin), 10.16 (dating these events some thirty years before the point reached in Theophylact's narrative, viz. 593), Men. Prot. fr. 25. Hostility between the Lombards and Gepids continued and Alboin made an agreement with the Avars to attack the Gepids and the Romans; when the Avars attacked him, Cunimund again sought help from Justin and again offered to surrender Sirmium and with it territory within the Drave; this time Justin sent no help, whether through distrust of Cunimund's promises or as a result of a Lombard embassy, or both; Men. Prot. fr. 24, fr. 25. A battle between Lombards and Gepids took place resulting in the complete defeat of the Gepids; Cunimund himself was killed and the kingdom of the Gepids came to an end; Joh. Bicl. s.a. 572, *Origo Gent. Lang.* 5, *Hist. Lang. cod. Goth.* 5, Paul. Diac. *Hist. Lang.* I 27. The skull of Cunimund was turned into a drinking bowl by Alboin; Paul. Diac. *Hist. Lang.* I 27. The royal treasures were conveyed to Constantinople by Cunimund's nephew (rather than grandson) Reptila and an Arian bishop, Trasaric; Joh. Bicl. s.a. 572. The date of the last war and Cunimund's death was probably in 567, since Sirmium was already in Roman hands in early 568; cf. Baduarius 2, Bonus 4, and see Stein, *Stud.*, pp. 8-10.

Cuppa comes stabuli (of Chilperic) 580 (?584)

COMES STABULI of Chilperic a. 580 (?584): comes stabuli, in late 580,

under Chilperic; Greg. Tur. *HF* v 39, cf. x 5 (qui quondam comes stabuli Chilperici regis fuerat, in 590). Perhaps in office until Chilperic's death (see below). In late 580 he arrested the treasurer (Anonymus 88) of Chilperic's son Chlodovechus (recently dead) at Bourges and delivered him to Fredegundis; Greg. Tur. *HF* v 39.

In 585 he was sent by Fredegundis to bring Rigunthis back from Toulouse and was rumoured to have secret instructions to bring the pretender Gundovald back also, if he found him alive; Greg. Tur. *HF* VII 39. He was evidently still in a position of trust with Fredegundis in 585, and had perhaps remained in office until Chilperic's death in 584.

Gregory records some of his misdeeds in 590; he raided the territory of Tours but abandoned his plunder and fled when overtaken by the local inhabitants; his escape was attributed to Animodus, whom he apparently accompanied to answer charges at the royal court; they were acquitted thanks to bribery (see Flavianus 2); on another occasion he tried to carry off and marry by force the daughter of Ba(u)degisel and Magnatrudis (Anonyma 9) but was foiled when the girl's mother met force with force and drove him away, killing several of his men; Greg. Tur. *HF* x 5.

(Fl.?) Curicus ?ab actis (of the PPO Orientis) 555

Possibly one of the *ab actis* in the *officium* of the PPO Orientis in 555; Just. *Nov.* 159, epilogus. See further Fl. Ioannes 65.

Curius protector ?528

He allegedly stole from a statue of the emperor Valentinian a part that was made of silver (ὑπὸ Κουρίου προτίκτορος, ἐπὶ Ἰουστινιανοῦ τῷ β' ἔτει); *Parastaseis* 12 *ad fin.* (= *Patr. Const.* II 97a). The emperor could be Justinian I or Justinian II, but the former is perhaps the more likely; cf. Cameron and Herrin, *Parastaseis*, pp. 74-5 with n. 3, and p. 189.

Cutilas (Κουτίλας) officer of Belisarius' bodyguard 537

A Thracian (Θραξ); officer (δορυφόρος) of the bodyguard of Belisarius; Proc. *BG* II 2.10. In June 537 he fought in an action near the Porta Pinciana (see Artasires I and Belisarius, p. 200), was wounded in the head with a javelin and continued fighting but later died after the removal of the weapon; Proc. *BG* II 2.9-15.18.30-1.

Cutilzis (Κούτιλζις) Hun leader 556

One of three leaders of a force of Sabirian Hun mercenaries serving with the Roman army in Lazica in 556 (the others were Balmach and Illiger); Agath. III 17.5. For further details, see Illiger.

CVTZES dux (Phoenices Libanensis, at Damascus) 528

Κούτζης; Proc. Κούτζης; Joh. Mal. Cutzes; Zach. On the name, which is Thracian, see Detschew, p. 265.

Native of Thrace; Proc. *BP* I 13.5.

Brother of Buzes; Proc. *BP* I 13.5, Zach. *HE* IX 2. ?Son of Vitalianus (*PLRE* II; Joh. Mal. 441 (ὁ Βιταλιανού; this relationship, not confirmed by Procopius or Zacharias, is doubtful; cf. Buzes). The brothers were still young men in 528; Proc. *BP* I 13.5. A third brother was Benilus; Proc. *BG* IV 9.5. Uncle of Domnentiolus (the son of a sister); Proc. *BG* III 39.3, Zach. *HE* IX 4. See stemma 13.

DVX (PHOENICES LIBANENSIS) at Damascus a. 528: in 528 Cutzes and Buzes commanded the troops stationed in Lebanon; Proc. *BP* I 13.5 (οἱ τῶν ἐν Λιβάνῳ στρατιωτῶν ἤρχον τότε). Cutzes is described as ὁ ἀπὸ δορκῶν Δαμασκοῦ; Joh. Mal. 441. The two brothers were therefore the two *duces* who were based at Damascus and Palmyra in Phoenice Libanensis following the reform of the military command in the area by Justinian in 527/528; cf. Stein, *Bas-Emp.* II 289 with n. 3.

In 528 he and Buzes were sent with an army to reinforce Belisarius at Minduos (sic; it was probably at Tanurin; cf. Belisarius); the Romans were defeated by the Persians and Cutzes was wounded and taken prisoner; he was imprisoned in Persia and is not heard of again; Proc. *BP* I 13.5-8, Joh. Mal. 441-2, Zach. *HE* IX 2 (said to have been killed in battle).

The two brothers are described as rather headstrong in battle; Proc. *BP* I 13.5. Cutzes was an ἀνὴρ μαχιμώτατος; Joh. Mal. 441.

Cutzinas Moorish leader; ally of the Romans, and MVM M VI

Κουτζίνης; Proc., Theoph. Κουτζίνης; Joh. Mal. Cusina; Coripp.

His mother was Roman; Coripp. *Ioh.* VIII 271 (consanguineus genitus de matre Latina), cf. *Ioh.* IV 511 (ille animo Romanus erat, nec sanguine longe), V 451 (Romanis consanguinitate propinquus). A son is mentioned in 545/6, Proc. *BV* II 27.24; and he was survived by sons, Joh. Mal. 495.

In 534 and 535 he was one of the Moorish leaders in revolt against the Romans in Byzacena (cf. Esdilasas, Iourphouthes and Medisinissas); after defeats by Solomon I at Mammes and Bourgaon he fled to Numidia and submitted to Iaudas; Proc. *BV* II 10.6 (see Aigan), II.14 (Mammes), 12.26.29 (Bourgaon; cf. Solomon, p. 1171).

By 544 he was an ally of the Romans and a friend of Solomon, whom he joined in opposing the revolt of the Moors of Byzacena (under Antalas) and Tripolitana; he brought his own people, the 'Mastraciani'

(the text is uncertain) with him; Coripp. *Ioh.* III 406-8 (Maurorum ductor, miseri Solomonis amicus, Romanis rebus nimium semperque fidelis, Cusina †Mastracianos secum† viribus ingens).

In late 545, following secret negotiations with Guntharis 2, he and Iaudas with a force of Moors from Numidia joined Antalas and the Moors from Byzacena and marched against Carthage; Proc. *BV* II 25.2. Here Cutzinas negotiated secretly with Areobindus 2 to betray Antalas, to whom the affair was revealed by Guntharis; Proc. *BV* II 25.15. Subsequently Cutzinas and Antalas reversed positions and Cutzinas allied himself with Guntharis, to whom he sent his mother and his son as hostages; he accompanied Artabanes and Guntharis' army in pursuit of Antalas and defeated him in Byzacena not far from Hadrumetum; Proc. *BV* II 27.24-8. See further Areobindus and Artabanes.

In winter 546/7 Cutzinas and his Moorish troops served under Ioannes 36 Troglita and fought in the defeat of Antalas; Coripp. *Ioh.* IV 509-10, V 450-5, Proc. *BV* II 28.50, *BG* IV 17.21.

MVM (VACANS) a. 547-548: by summer 547 he had received the title of *magister* (here certainly *magister militum*) and possibly other imperial titles of honour; Coripp. *Ioh.* VI 267 (magister, in 547); VII 268 (in 548; cited below), VIII 269-70 (dum plaudit honorum inflatus titulis, dum dicitur esse magister; in 548).

In summer 547 he accompanied Ioannes Troglita against Carcasan; at Marta he advised Ioannes to attack and fought in the subsequent battle in which the Roman army was defeated; Coripp. *Ioh.* VI 265-8, 467-77, 516-17.

During winter 547/8 a quarrel between Cutzinas and Ifisdaias, also a Roman ally, threatened to turn to war; prompt action by Ioannes Troglita (cf. Ioannes 42) reconciled them in time; Coripp. *Ioh.* VII 242-61.

In spring 548 he joined the army of Ioannes Troglita with thirty thousand Moors under him (he had thirty Moorish *duces* each with one thousand men) as well as, perhaps, Roman soldiers also under his command; Coripp. *Ioh.* VII 262-71 (convenit ergo fremens, variis ornatus in armis, innumerasque acies Maurorum in proelia ductor Cusina fidus agit, commotis omnia cannis arva gemunt, solidant latos vestigia campos, ille duces proprios triginta fortior armat; et quamvis numero milleni quemque sequantur, Romanis gaudet sese tamen esse magistrum militibus medium, quos princeps maximus orbis ipse dedit pacis socios pugnacque ministros, illis fretus erat, gentesque et bella domabat).

During the following campaign he supported Ioannes Troglita when the Roman troops mutinied; Coripp. *Ioh.* VIII 127-9. On the Plains of Cato he was stationed in the Roman battle array with Putzintulus and

Geisirith and fought in the battle which followed; Coripp. *Ioh.* VIII 265-6, 371-2, 428-78.

He subsequently remained leader of the Moors (ὁ ἑξαρχος τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἔθνους, sc. τῶν Μαυριτανῶν; ἦρχε τοῦ ἔθνους τῶν Μαύρων) and received a regular payment from the imperial authorities; however in January 563 the PPO Ioannes 75 Rogathinus refused to pay him when he went to collect it and murdered him; the children of Cutzinas then rose in rebellion (cf. Marcianus 7); Joh. Mal. 495, Theoph. AM 6055.

He is frequently described in Corippus as a loyal ally of the Romans; *Ioh.* IV 509-10, V 452, VI 268, 468, VII 245, VIII 121-2, 124, 371, 465. Also described as 'moribus ornatus placidis, gravitate Latina'; *Ioh.* IV 512.

Cyprianus: CSL (in Italy) 524-525; Mag. Off. (in Italy) after 527; patricius; *PLRE* II.

Cyprianus ?MVM vacans 540-545

In 533 he was one of the nine commanders of the *foederati* (ἄρχοντες... φοιδεράτων) sent on the expedition led by Belisarius against the Vandals; Proc. *BV* I 11.5-6, II 3.4, 7.11 (for the others, see Althias). He was presumably one of the commanders of the *foederati* routed by Gelimer at Ad Decimum (on Sept. 13, cf. Belisarius, p. 189); Proc. *BV* I 19.13-24, 19.30, and see Althias. In Dec. 533 he was one of the ἄρχοντες φοιδεράτων who held the left wing of the Roman army at the battle of Tricamarum; Proc. *BV* II 3.4. When Gelimer, besieged by Pharas on Mount Papua in Numidia, decided to surrender (late March 534), Cyprianus was sent by Belisarius to give pledges of safety for him and those with him; Gelimer then surrendered and Cyprianus returned with him to Carthage; Proc. *BV* II 7.11-12.

In 537 Cyprianus was present in Rome with Belisarius when the city was besieged by the Goths; during the first major attack by Vitigis (probably on March 10, cf. Belisarius, p. 198) Belisarius sent him to drive back Goths who had broken through the walls into the Vivarium (near the Porta Praenestina); he forced them back and gave Belisarius the chance to launch a counter-attack; Proc. *BG* I 23.19-21. Procopius does not name Cyprianus among the commanders who accompanied Belisarius to the west in 535 at the start of the campaign against the Goths (Proc. *BG* I 5.2-4); however, apart from the Isaurian commander Ennes and the three *magistri militum vacantes* Bessas (*PLRE* II), Constantinus 3 and Peranius, he gives the names of commanders only of regular army units, not of the *foederati*; moreover, in 539 (see below) his followers seem not to have been regular troops; Cyprianus may therefore have been once more a commander of *foederati*.

In 539 Cyprianus and Iustinus 2 with their followers and some Isaurians and some regular infantry under Demetrius 3 were sent by Belisarius to besiege the Goths in Faesulae (probably in April or May, cf. Belisarius); Proc. *BG* II 23.2. They found the place inaccessible and impossible to attack; they defeated a number of sorties by the Goths and forced them to remain within the walls with food running short; Proc. *BG* II 24.18. Overcome by hunger the occupants finally surrendered themselves and the fortress to Cyprianus and Iustinus after securing pledges of their safety; leaving an adequate garrison at Faesulae, Cyprianus and Iustinus took their army and their captives to join Belisarius at Auximum (autumn 539); Proc. *BG* II 27.25-6.

He was apparently one of the commanders ordered by Justinian to remain in charge of affairs in Italy when Belisarius returned to Constantinople after the fall of Ravenna in 540; Proc. *BG* II 30.2, III 1.1. If so, he was one of the leaders whose conduct of affairs during the revival of Gothic power was censured by Procopius; they are accused of concentrating on personal gain and of failing to respond to the needs of the situation; they are also said to have been hampered because they were all of equal rank and because their troops were reluctant to fight; Proc. *BG* III 1.23-4. Apart from Vitalius 1 they remained inactive as the power of Ildibadus grew in 540, their troops refusing to fight; Proc. *BG* III 1.33-4. During 541 they never joined forces nor planned concerted action against the Goths; Proc. *BG* III 2.14. In late 541 Justinian wrote to censure them after hearing that Totila had been made king of the Goths; Proc. *BG* III 3.1. They then assembled in Ravenna and marched against Verona (probably in spring 542); the city was theirs for the taking but they delayed occupying it while resolving disputes among themselves over the division of spoils and lost their opportunity (cf. Artabazes); Proc. *BG* III 3.2-19. They then advanced to Faventia; Proc. *BG* III 3.22. There they were attacked by Totila and routed, each commander fleeing to seek refuge in whatever city he could; Proc. *BG* III 4.30-2.

?MVM VACANS a. 540-545: the statement of Procopius that the leaders were equal in rank to one another (ἴσοι μᾶλλον αὐτοὶ πρὸς ἀλλήλους ὄντες, Proc. *BG* III 1.23) combined with the apparent equality of status between Cyprianus, Bessas and Ioannes 46 in 542 (see below) suggests that Cyprianus also was a *magister militum vacans*. If so, he presumably had the rank in 540, if not earlier, and continued holding it until his death.

After the defeat of Faventia in 542 Cyprianus apparently sought refuge with Bessas and Ioannes 46 in Ravenna; there they received an appeal for help (addressed πρὸς τοὺς τοῦ Ῥωμαίων στρατοῦ ἄρχοντας)

from Iustinus, besieged in Florence by the Goths, and collecting a considerable army they went to his relief; at the news the Goths withdrew to Mucellis (Mugello) and the relieving army joined forces with Iustinus and followed the enemy; Proc. *BG* III 5.1-6. At the battle of Mugello the Romans were again routed (cf. Ioannes 46) and the commanders fled to various strongholds; Proc. *BG* III 5.10-18. This took place probably shortly before midsummer; Proc. *BG* III 5.19 (the seventh year of the war ended soon afterwards).

Cyprianus fled to Perusia where he apparently remained in command for the next three years; Proc. *BG* III 6.8, cf. III 25.21 (Cyprianus ὁς τῶν ἐνταῦθα (in Perusia) Ῥωμαίων ἤρχε), IV 33.10 (Κυπριανὸν τότε ἄρχοντα τοῦ ἐνταῦθα (in Perusia) φυλακτηρίου). In 545 he refused to surrender Perusia to Totila, in spite of the reward offered, and was then murdered by one of his bodyguard, Vlifus, whom Totila had bribed; Proc. *BG* III 12.18-20, 23.6, 25.21, IV 33.10-12.

CYR ... comes (Egypt) VI

Mentioned in a document from Arsinoe; *Stud. Pal.* VIII 777 = XX 190, line 2 (δ(ιὰ) το(ῦ) κόμε(τος) Κυρ...).

Cyra gloriosissima (Egypt) VI

Mentioned in a papyrus from Oxyrhynchus; *P. Oxy.* 1829 (τῆς δεσποίνης μου τῆς ἐδοξε(...) Κύρας). She and the addressee of the second letter (probably Strategius 5) of the two which this document contains ordered a division of property to be made at Oxyrhynchus with Theognosia when Paulus 24 (*tribunus*) arrived there; the same order was issued by the unnamed addressee of the first letter, who may therefore be Cyra. If so, Cyra was daughter of a lately deceased *gloriosissimus pagarchus* (Anonymus 34), had a brother and a sister (who may be Theognosia) and could have been the wife of Strategius 5. The information however is very difficult to interpret, and for a different view, see Gasco, *Travaux et Mémoires* 9 (1985), pp. 66-8.

Cyriacus ?scholasticus (in Egypt) 569

Son of Theodosius 7 (*illustris*), father of Aurelia Maria; in 569 he was Κυριακο[ῦ] τ[οῦ] ἐλλ[ογ]ιμ[ω]τά[τ]ο(υ) σχο(λαστικοῦ)], in a document from Antinoe; *P. Cairo Masp.* III 67309, line 8. The date is March 569. If ἐλλογιμώτατος is correct, σχολαστικός is virtually guaranteed.

Cyricus (*MAMA* v, p. 3, n. 4) V/VI: *PLRE* II.

Fl. Cyricus I magister (in Egypt) VI

An official at Hermopolis, with financial and judicial duties; *P. Herm.*

83, line 4 (Φλ(άουιος) Κύρικος σὺν Θ(εῶ) μαγ(ι)σ(τερ), cf. line 1 [Φλ. Κύρ]ικος σὺν Θ(εῶ) μαγίσ(τερ), *P. Lond.* III, pp. 245-6, no. 1035 (probably from the Hermopolite nome) (a tax receipt issued by Fl. Cyricus μαγίσ(τερ)). Cf. Rouillard, *Adm. Civ.*², pp. 109, 151, and see Ioannes 176.

(Fl. M)unatius Cyricus 2

comes domesticorum et praeses Arcadiae VI

[?Φλάουιος Μ]ουρνάτιος Κύρικος ὁ μεγαλο[π]ρε(πέστατος) κόμε(ς) τῶν καθ[ο]σ(ιωμένων) δομε(στικῶν) καὶ ἄρχ(ων) τῆς Ἀρκαδ[ι]α[ς]; *P. Oxy.* 1942. The date is sixth-century. He was governor of Arcadia with the honorific title of *comes domesticorum* (which gave him senatorial status, among the *illustres*).

CYRIDANVS (curator sitonici) (in Sicily) 598-599

Addressee of two letters from Gregory; *Ep.* IX 31 (a. 598 Oct.), 115 (a. 599 Feb./April). In both he is styled 'gloria vestra'.

He was in Sicily in 598 when Gregory commended to him the *defensor Romanus*; *Ep.* IX 31. He wrote to inform Gregory of his appointment by the emperor as head of the corn-supply (*indicastis sollicitudini vestrae serenissimorum principum iussione curam sitonici fuisse mandatam*) and elicited an anxious reply in 599 when he reported his instructions to take corn stored in church granaries for the state; *Ep.* IX 115.

Cyrrillus (*IGLS* III 724) V/VI: *PLRE* II.

Cyrrillus: comes (in Egypt) E/M VI: *PLRE* II.

CYRILLVS I ?governor of Thebais E/M VI

An ancestor of Athanasius 3, mentioned in the panegyric on Athanasius written by Fl. Dioscorus 5; *P. Cairo Masp.* 67097 = *REG* 24 (1911), p. 428, lines 10-11, 98-9 (cited under Athanasius).

The text implies that he and Cometas 1 stood high among the imperial counsellors and that both held office as governors of the Thebais; both seem also still to have been alive when the panegyric was written. Dioscorus' penchant for hyperbole makes his evidence suspect.

Cyrrillus 2 commander of foederati 536

He had a daughter whose proposed marriage to Saturninus 1 (the son of Hermogenes) was prevented by Theodora; Proc. *Anecd.* 17.32. The date was after the death of Hermogenes and probably before that of

Cyrillus (see below), and so probably in 535 or 536. The daughter is described by Procopius as the ἀνεψιῶδῆ of Saturninus, i.e. the daughter of his cousin; it follows that Cyrillus was either himself a nephew of Hermogenes or married a niece of his.

In 530 he was one of the commanders of the cavalry under Belisarius stationed on the right wing at the battle of Dara (June 530) (his colleagues there were Ioannes 32, Marcellus 2, Dorotheus 1 and Germanus 1); Proc. *BP* I 13.21.

In 533 he was one of the commanders of *foederati* (ἄρχοντες φοιδερᾶτων) on the expedition against the Vandals; Proc. *BV* I 11.5-6 (for the others, see Althias). Before the expedition left Constantinople he was given command of a force of four hundred men and ordered by Justinian to join Godas in Sardinia and help defend the island against the Vandals; Proc. *BV* I 10.32-11.1. He presumably sailed with the main expedition (cf. Belisarius, p. 188, for details) and may have left it on arrival in Sicily; this is not, however, confirmed by Procopius, the only source. He arrived off Sardinia only to find the island in Vandal hands again (cf. Tzazon) and Godas dead; he therefore sailed away and reached Carthage where he found Belisarius in occupation; there he remained inactive; Proc. *BV* I 24.19. This probably took place through mid September 533; cf. Belisarius, p. 190 (who occupied Carthage on September 15). Cyrillus was perhaps one of the commanders of *foederati* present at the battle of Tricamarum (Dec. 533); Proc. *BV* II 3.4. Soon afterwards (perhaps in January 534) he was sent to Sardinia by Belisarius with a large force and with the severed head of Tzazon, to convince the inhabitants of the Roman victory in Africa and to regain the island for the Romans; he was also ordered to send a detachment to recapture Corsica; he retook both islands and restored them to Roman rule; Proc. *BV* II 5.2-4.

In summer 536 he and Marcellus 2 were commanders of the *foederati* (ἡγεμόνες φοιδερᾶτων) in Numidia; Proc. *BV* II 15.50. With the other commanders in Numidia they prepared to attack the rebel Stotzas; they met his army at Gadiaufala (which Procopius calls Gazophyla) near Constantina where Stotzas induced their men to desert to him; they sought sanctuary in a church at Gadiaufala, from which they emerged only after receiving pledges from Stotzas, who, however, had them all executed; Proc. *BV* II 15.50-9, Jord. *Rom.* 369.

Cyrillus 3

lawyer M VI

Author of an abbreviated version of the Digest; see Krüger, *Gesch.*, p. 409.

Possibly identical with Quirillus named in Just. *Nov.* 35.

Cyrillus 4

cinarius L VI

Ὁ κινάριος, at Constantinople, where his wife was cured by the patriarch Eutychius (a. 577/582); Eustrat., *V. Eutych.* 86 (PG 86. 2372). On κινάριος, cf. Seibt, *BZ* 72 (1979), pp. 34ff., and see Zacos 600, 3017 (seals of κινάριοι).

Cyrillus 5

MVM M VI/M VII

Κυρίλλου στρατ(η)λάτου; Zacos 2892 (seal; obv.: KV/PIA/ΛOV; rev.: CTP/ATIA/ATO/V).

Cyrillus 6

MVM (in Egypt) 618

A native of Arsinoe; recorded in a letter from one of his female slaves (π[αι]δίσκη Κυρίλλου τοῦ ἐνδοξοτάτου στ[ρα]τηλάτου) to one of his eunuchs ([εὐνοῦ]χῶ τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἐνδοξοτάτου ἀ[νδ]ρός), dated July 21, 618; *BGU* III 725.

Perhaps identical with Cyrillus σὺν Θεῶ στρατηλάτης (or similar) recorded in a number of short undated documents from the Fayum; *Stud. Pal.* VIII 1105 (= *SB* 4907), 1114-19, 1121-22, 1189, *SB* 4908, and cf. *Stud. Pal.* VIII 1072 provenance unknown (line 1 Φλ' Κύριλλος σ[ύ]ν Θεῶ στρατηλάτης, and cf. line 2 which mentions the ἐνδοξος οἶκος Στρατηγίου). A connection with a Strategius is recorded also in *Stud. Pal.* VIII 1228 provenance unknown (lines 4 Στρατηγίου (καί) οἱ κληρ(ονόμοι) Κυρίλλου and 7...]Φλλ' Στρατηγίου (καί) οἱ κληρ(ονόμοι) Κυρίλλου...). Another document from the Fayum, *Stud. Pal.* VIII 1247, refers to the οὐσί(ας) Κυρίλλου. Cf. Strategius 9.

Cyrillus was evidently a large landowner in the Fayum in the early seventh century, probably not an actual MVM but a holder of the honorific title.

Cyrion

?MVM or strator VII

Κυρίωνος στρ(ατη)λάτου?; Zacos 2949 (seal; obv.: Virgin and child; rev.: +KV/PIONO/CCTP'). The abbreviation στρ' on the reverse could also be for στρ(άτορος).

Cyrionymus

PVC VI

Named on two glass weights; Zacos 2998a and b (both weights read on the obverse: +ἐπὶ Κυριονύμου ἐπάρχου). A similar glass weight is in Jungfleisch, p. 253: ἐπὶ Κυρ...ἐπάρχου.

Cyrus 1

?v.c.; father of Olybrius E/M VI

Father of Fl. Olybrius 1; dead by 541 Jan. 7 (τῆς λαμπρᾶς [μυ]μήνης Κύρου); *P. Cairo Masp.* 67126, line 58.

Cyrus 2 grammaticus (pat Antaeopolis) E/M VI

Dead by 542 when his heirs are mentioned in a document at Aphrodito (κληρονόμοι τοῦ τῆς μακαρίας [μ]νήμης Κ[ύ]ρο(υ) γραμματικο(ῦ)); one of his heirs was his son Christodorus; *P. Cairo Masp.* 67326, line 2.

Possibly identical with Cyrus, *v.c.* (?) and *curialis* at Antaeopolis, who died before c. 539 and whose sons and heirs are recorded in documents from Aphrodito; *P. Cairo Masp.* 67134, verso 1 (υἱοὶ τοῦ τῆς λαμπρᾶς μνήμης Κύρου πολιτευσάμενου; undated), 67135, 1 (λαμπρό(τατος) πολιτεύμενος, sic, ?of Antaeopolis; undated), 67139, verso 4 (το(ῦ) μακ(αρίου) Κύρο(υ) πολιτ(ευσάμενου); undated), 67327, line 5 (κληρονόμοι τοῦ τῆς λαμπρ(ᾶς) μν[ή]μης Κύρο(υ) πολιτευομένο(υ), of Antaeopolis; probably 539).

CYRVS 3 ?dux Libyae Pentapoleos 543-544

Son of Bacchus 1, nephew of Solomon 1, brother of Sergius 4 and Solomon 2; *Proc. BV* II 21.1.16.19. He was the elder brother; *Proc. BV* II 21.1. The family came from the vicinity of Dara; see Solomon 1. See stemma 16.

In 543 (cf. Sergius) the two brothers Cyrus and Sergius were made governors respectively of Pentapolis and Tripolitana; *Proc. BV* II 21.1 (Κύρος τε καὶ Σέργιος... πόλεων τῶν ἐν Λιβύῃ πρὸς βασιλέως ἄρχειν ἔλαχον, Πενταπόλεως μὲν Κύρος ὁ πρεσβύτερος, Τριπόλεως δὲ Σέργιος). Since both men were actively engaged in warfare (cf. below), they were presumably military governors and therefore *duces*. Cyrus will have been *vir spectabilis*, *dux Libyae Pentapoleos*.

In 544 Cyrus was with Solomon 1 in Carthage when Sergius joined them to strengthen the Romans for the war with the rebel Moors under Antalas; he accompanied his uncle and two brothers when they marched against Antalas and made camp near Theveste; *Proc. BV* II 21.16-19. He presumably took part in the battle of Cillium, in which the Romans were defeated and Solomon 1 killed, but is not mentioned again and disappears from history.

Cyrus 4 father of Paul the Silentiary E/M VI

Son of Florus 1 and father of the poet Paul the Silentiary (= Paulus 21); the family was rich and famous; *Agath.* v 9.7. Possibly brother of Eutychianus 1. In the heading of the poem *Anth. Gr.* ix 443 Παύλου Σιλεντιαρίου τοῦ Κύρου the words τοῦ Κύρου are omitted by Planudes and occur only in the Palatinus; they may be an addition based on *Agathias* and so not original.

Cyrus 5 tabellio (in Egypt) M VI

Νομικός; mentioned in documents from the Antaeopolite nome in 537 and 545 as agent for financial transactions; *P. Ross.-Georg.* III 36, line 26 (a. 537), 37, line 25 (a. 545). Probably identical with Cyrus νομικός recorded as agent for a rent payment in a sixth-century papyrus of unknown provenance; *P. Ross.-Georg.* III 48, line 9.

Cyrus 6 poet; honorary consul M VI

Author of three poems preserved in the Greek Anthology; *Anth. Gr.* ix 808-9 (both headings Κύρου ἀπὸ ὑπάτων in both Planudes and Palatinus), 813 (Κύρου ἀπὸ ὑπάτων in Planudes, no heading in Palatinus). This latter poem was written about Sophia, the wife of Justin II; it was included in the *Cycle* of *Agathias* which was published in c. 568 and so it must have been composed c. 566/567; see Alan and Averil Cameron, *JHS* 86 (1966), pp. 17-19.

Possibly identical with Cyrus 4 (father of Paul the Silentiary).

Cyrus 7 comes domesticorum M VI

An inscription found in North Mesopotamia records building work which was completed in the reign of Justinian and under the *dux* Thomas 16 and was carried out σπουδῇ Κύρου τοῦ ἐνδοξ(οτάτου) κόμη(τος) τῶν καθ(οσιωμένων) δομ(εστίκων); communication from Professor C. Mango.

Cyrus 8 v. glor., referendarius, dux et augustalis Thebaidis M VI

He held office in the Thebaid before Athanasius 3; *P. Cairo Masp.* 67002 II 1 (allusion to a letter written ἐπὶ τῆς προηγησαμένης ἀρχῆς τοῦ ἐνδοξ(οτάτου) Κύρο(υ) ρεφερενδαρίου), cf. II 10 (προσηλθον τῷ εἰρημ(ένω) ἐνδοξ(οτάτω) δοῦκι) and 22 (ἐπὶ το(ῦ) ἐνδοξ(ο)τ(άτου) πόλιν ρεφερενδαρίο(υ)). A *referendarius*, with the status, apparently, of *gloriosissimus*, he held the same post as Athanasius, i.e. *dux et augustalis Thebaidis*. He apparently held it immediately before him; the date was perhaps therefore c. 565; cf. Athanasius.

Cyrus 9 scholasticus (in Egypt) VI

Σχο(λαστικός); husband of Maria; *P. Oxy.* 2020, line 36 (the document records payments of barley by, among others, his heirs). Presumably a landowner in the Oxyrhynchite nome.

CYRVS 10 v.c., comes (et) catholicus VI

Cf. Cyrus 15.

A document from the Fayum records a payment connected with the *embole* of barley made to Zacharias-8 and to Cyrus - Κύρω τῷ λαμπρο(τάτω) κόμ(ετι) καθολικ(ῶ); *Stud. Pal.* viii 1111. He held the post of *rationalis* (καθολικός) and the dignity of *v.c., comes*. See also Theodosius 18.

Fl. Cyrus 11 defensor of Apollonopolis 586

*Εκδικος Ἀπόλλωνος (sc. πόλεως); present in Syene in 586; *P. Monac.* 11, 80.

Cyrus 12 writer (in Egypt) M VI/E VII

Native of Antinoopolis; author of letters and panegyrics, none extant but known to Photius; one encomium was addressed to Mauricius 5; *Phot. Bibl.* 279. For the date, see Mauricius.

Cyrus 13 MVM M VI/M VII

Κύρου στρατηλάτου (?); *Zacos* 2808 = Dumbarton Oaks seal 58.106.2569 (seal; obv.: cruciform monogram (196) of Κύρου; rev.: cruciform monogram (326), possibly of στρατηλάτου).

Cyrus 14 ?landowner in Egypt VI/VII

Addressee of a petition from his slave - τῷ πανευ(φῆμω) καὶ θεοφυλάκ(τω) Κύρω; *P. Gen.* 14 with *Arch. Pap.* 3, p. 385 provenance unknown.

CYRVS 15 comes and catholicus (in Egypt) VI/VII

Cf. Cyrus 10.

Named in a papyrus, of unknown provenance, which is too fragmentary to give any connected sense but which refers, in the first three lines, to the Great Church, the Forty-Two Martyrs and the Theotokos; *SB* 5299, line 6 (τοῦ κόμ(ιτος) Κύρου καθολικοῦ [...]). Cf. also Paulus 50.

Cyrus (Qourā) 16 governor of Edessa (under Persian rule) E VII

A leading citizen at Edessa, he was appointed governor by Chosroes after it fell into Persian hands; *Mich. Syr.* xi 1 (Chabot II, pp. 402-3) ('a man named Qoura'). The city was plundered of its wealth and the transportation of the inhabitants to Persia was under way under him when Heraclius invaded Persia (a. 622); *Mich. Syr.* xi 3 (Chabot II, p. 411), *Chron.* 1234, lxxxxvi ('Cyrus praefectus Edessae'). Cf. also Anonymus 62.

Cyrus 17 patriarch of Alexandria and governor of Egypt 631-640

On the identity of Cyrus with the person called al-Muqawqas in the Arabic sources, see Butler, *Conquest of Egypt*, Appendix C (pp. 508-26) and cf. pp. lxx-lxxvii.

He was the brother-in-law of Domentianus; *Joh. Nik.* 119.10 (pp. 570-1 Zotenberg).

He was the bishop of Phasis (in Colchis); he met Heraclius twice, in Lazica in c. 626 and at Hierapolis probably in 630, and he accepted the doctrine of one energy (monenergism); *Theoph. AM* 6121, *Cedr.* 1 736, and cf. *Sergius, Epistola ad Honorium* (Mansi xi 529-37).

PATRIARCH of Alexandria and GOVERNOR of Egypt a. 631-640: appointed patriarch of Alexandria, he was also given supreme civil authority over Egypt; *Chron.* 1234, cxviii ('dicunt enim hunc Cyrum, una cum patriarchatu etiam principatum et auctoritatem in universam Aegyptum ab Heraclio accepisse et milites armatosque viros ei ministravisse'), *Eutychius, Annales*, col. 1103 ('praefectus autem vectigali Aegypti, nomine Heraclii imperatoris, fuit Almokaukas'), *Severus of Ushmūnayn, Hist. Patr.* 1 14 (*PO* 1, p. 489) (Heraclius 'sent a governor to the land of Egypt, named Cyrus, to be prefect and patriarch at the same time'), (p. 495) ('both prefect and patriarch of the city') and cf. *Life of Samuel of Kalamūn* (cited in Butler, *op. cit.*, p. 187) ('controller of the revenues of the land of Egypt'). Alluded to as bishop of Alexandria; *Nic. Brev.* 24, 26, *Theoph. AM* 6121 (appointed in 631), 6126, *Cedr.* 1 736, *Joh. Nik.* 115.9 (p. 562 Zotenberg), 120.1.5 (p. 575), 121.2 (p. 584), *Chron.* 1234, cxviii, *Mich. Syr.* xi 3, *Bar Hebr., Chron.*, p. 95, *Agapius*, pp. 471-2. He was in office for ten years; *Severus of Ushmūnayn*, p. 490. He was probably in Alexandria in October 631; *Mansi* x 691 (a council was held at Alexandria then). His attempts to secure religious unity seemed to have succeeded in 633 when a council summoned by him at Alexandria reached a measure of agreement (cf. *Frend, The Rise of the Monophysite Movement*, p. 350), but dissension soon broke out again and Cyrus began a period of heavy persecution against the monophysites in Egypt; *Theoph. AM* 6121, *Joh. Nik.* 115.9 (p. 562), 121.2 (p. 584), *Severus of Ushmūnayn*, p. 491, *Chron.* 1234, cxviii, *Mich. Syr.* xi 3, and cf. Butler, *op. cit.*, pp. 182-91. During the persecution an attempt was made on his life; *Joh. Nik.* 116.11 (p. 566). Said to have resumed the persecution even after his return to Egypt in late 641; *Joh. Nik.* 116.14 (p. 566) and cf. below.

A document dated in 639/640 (indiction 13) records orders issued by him for supplies (possibly during the Arab invasion); *Wilcken, Chrest.* 8 = *P. Lond.* 1, pp. 222-3, no. 113, 10, line 12 (from Arsinoe) κατὰ κέλευσιν



τοῦ δεσπότητος ἡμῶν Κύρου τοῦ ἁγιοτ[άτ]ου καὶ θεοτιμήτ[ου] πάπα. His title implies, but does not prove, that his only title was that of patriarch and therefore suggests that his secular authority was the result of a special imperial commission rather than of the tenure of a post such as *dux et augustalis Alexandriae*.

On his activities in 640 during the Arabic invasion, see Butler, *op. cit.*, pp. 207, 217, 250, 255-9, 261-2. According to Nicephorus, he and Marianus 5 were supposed to co-operate in planning to oppose the invasion, but Cyrus attempted to negotiate a solution with 'Amr on the basis that 'Amr would become a Christian and marry a daughter of Heraclius; for this he was summoned to Constantinople, accused of betrayal and delivered to the PVC for punishment (and exile); Nic. *Brev.* 24-7. Theophanes claims that he bought peace from the Arabs for three years before he was condemned and exiled; Theoph. AM 6126, cf. Agapius, pp. 471-2. Oriental sources say that he was deposed and exiled for offering money to 'Amr not to attack Egypt; *Chron.* 1234, cxviii, Bar Hebr., *Chron.*, p. 95. He was recalled and exiled in late 640; see Butler, *op. cit.*, p. 264.

In spring 641 he was recalled from exile by the emperor Constantine; Joh. Nik. 116.14 (p. 564). In the autumn he returned to Alexandria with full authority from Heraclonas and Martina to negotiate a settlement with 'Amr; Nic. *Brev.* 29, Theoph. AM 6126, Joh. Nik. 119.22, 120.8-9 (p. 572) (he arrived in Alexandria on Sept. 14, 641), Agapius, pp. 473-4. He visited 'Amr at Babylon and negotiated with him the Roman surrender of Egypt; Joh. Nik. 120.17-27 (pp. 575ff.). See Butler, *op. cit.*, pp. 318-19, 330, 332, and cf. Theodorus 166.

He fell ill and died, probably of natural causes, on March 21, 642; Joh. Nik. 120.36-8. 66-8 (pp. 578, 582), cf. Severus of Ushmūnayn, p. 495 (he committed suicide). See also Butler, *op. cit.*, pp. lxxii-lxxiii. The *Chronicle* of 1234, cxviii, in a confused story, says that Cyrus survived and with Manuel 3 fled from Alexandria when Egypt fell to the Arabs, carrying away all the treasures they could.

DABRAGEZAS (Δαβραγέζας)

?comes rei militaris (in Lazica) 555-556

One of the Antae; Agath. III 21.6, cf. 6.9 (a barbarian). Father of Leontius 7; Agath. IV 18.1.3.

In 555 and 556 he was a ταξίαρχος in Lazica and commanded a unit (or units) in the Roman army; Agath. III 6.9 (in 555 he and Usigardus

were Ῥωμαϊκῶν ταγμάτων προεστηκότε), 21.6 (ταξίαρχος, in 556). In late 555 he and Usigardus with six hundred cavalry were sent from Onoguris to encounter Persian reinforcements; heavily outnumbered they were routed and pursued back to Onoguris (cf. Martinus 2); Agath. III 6.9, 7.1-5. In 556 he took part in the defence of Phasis (cf. Martinus), guarding the river with Elmingir; Agath. III 21.6-9. See Theodorus 21 for his title.

Dacco (Greg. Tur. *HF* v 25): see Dacolenus.

Dach'i (Darch'i, Darch'il) ruler of Iberia 522/523-534/535

Eldest son of king Vakhtang I Gorgasal (Gurgenes, in *PLRE* II, p. 527; by Balendukht (daughter of the Persian king Hormisdas III); he succeeded his father and ruled Iberia from 522/523 to 534/535; father of Bakur II (his successor); see Toumanoff, *Le Muséon* 65 (1952), pp. 32 (with n. 22), 35, 36. Cf. Justi, p. 80, s.n. Darčil.

Ioannes *qui et* Dacnas.

Dacolenus son of Dagaricus (in Gaul) M/L VI

Also called 'Dacco' in the MSS. On the name, cf. Schönfeld, p. 68, Förstemann 391.

Son of Dagaricus; he apparently once served under king Chilperic, for he is said to have deserted him to take up a wandering life; he was captured in 578 through treachery and taken to Chilperic in fetters by Dracolenus, who promised on oath to save his life, but instead urged his death for his crimes; after secretly obtaining absolution from a priest Dacolenus was executed; Greg. Tur. *HF* v 25.

Audoenus *qui et* Dado

Manlia Daedalia: (?c.f.) IV/VI; *PLRE* II.

Dagaricus father of Dacolenus E/M VI

Greg. Tur. *HF* v 25. See Dacolenus. Evidently a Frank.

Dagaris (Δάγαρις) bodyguard of either Sittas or Dorotheus 530

One of two δορυφόροι sent in 530 by Sittas 1 and Dorotheus 2 to spy on the Persians in Armenia, he was captured by Hun allies of Persia and not released until after the conclusion of the peace of 532, when he was exchanged for a captured Persian; subsequently he won many victories over the Huns who invaded the empire (presumably in the Balkans rather than in the east, though Procopius does not specify); Proc. *BP* I 15.4-6, 22.18-19.

Dagaulfus husband of Vilithuta MVI

Of noble barbarian family, he had a good education; Ven. Fort. *Carm.* iv 26, lines 37-40 (nobilitas in gente sua cui celsa refulsit, atque suis meritis additur alter honor. Dulcis, ovans, alacris, studiis ornata iuventus: quod natura nequit, littera prompta dedit). He married Vilithuta who died aged fifteen in childbirth in the third year of the marriage; lines 7.35-6.

The name recurs in Ven. Fort. *App. Carm.* ix, line 15.

DAGISTHAEVS I tribunus (at Gerasa) 533

A *tribunus*, he contributed to the new church of SS Cosmas and Damian at Gerasa and was honoured with a mosaic inscription in the nave together with the founders, Theodorus παραμονάριος and his wife Georgia; Kraeling, *Gerasa*, p. 481, n. 311 (Κύριε ὁ Θεός τοῦ ἁγίου Κοσμά κ(αί) Δαμιανοῦ ἐλέησον τὸν τριβούνον Δαγίσθεον καὶ πρόσδεξε τὴν αὐτοῦ προσφορὰν). The church was dedicated in 533; cf. Kraeling, *Gerasa*, p. 482, n. 314 and p. 246.

Possibly identical with Dagisthaeus 2; if so, he was a military *tribunus*, at Gerasa in Arabia in 533.

Dagisthaeus 2

MVM per Armeniam 548-549; MVM vacans (?549-552-?)

The name is Germanic; see Schönfeld, pp. 70, 283.

Possibly a descendant of the Dagisthaeus after whom were named the famous baths at Constantinople; cf. Dagistheus in *PLRE* II, p. 341.

In 548 he was still a young man (νεανίας); Proc. *BP* II 29.33. He had a brother (cf. Anonymus 69); Proc. *BP* II 29.40.

Possibly identical with Dagisthaeus 1, but if so Procopius' description of him as νεανίας in 548 can hardly be taken literally.

MVM PER ARMENIAM a. 548-549: ὁ Ῥωμαίων στρατηγός (in 549); Proc. *BG* IV 8.16. He commanded the Roman army in Lazica (ὅσπερ ἠγείτο τοῦ Ῥωμαίων στρατοῦ) in 549; Proc. *BG* IV 8.1. His successor in this command was Bessas (*PLRE* II) who is styled στρατηγός Ἀρμενίων; Proc. *BG* IV 9.4 (in 550). Dagisthaeus probably succeeded Valerianus 1 as MVM *per Armeniam* in 547 or 548 and was himself recalled in late 549 to be replaced by Bessas (see further below).

When the Lazi under Gubazes asked for Roman help against the Persians in 548, Dagisthaeus was sent to Lazica by Justinian with an army comprising seven thousand Romans and one thousand Tzani; Proc. *BP* II 29.10 (for the date, cf. Stein, *Bas-Emp.* II 505, n. 2). He joined

forces with Gubazes and they laid siege to Petra; the siege proved a long one; Proc. *BP* II 29.11-12. During the siege they heard that Chosroes was sending reinforcements under Mermeroes to relieve Petra; Gubazes then withdrew all the Lazic troops to guard the frontiers and asked Dagisthaeus to send a force to guard a pass which lay south of the Phasis but not to abandon the siege of Petra; Proc. *BP* II 29.13, 29.27. Dagisthaeus now, according to Procopius, misjudged the situation and showed himself incompetent to undertake war with Persia; Proc. *BP* II 29.33. He sent only one hundred men to guard the pass, a totally inadequate force; Proc. *BP* II 29.34. Moreover he failed to press home his advantages and capture Petra; the garrison was now much reduced in strength and he had succeeded in breaching the walls in two places, one of which allowed access into the city; meanwhile he was so confident that he wrote to Justinian promising imminent victory and indicating what rewards he thought the emperor should give to himself and his brother; then instead of making a decisive attack he delayed while awaiting the emperor's reply and was further tricked by a promise from the Persian commander of the garrison that he would shortly surrender the city to him; Proc. *BP* II 29.34-43, 30.2-7, *BG* IV 11.11, 11.14. He now heard that the Persian relieving force had overwhelmed his men sent to guard the pass, and he immediately abandoned the siege and withdrew northwards towards the Phasis, giving no orders to his army; his Roman troops abandoned their camp with their possessions and followed him, while the Tzani who remained behind first attacked and drove off the Persians from Petra when they came out to capture the camp and then plundered the camp themselves before leaving to make their own way back home via Rhizaeum and Trapezus; Proc. *BP* II 30.11-14. Subsequently, as the Persians withdrew after leaving a fresh garrison in Petra, Dagisthaeus with two thousand men joined the Lazian Phoubelis in a night attack on the Persians who were grazing their horses, killing several and driving off the horses; Proc. *BP* II 30.22.

Probably in spring 549 (cf. *BP* II 30.48) Dagisthaeus was invited by Gubazes to join forces for an attack on a Persian army, five thousand strong, which Mermeroes had left in Lazica under Phabrizus and which was plundering the countryside; marching with his whole army eastwards along the south side of the Phasis, he was joined by Gubazes, bringing the total of their combined armies to fourteen thousand; with these they first destroyed an advance guard of a thousand Persians and then surprised the main force at dawn in their camp, killing most of them and capturing one of the commanders together with all the camp's contents; they pursued the fugitives into Iberia where they met more Persians and inflicted further heavy losses; the Persians then withdrew

altogether from Lazica; the Romans and Lazi proceeded to destroy the stores which the Persians had accumulated for transport to Petra, left a large force of Lazi to guard the passes and returned with their prisoners and plunder; Proc. *BP* II 30.34-48.

Later in 549 Lazica was invaded by a large Persian army under Chorianes, which made camp near the river Hippis at the place called Mocheresis; Proc. *BG* IV 1.3-6. Dagisthaeus and Gubazes marched together against them and made camp on the opposite side of the river; Proc. *BG* IV 8.1-2. In the battle which followed Dagisthaeus and Gubazes sent the cavalry forward and themselves led the Roman and Lazi infantry which came up behind; Proc. *BG* IV 8.14-16, 8.29. The battle of the river Hippis ended in a Persian defeat following the death of Chorianes; Proc. *BG* IV 8.34-8.

Meanwhile the Lazi had placed before the emperor allegations of treachery and collusion with the Persians against Dagisthaeus, in connection with his failure to capture Petra; they accused him of postponing his attack, whether through bribery or negligence, and losing his opportunity; Justinian therefore placed him in detention and sent Bessas to Lazica; Proc. *BG* IV 9.1-4. Dagisthaeus was presumably recalled after the campaigns of 549.

?MVM VACANS a. (?549-?)552-?: magister militum (in Italy; cf. below); Paul. Diac. *Hist. Lang.* II 3. It seems likely that Dagisthaeus remained MVM after his recall from Lazica (in spite of his disgrace) and continued to serve as such in Italy under Narses I.

Probably in 551 (when the expedition left Constantinople) Dagisthaeus was released from detention in order to go with his followers (σὺν τοῖς ἐποπείοις, perhaps his *bucellarii*) on the expedition to Italy under the command of Narses I; Proc. *BG* IV 26.13. For the course of the expedition, see Narses, pp. 917-19. At the battle of Busta Gallorum (probably late June 552) Dagisthaeus commanded the right flank of the Roman army together with Valerianus and Ioannes 64 (the Glutton); Proc. *BG* IV 31.4. He later played a decisive role in the recapture of Rome (probably in July 552) when, following Narses' instructions, he took a large force to a point where there were no defenders and scaled the walls, easily entering the city and putting an end to most resistance; Proc. *BG* IV 33.21-3. Procopius (*BG* IV 33.24) observed that Bessas had lost Rome and recovered Petra while Dagisthaeus had left Petra in enemy hands but recovered Rome.

He apparently remained in Italy with Narses and helped to restore Roman control throughout the peninsula; Paul. Diac. *Hist. Lang.* II 3 (cited under Narses). If so, he was presumably still there in the early 560s (cf. Narses).

He is described in Paul the deacon as 'vir bellicosus et fortis'; *Hist. Lang.* II 3.

Dagobertus I younger son of Chilperic 580

Younger son of Chilperic and Fredegundis, he died in infancy of the plague in 580, soon after baptism; Greg. Tur. *HF* V 34 (unnamed, death in 580), Ven. Fort. *Carm.* IX 5 (Epitaphium Dagobertus; cf. lines 5-8 grandson of Chlodovechus (Clovis) and son of Chilperic and Fredegundis). Brother of Chlodobertus. See stemma 18c.

Dagobertus 2 king of the Franks 623-638

Son of Chlotharius II; Fredegar. IV 47, 52, 53, 56, *Lib. Hist. Franc.* 41, *Gesta Dagoberti* 2. His mother was Bertethrudis; *Gesta Dagoberti* 2. Brother of Charibertus (they were half-brothers); Fredegar. IV 56, 57, 58. In 625/6 (year forty-two of Chlotharius) he married Gomatrudis; Fredegar. IV 53. In 629 (in his seventh year as king, in the year of his father's death) he abandoned Gomatrudis and married Nantechildis; Fredegar. IV 58. Said to have had three queens (reginae), Nantechildis, Wulfegundis and Berchildis, and many mistresses; Fredegar. IV 60. Father of Sigibertus, by Ragnetrudis; Fredegar. IV 59 (born in 630), 61, *Lib. Hist. Franc.* 42. Father of Chlodoveus (Clovis II), by Nantechildis; Fredegar. IV 76 (born in 633), 79, *Lib. Hist. Franc.* 42. See stemma 18f.

KING of the Franks a. 623 Jan. 20/April 8-638 Jan. 19 (for the dates, see Krusch, *MGH, Scr. Rer. Mer.* VII, pp. 491-3 and Courtois, *L'Avènement de Clovis II (Mélanges Louis Halphen)*, pp. 155ff.): in 623 his father associated him in his rule and made him king of part of Austrasia; Fredegar. IV 47 (in year thirty-nine of Chlotharius), *Lib. Hist. Franc.* 41, cf. Fredegar. IV 52 (ruler of Austrasia). Three years later (in year forty-two of Chlotharius) he was given virtually the whole of Austrasia following arguments with his father, by a specially appointed royal commission of Frankish lords and bishops; Fredegar. IV 53. He became king of the whole Frankish realm after the death of his father (a. 629, after Oct. 18); Fredegar. IV 56-7 (in year forty-five (rightly forty-six) of Chlotharius; cf. Krusch, *op. cit.*), *Gesta Dagoberti* 2, *Lib. Hist. Franc.* 42. He gave part of Aquitania to Charibert, but on the deaths of Charibert and his son Chilperic in 632 he took control of it himself; Fredegar. IV 57, 67. In 634 he made his son Sigibert king of Austrasia, and shortly afterwards, in 634/5 (in his twelfth year), he agreed with the magnates of the kingdom that on his death the kingdom be divided between his sons, Sigibert ruling Austrasia and Clovis Neustria and Burgundy; Fredegar. IV 75 (his eleventh year), 76 (his twelfth) (on the dates, cf. Krusch, *loc. cit.*).

Early in his reign he sent envoys (Servatus and Paternus) to Heraclius at Constantinople and they returned with a treaty of perpetual peace; Fredegar. iv 62 (in his eighth year, probably 630). He is said to have forcibly baptised all the Jews in his kingdom at Heraclius' request; Fredegar. iv 65. During the 630s his eastern frontier (Thuringia) was frequently raided by the Winidi (Wends), a Slav people, under Samo; he released the Saxons there from the payment of tribute on condition that they defended that frontier, and also put Austrasia under the rule of Sigibert to strengthen the defences; Fredegar. iv 68 (Samo), 74 (Saxons), 75 (Sigibert), 77 (see Radulfus). At some date apparently early in the reign he allowed the Bulgars of Pannonia, fugitives from the Avars, to settle in Bavaria, but then gave orders for them to be massacred (see Alcicocus); Fredegar. iv 72 ('eo anno' apparently refers to c. 630/2). He intervened in Spanish affairs in 631, sending an army to help instal Sisenandus as king of the Visigoths; Fredegar. iv 73. In 635 he sent an army under Chadoindus which suppressed a rebellion of the Wascones, who then formally submitted to his rule; Fredegar. iv 78 (in his fourteenth and fifteenth years, ?635 and 636). Also in 635 he brought Brittany under Frankish overlordship by the submission of king Iudicael; Fredegar. iv 78.

He died of illness on Jan. 19, 638; Fredegar. iv 79 (in the sixteenth year of his reign), *Lib. Hist. Franc.* 43. For the date, see Courtois, *loc. cit.*

Addressee of a letter from bishop Desiderius of Cahors; Desid. Cadurc. *Ep.* 15. Mentioned in four others; Desid. Cadurc. *Ep.* 11 2, 12, 13, 15.

DALMATIVS tribunus (militum) 528

Ὁ τριβοῦνος, he commanded the Roman garrison which Justinian stationed in Bosphorus in the Crimea, after the treaty with Grod in 528, to guard the city and to collect the tribute; he and his men were attacked and killed by Mougel after the murder of Grod; Joh. Mal. 431-2 (his name is omitted), Theoph. AM 6020, cf. Cedr. 1 644 (τὸν τριβοῦνον Δαλματίας).

Damascius: neo-Platonist philosopher L V/E VI; *PLRE* 11.

Damiane M VI

She and the emperor Maurice shared a niece; Joh. Mosch. *Pratum* 167 (127b). She was mother of Athenogenes, bishop of Petra; Joh. Mosch. *Pratum* 166 (127a). Her mother or mother-in-law was Iannia; Joh. Mosch. *Pratum* 167 (127b).

Fl. Constantinus Erythrius Damianus (*SB* 7425) V/VI; *PLRE* 11.

Damianus 1 ?senator (of Constantinople) M VI

Styled ἄνδρα ἐκ βουλῆς; a patron of the Blues at Tarsus, he was accidentally killed during action against the Blues there by Malthanes (Marthanes 1); his death caused trouble among the Blues of Constantinople; Proc. *Anecd.* 29.32-3. See further Marthanes. He was probably a member of the senate at Constantinople (and therefore an *illustris*) rather than a *curialis* of the local senate at Tarsus.

Damianus 2 M VI

Nephew of Valerianus 1; Proc. *BG* 11 7.26, iv 33.2. Perhaps, like his uncle, a native of Thrace.

Early in 538 (cf. Belisarius, p. 202) he was sent from Rome by Belisarius with four hundred of the men of Valerianus under his command with orders to accompany Ioannes 46 (nephew of Vitalianus) into winter quarters near Alba in Picenum and to follow his orders; Proc. *BG* 11 7.26. In the spring, when Ioannes refused to leave Ariminum, he kept Damianus and his four hundred men there with him; Proc. *BG* 11 11.22. Since Damianus was in Rome in early 538, he had presumably been there during part or all of the siege; probably he had arrived with Valerianus in April 537.

In 552 after the battle of Busta Gallorum Damianus and Valerianus were sent by Narses 1 with their followers (σὺν τοῖς ἐπομένοις; ?*bucellarii*) to escort the Lombard allies to the Roman frontier and to see that they harmed no one on the journey; Proc. *BG* iv 33.2.

Possibly identical with Damianus 3.

DAMIANVS 3 comes rei militaris or dux ?571

Possibly identical with Damianus 2.

Ταξίαρχος; after a Roman defeat by the Avars (possibly in 571), he was sent by Tiberius 1 to accompany Avar envoys to the emperor Justin to explain the position; Men. Prot. fr. 34. For the date, see Tiberius. For the significance of ταξίαρχος, see Theodorus 21.

Damianus 4 honorary consul M/L VI

Δαμιανοῦ apo upaton; Zacos 311 = Dumbarton Oaks seal 58.106.2556 (seal; obv.: cruciform monogram (67) of Δαμιανοῦ; rev.: apo/ypa/ton). A similar seal is recorded in Schlumberger, *Sigill.*, p. 477, no. 6 (where the monogram was wrongly interpreted as Μανουηλ).

Damianus 5 magister militum M/L VI

Δαμιανοῦ ma(g)istro milit(um); Zacos 312a and b (two seals; obv.: cruciform monogram (67) of Δαμιανοῦ; rev.: (a) ΜΑ/ΙΣΤΡΟ/ΜΙΛΙΤΣ/

(b) ΜΑ/ΙΣΤΡΟ/ΜΙΛ). Another seal perhaps owned by the same man is Zacos 313 (obv.: the letters of ΔΑΜΙΑΝΘ arranged in a cross; rev.: ΜΑΤΙ/ΙΣΤΡΟΜ/ΙΛΙΧ).

Damianus 6 patricius M/L VI

Δαμιανοῦ patriciu; Zacos 314 (seal; obv.: cruciform monogram (67) of Δαμιανοῦ; rev.: ΡΑ/ΤΥΙ/ΣΙΥ).

Damianus 7 ?v.c., collector of taxes (in Egypt) VI/VII

Δαμιανῶ τῷ λαμπρο(τάτω) χρυσυπ(ο)δ(έκτη); BGU II 675 = *Stud. Pal.* VIII 1139 provenance unknown, dated VI/VII (a payment was made to him on orders from Stephanus 47).

Damianus 8 illustrius VI/VII

Δαμιανοῦ ἰλλουστρίου; Dumbarton Oaks seal 58.106.966 (seal; obv.: cruciform monogram (67) of Δαμιανοῦ; rev.: cruciform monogram (151) of ἰλλουστρίου).

Damianus (Domianus) 9 PVC 610/630

The name occurs on three glass weights; Monneret de Villard, *Catalogue C*, nos. 3a (= Schlumberger, *Mélanges*, p. 319, no. 1 = REG 8 (1895), p. 62, no. 1), b and c (= Dalton, *Catalogue*, nos. 670, 671): Δομιανοῦ + τοῦ ἐνδοξ(οτάτου). These weights bear the names of city prefects of Constantinople. Monograms of his name are found on silverware from the reign of Heraclius, before 629/630; Dodd, *BSS*, Table III, nos 68-9 = Feissel, *Rev. Num.*⁶ 28(1986), p. 135. He was therefore PVC under Heraclius before 630; see Feissel, *op. cit.*, p. 140 with notes 112-13.

Damianus 10 ?MVM (Egypt) VII

ΣΤ]ρατηλ(άτη) Δαμιανῶ τῷ θεοφιλεστ(άτω) οἰκονόμ(ω) μοναστηρ(ίας) Ἀγάπης; *P. Ross.-Georg.* v 50 Fayum. A very fragmentary document, containing an allusion to building activities. Perhaps Damianus was a former MVM or the bearer of an honorific title who had entered the monastery (implied by the epithet θεοφιλέστατος) and become οἰκονόμος; this is very uncertain, however. Cf. also Senuthius 1.

Damianus 11 ex praefectis VII

Δαμιανῶ ἀπὸ ἐπάρχων; Zacos 1447 = Dumbarton Oaks seal 58.106.3187 (seal; dated LVII Zacos, VII Oikonomides; obv.: cruciform monogram of Θεοτόκε βοήθει; rev.: +ΔΑ/ΜΙΑΝΩ/ΑΠΟΕΠΑ/ΡΧΩΝ).

Damocharis grammaticus and poet M VI

Author of four poems included in the *Cycle* of Agathias; *Anth. Gr.* vii 206, ix 633 (both Δαμοχάριδος γραμματικοῦ), vi 63, xvi 310 (both Δαμοχάριδος).

He was a native of Cos, a *grammaticus*, and a friend and pupil of Agathias and was also known to Paul the Silentiary (Paulus 21), who composed verses lamenting his early death; *Anth. Gr.* vii 588 Δαμόχαρις Μοίρης πυμάτην ὑπεδύσατο σιγήν. φεῦ, τὸ καλὸν Μούσης βάρβιτον ἡρεμέει, ὦλετο γραμματικῆς ἱερῆ βάσις. ἀμφιρῦτη Κῶς, καὶ πάλι πένθος ἔχεις οἶον ἐφ' Ἴπποκράτει, and cf. lemma: εἰς Δαμόχαριν τὸν γραμματικόν, τὸν Κῶον, τὸν φίλον καὶ μαθητὴν Ἀγαθίου. One of his poems, vii 206, is on the same topic as two of Agathias' own poems, vii 204 and 205 (Agathias' cat ate his pet partridge).

Possibly identical with the proconsul of Asia Damocharis, but cf. McCail, *JHS* 89 (1969), 89.

DAMOCHARIS: proconsul Asiae IV/VI (*JOeAI* 44, Beibl. 347/8 = *SEG* xviii 474, *Anth. Gr.* xvi 43); see *PLRE* II, p. 344.

Ioannes *qui et* Dandax

Danielus (*SEG* xx 332) V/VI; *PLRE* II.

Danielus 1 vicarius (?tribuni) (in Thrace) ?VI

Work on a gate at Stan was dated under him and Probinus; Beshevliev, *Spätgr. u. spätlat. Inschr. Bulg.*, n. 75 Stan (a village in the district of Novi Pazar) (+M(ense) Iunio K(alen)d(is) zic lune facta est/eista porta en zies Dani/elo bicario et Probinu/maiore. Ind(ictione) XIII SERSONSEBD). He was probably the deputy commander of a *numerus* rather than a civilian official; cf. Probinus.

Daniel 2 ex praefectis VI/VII

Δανιήλ ἀπὸ ἐπάρχων; Zacos 1448 = Fogg Art Museum seal 1210 (seal, dated VII Zacos, VI/VII Oikonomides; obv.: square monogram (69), possibly Θεοτόκε, βοήθει τῷ δούλῳ σου Δανιήλ ἀπὸ ἐπάρχων; rev.: ΔΑΝ./ΗΛΑΠ./ΕΠΑΡΧ/ΟΝ +).

Daniel 3 argentarius VII

Δανιήλ ἀργυροπράτου; Zacos 315 (seal; obv.: cruciform monogram (68) of Δανιήλ; rev.: +ΑΡΓΥ/ΡΟΠΡΑ/ΤΟΥ).

Danus servant of the Ostrogothic king 533/537

A young man, servant of the king of the Ostrogoths in 533/537

(famulus suus), sent by the king to Mons Lactarius (in Campania) to recover his health; Cass. *Var.* xi 10 (a. 533/537). See further **Beatus 1**.

Q. Pompeius Callistratus Darenus (*CIL* vi 37072) IV/VI; *PLRE* II.

Dares army officer (?tribunus) (in Egypt) 640

He was 'the chief officer in the city of Samnûd' (= Sebennytus); ordered to guard the two rivers by **Theodosius 41** and **Anastasius 36** in 640 against the Arabs; Joh. Nik. i 13.5 (p. 560 Zotenberg; 'commandant supérieur'). He was presumably commander of the troops in Sebennytus.

Darida Gothic commander (in Italy) ?542

Gothorum comes; with his army in Samnium he encountered the holy man **Libertinus** and stole his horse; unable to cross the river Volturnus until he restored it; Greg. *Dial.* i 2. The incident occurred under **Totila**, perhaps in 542 when Totila first seized Campania and Samnium.

Datius Herul king M VI

Brother of **Aordus**; living in Thule (? = Scandinavia, cf. MacDonald, *P-W* vi A, 629, and Stein, *Bas-Emp.* II 719, n. 1), he was of the Herul royal family and after the murder of **Ochus** was brought to the Heruli living around Singidunum to be their king; on his arrival they expelled **Justinian's** nominee, **Suartuas**; Proc. *BG* II 15.27-30.33-5. Cf. **Ochus**. The date was shortly before 549; cf. *BG* III 34.43.

Datoyean Persian general c. 604/605

Commander of the Persian army which invaded Armenia in c. 604/605, after the death of **Džuan Veh**; he won a victory on the plains of Shirak, then returned to Atrpatakan (Azerbaijan); **Sebeos** xxii, pp. 58-9.

In c. 607 he served under **Symbatius Bagratuni** against the Kushans; **Sebeos** xviii, pp. 49-50.

David 1 protector (at Ancyra) M VI

The mother of **Theodore of Syceon** subsequently married **David**; *V. Theod. Syc.* 25 (ζεύγνυται περιφανεστάτῳ ἀνδρὶ προτίκτορι ἐν τῇ Ἀγκυρανῶν μητροπόλει, τοῦνομα Δαυΐδ). There was apparently a body of *protectores* stationed at Ancyra; cf. *V. Theod. Syc.* 45 (οἱ τῆς αὐτῆς μητροπόλεως προτίκτορες; they acted as a body to obtain help from **Theodore** for Ancyra during an outbreak of plague) and **Jones**, *LRE* II, p. 657.

David 2 philosopher and writer on medicine L VI

A philosopher, he lectured on the *Isagoge* of **Porphyry**; the extant commentary under his name was a later publication based on notes from his lectures (ἀπὸ φωνῆς Δαβίδ τοῦ θεοφιλεστάτου καὶ θεόφρονος φιλοσόφου); cf. *CAG* xvii 2. A commentary by **David** on the *Organon* is extant in an Armenian version, and he gave lectures on the *Organon* and on the *Physics* of **Aristotle**. See further **Westerink**, *Anonymous Prolegomena*, pp. xxiii-xxiv, *Janus* 51 (1964), pp. 173-4. He taught at Alexandria and was probably colleague and successor there of **Elias 6**; cf. **Westerink**, *Mnemosyne* 14 (1961), pp. 129-31.

David 3 praepositus (in Egypt) VI

Named in a list of taxpayers at Aphrodito; *P. Cairo Masp.* 67288 iv 17 (Δαυεὶδ πραιπο[σί]το(υ)). He was a *praepositus* who owned land or property at Aphrodito.

David 4 chartophylax of the domus divina rerum Hormisdæ 605 or 607

One of the conspirators executed for plotting against **Phocas**; **Theoph.** AM 6099 (Δαυίδ, τὸν χαρτοφύλακα τῶν Ὀρμίσδου). For the dates, June 7, 605 or 607, see **Constantina 1** and *Chron. Pasch.* s.a. 605. See further **Theodorus 150**.

David 5 ?Roman commander 630

Sent by **Heraclius** to accompany **Šahryon** (= **Shahrbaraz**) back to Persia, he returned to Rome with great riches after **Shahrbaraz** seized the throne; *Hist. Nest.* II 93 (**Heraclius** 'sent with him a general called **David**'). **Shahrbaraz** seized the throne in 630.

David Saharuni 6 curapalates and ruler of Armenia 635-638 or 637-640

An Armenian noble, he was implicated in the conspiracy of **Athalaricus** (= **Ioannes 260 qui et Athalaricus**) to overthrow **Heraclius**; arrested by **Mžež Gnuni** (= **Mezezius**) and sent to Constantinople, he escaped back to Armenia, overthrew and killed **Mžež** and was himself proclaimed general by the troops; 'the king (i.e. **Heraclius**), on the demand of the *ishkhans*, names him *ishkhan* himself over all these lands, decrees for him the honour of *curapalates* and enrolls him in his service. He kept his power for three years with great magnificence. Then the soldiers took away his power and chased him away'; **Sebeos** xxix, pp. 93-4. He was possibly *MVM per Armeniam*; see **Mezezius**. The conspiracy of

Athalaricus and the death of Mezezius were in either 635 or 637 (see Varaztiroch). David was replaced (in 638 or 640) by Theodorus 167 Rshtuni; Vardan, trans. Muyltermans, p. 83.

Perhaps identical with the Armenian David who in 642/643 commanded a Roman army in Armenia ('dux exercitus Romanorum'); he and Valentinus 5 planned to co-operate against the Arabs in Syria but Valentinus was defeated first; David marched into Mesopotamia where he had to restrain his troops from ill-treating the inhabitants; *Chron.* 1234, cxxii. He was routed and killed by the Arabs under Iad; *Chron.* 1234, cxxiii.

Possibly also to be identified with David 'the logothete' (sic), supposedly involved in a scheme in 641 to marry Martina; he fled to Armenia and was beheaded by Ioutalios; Joh. Nik. 120.46.49 (pp. 579-80 Zotenberg).

David 7 imperialis cinarius VII

Δαυίδ βασιλικῶ κιναρῖω; Zacos 600 (seal; obv.: traces only of an eagle and a cruciform invocative monogram; rev.: +ΔΑ/VIΔBA/CIΛΙΚΩ/KINAP/ΙΩ). Presumably an attendant of some description in the imperial palace, but the exact nature is unknown. See Cyrillus 4.

David 8 son of Heraclius M VII

Son of Heraclius and Martina; Nic. *Brev.* 27, Theoph. AM 6122, Cedr. I 750, Zon. xiv 15. Born on Nov. 7, 630; Theoph. AM 6122 (indiction 4). He was crowned Caesar on July 4 or 7, 638 (when his brother Heraclonas was made Augustus); Const. Porph. *de cer.* II 27, cf. Nic. *Brev.* 27 (made Caesar). According to Nic. *Brev.* 31 he was crowned Augustus with Constantinus and Heraclonas in 641 and renamed Tiberius (στεφθῆναι δὲ καὶ Δαβίδ τὸν καίσαρα καὶ μετονομασθῆναι Τιβέριον). Overthrown, mutilated and exiled with Heraclonas and Martina in autumn 641; Joh. Nik. 120.52 (p. 580 Zotenberg).

Daurentius Slav leader M/L VI

One of the Slav leaders (ἡγεμόνες) who killed envoys sent by Baianus, the Avar khan; Men. Prot. fr. 48. He is called both Δαυρέντιος and Δαυρίτας. The date was shortly before 578; cf. Ioannes 91.

DECIA ?c.f. (in Italy) 559

Addressee with Antonina 2 (q.v.) of a letter from Pelagius I; Pelag. I, *Ep.* 27 (a. 559 Feb.).

Evidently wealthy, since she and Antonina maintained a monastic community, and so perhaps, to judge by her name, of Roman aristocratic descent.

Decius 1 cos. ord. 529; patricius 546

Son of Basilius Venantius (*PLRE* II, Venantius 5; cos. ord. in 508), and brother of Paulinus 1 (cos. ord. 534); cf. Cass. *Var.* IX 23 (cited under Paulinus), and see *PLRE* II, stemma 26. Fl. Decius; *CIL* IX 1384, 1385, Rossi 1019. Decius iunior; Rossi 1018, *CIL* IX 1384, 1385, *CIL* X 6218, *CIL* XII 936 = *ILCV* 1808.

CONSVL ORDINARIVS a. 529 (without a colleague, East or West): *Fasti*, Rossi 1018-22, *CIL* IX 1384, 1385, *CIL* X 6218, *CIL* XII 936 = *ILCV* 1808, Marcell. com. s.a. 529, Vict. Tonn. s.a. 529, Mar. Avent. s.a. 529, Joh. Mal. 450, 451, and see Bagnall and others, *Consuls*, pp. 592-3.

PATRICIUS, in Rome in late 546, when he fled with Bessas (*PLRE* II), Basilius 3 and others as the Goths under Totila captured Rome; Proc. *BG* III 20.18 (τῶν δὲ πατρικίων Δέκιος καὶ Βασίλειος σὺν ἑτέροις πισίν). He probably went with others to Constantinople; *Lib. Pont.* 61.

Cf. also Sundwall, *Abhandlungen*, p. 112.

Decius 2 patricius (in Italy) 584

Vir gloriosus dominus Decius patricius; present at Ravenna in October 584; Pelag. II, *Ep.* 1 (= *MGH, Epp.* II, App. II). The letter, dated Oct. 4, 584, asking Gregory (the future pope) to obtain help from the emperor for Italy, was taken by the notary Honoratus who had been with Decius at Ravenna and was able to describe the situation in Italy; Pelagius refers to a letter received in Rome from the exarch (exarchus scribit) protesting that, far from being able to send help (against the Lombards) to Rome, he can scarcely defend the area round Ravenna ('ad illas partes custodiendas', defined by the words elsewhere 'illis in partibus ad Ravennam'). The identity of the patricius Decius and the exarchus is probable; if so, Decius is the first recorded exarchus Italiae; cf. Hartmann, *Untersuchungen*, p. 9, and see Goubert, II ii, pp. 75-7 (suggesting that he may have arrived in Italy with troops in 579, cf. Men. Prot. fr. 49, 62).

Possibly, to judge by his name, a descendant of the senatorial family of the Decii. It is unlikely, but not impossible, that he was identical with the consul of 529, Decius 1.

(Decius) Paulinus

Decoratus patricius (in Italy) 559

Addressee of a letter from pope Pelagius I asking him to examine witnesses on oath (tactis sacrosanctis evangelis, praebito etiam legaliter sacramento) and establish the facts in a case (of which no details are

given) and to pass judgement according to law and justice (ut, patefactis omnibus, quae secundum leges et iustitiam censenda sint agnoscatis et convenientem legibus et veritati terminum detis); Pelag. I, *Ep.* 30 (a. 559 Feb.; addressed 'Decorato patricio'). He was perhaps not an imperial official but a prominent layman commissioned by Pelagius to act in the matter.

Possibly a descendant of the *quaestor* Decoratus (= *PLRE* II, Decoratus I).

Deitatus (Δεΐτατος, Δείσατος) Roman commander (in Suania) 551

A Roman, in command of Roman regiments stationed in Suania (Ῥωμαῖος ἀνὴρ τῶν ἐκέισε Ῥωμαϊκῶν καταλόγων ἐτύγχανε προεστώς); when informed by the Suani that a large Persian force was approaching (they told Δείσατῳ καὶ τοῖς ἑτέροις ἡγεμόσι τῶν Ῥωμαϊκῶν ταγματῶν) he decided to withdraw, and the Suani then allied themselves with Persia; Men. Prot. fr. 11. The date was 551, see *Martinus* 2 (p. 844) and cf. Proc. *BG* IV 14.53, 16.14. The Suanians were ruled by Tzathius 3. Deitatus was evidently the senior commander of several Roman (?regular) units stationed in Suania; perhaps he was a *comes rei militaris*, possibly a *dux*.

Demeas (*IGLS* 872) V/VI; *PLRE* II.

Demetrius I at the imperial court V/VI (?M/L V)

A friend of the PPO Illyrici *Marianus* (*PLRE* II), he was a prominent figure at the imperial court and owner of a house in Constantinople; he appeared to *Marianus* in a dream; *Mir. Dem.* I 1, pp. 62–5, esp. p. 62 (τῶν γνησίων αὐτοῦ φίλων καὶ τῶν ἐν βασιλείοις αὐλαῖς τυγχάνοντα γνωριμώτατον ἄμα καὶ περιφανῆ). For the date (?M/L V), cf. *PLRE* II, *Marianus* 2, but see also *Lemerle*, *Mir. Dem.*, vol. II, pp. 22–3.

Demetrius 2 ?official (at Constantinople) c. 538/540

Following a report from Demetrius (ἔδιδαξεν ἡμᾶς Δημήτριος), Justinian issued an order confirming building regulations at Constantinople; *Just. Nov.* 165 (undated, but addressed to the PPO Illyrici *Domnicus*, 535/540; it reaffirms *Just. Nov.* 63 of March 9, 538). Demetrius perhaps sent a *relatio* to the emperor on the matter.

Demetrius 3 MVM vacans 542

In 535 Demetrius was one of four commanders of regular infantry units sent to the west under *Belisarius* to reconquer Italy (his three colleagues were *Herodianus* 1, *Paulus* 4 and *Vrsicinus* 1); Proc. *BG* I 5.3

(καταλόγων... πεζῶν δὲ Ἡρωδιανός τε... καὶ Δημήτριος sc. ἄρχοντες), cf. *BG* III 6.13 (he served with *Belisarius* before 542 as commander of an infantry unit – καταλόγου πεζικοῦ ἄρχων). In summer 539 *Belisarius* sent five hundred infantry from the unit commanded by Demetrius (ἐκ καταλόγου οὗ Δημήτριος ἦρχεν) to help besiege *Faesulae*; Proc. *BG* II 23.2.

His rank and office are uncertain, but one of his other colleagues, the cavalry commander *Magnus* 1 was a *comes*, and Demetrius was presumably not yet of illustrious rank (cf. below). Perhaps he was a *vir spectabilis*, *comes* (?*rei militaris*) at this stage of his career.

MVM (VACANS) a. 542; στρατηγός; Proc. *BG* III 6.13.22.25, 7.6. The language of Procopius in *BG* III 6.13 suggests that he was appointed in 542 when sent to Sicily; cf. below.

In 542, when the war in Italy was going badly for the Romans, Justinian sent firstly *Maximinus* 2 with reinforcements and then Demetrius; Proc. *BG* III 6.9–13. Demetrius sailed from Constantinople to Sicily where he planned to help Naples, then under siege (cf. *Conon* 1); his own army was too small to be effective and so he collected as many ships as possible, loading them with corn and other supplies, and set sail, giving the appearance of a large army; the trick would supposedly have succeeded, since Totila and the Goths at Naples are said to have thought that a great army was coming from Sicily, but Demetrius feared the risk of sailing straight to Naples and so went first to Portus to obtain reinforcements from Rome; the soldiers there, however, refused to accompany him and eventually he had to sail with only the men whom he had brought from Constantinople; Proc. *BG* III 6.14–19. At Portus he was urged to help Naples by Demetrius 4 of Cephallenia; he therefore set sail but the Goths had now learnt the truth and were waiting for him when he put in on the coast near Naples; many of his men were killed and all the ships and supplies were captured; Demetrius himself however escaped; Proc. *BG* III 6.22–5.

He evidently returned to Sicily, whence, late in 542, he was sent by *Maximinus* with *Herodianus*, *Phazas* and all available forces to aid Naples; the fleet was caught in a storm and driven ashore close to the Gothic camp; losses were heavy and many were captured, including Demetrius; Proc. *BG* III 7.3–6. With a rope around his neck he was led up to the walls of Naples by Totila and forced to tell the besieged that there was no further hope of relief for them and they should surrender the city; Proc. *BG* III 7.8–10.

Demetrius 4 ?curator civitatis, at Naples 542

Native of Cephallenia; an experienced sailor, he accompanied

Belisarius on the expeditions to Africa and Italy and enhanced his reputation as a nautical expert; Proc. *BG* III 6.20.

?CVRATOR CIVITATIS NEAPOLITANAE a. 542: he was appointed ἐπίτροπος Νεαπόλεως by Justinian in consequence of his reputation, a post which he held in 542; Proc. *BG* III 6.20, 6.26. He was not the military commander (cf. Conon 1) and was presumably responsible for civil matters; possibly *curator civitatis*, but the circumstances were irregular because of the war and his precise office is uncertain.

During the siege of Naples by Totila in 542, Demetrius openly addressed insults to Totila; Proc. *BG* III 6.21. As the siege progressed, he took the advice of Conon, evaded the besiegers in a small boat and went to the general Demetrius 3 to beg for help; help was sent, but the rescue fleet was surprised and captured by Totila and Demetrius fell into Gothic hands; in reprisal for his insulting of Totila, his tongue and hands were cut off and he was then set free; Proc. *BG* III 6.22-6.

Demetrius 5 ?a secretis 566

In office at the court of Justin II in 566; Coripp. *Iust.* I 27 (hinc secreta sacrae tractans Demetrius aulae). Probably a *secretis*. On the date, cf. Anastasius 14 and Theodorus 34.

Demetrius 6 ?vir magnificus (Egypt) M VI

Father of Fl. Martha, dead by 585 (τοῦ τῆς μεγαλοπρεπ(εστάτης) [μν]ήμης Δημητρίου); presumably a native of Antinoe, like his daughter; *PSI* XIII 1367 Antinoe. For the date, see Martha. 2.

Demetrius 7 primicerius ?VI

[Μν]ησοῦτι, Χ(ριστ)ῆ, Δημητρί[ου] πριμικίρι[ου]; Beshevliev, *Spätgr. u. spätlat. Inschr. Bulg.* n. 241 Zapara. Cf. Robert, *Bull. Ep.* 1965, 240, n. 6.

Demetrius 8 patricius M VI/M VII

Δημητρίου πατρικίου; Zacos 318 (seal; obv.: cruciform monogram (70) of Δημητρίου; rev.: cruciform monogram (251) of πατρικίου).

Demetrius 9 Iberian noble; honorary consul ?E VII

The consul Demetrius (hypatos Demetre) may be identical with the brother of Stephanus I known from the historian Juansher as a church builder in his brother's reign (c. 602-627); Toumanoff suggests that the honorary consulship may have been conferred after the death of his brother, most of whose reign was spent in revolt from the Romans; see Toumanoff, *Le Muséon* 65 (1952), pp. 204-6.

Demetrius 10 honorary consul and praefectus VII

Δημητρίω ἀπὸ ὑπάτων καὶ ἐπάρχω; Zacos 791 (seal; obv.: +ΘΕ/ΟΤΟΚΕΒ/ΟΗΘΗΤΩ/ΔΟΝΛΩCOV; rev.: +ΔΗ/ΜΗΤΡΙ/ΩΑΠΟΝ/ΠΑΤΩΝ/ΚΕΨΑΡ).

FL. DEMETRIVS 11 v. magn., comes (Egypt) VII

Son of Ioannes 217; a *comes*, he was a *curialis* of Hermopolis; addressee of an agreement for renting a plot of orchard land; *Stud. Pal.* xx 218, 5-7 Φλαυίω Δημητρίω τῷ μεγαλοπρεπεστάτῳ κόμετι καὶ πολιτευομένῳ ταύτης τῆς Ἑρμοπολιτῶν (Hermopolite nome; dated to the seventh century by the editors).

Fl. Theodorus Petrus Demosthenes: honorary consul; former (or honorific) PVC; PPO Orientis 521-522; PPO Orientis 529; ?PPO vacans 531; *PLRE* II.

Demosthenes 1 vir gloriosissimus (in Egypt) M VI

A papyrus from Aphrodito records a visit by him to the district (line 1 ἐπειδὴ ὁ ἐνδοξότατος Δημοσθένης κατέλαβεν Μουνκρήκωσ); *P. Lond.* v 1684 Aphrodito (a letter from an official of Menas 5 to the πρωτοκωμήτης of Aphrodito, Apollo). The visit was apparently official in character.

Demosthenes 2 ?PVC VI/VII

Δημοσθένου(ς) ἐπάρχου; named on glass weights; Monneret de Villard, Catalogue C, nos. 2a and b (both ΔΗΜΟCΘΕΝΣ ΕΠΑΡΧΣ), cf. Catalogue D, no. 9a (ΔΗΜΟCΘΕΝΣ). Presumably city prefect of Constantinople, like other prefects named on such weights.

He may be identical with Demosthenes in Just. *Nov.* 166 (= Demosthenes 4, *PLRE* II); if so, the latter's city prefecture was actual, not honorary. However, the weights are probably too late in date; cf. Feissel, *Rev. Num.*⁶ 28 (1986), p. 124.

(Fl.) Ioannes (Menas?) Iustinianus (Demos)thenes Str(aton) (E)lias The(onas) (Dio)scorus

Fl. Menas Iustinianus Demosthenes Ioannes Thomas

Deodatus vir iulustris (in Gaul) E/M VI

Deudatus vir iulustris; one of the laymen who subscribed the Acts of the Council of Orange on July 3, 529; *Conc. Gall.* a. 511-695, p. 65 = *MGH, Leg.* III I, p. 54. Cf. Syagrius 1.

DEOPHERON ?v.c. (in Italy) 548

Brother of Tullianus 1 (and son of Venantius 1); native of Italy (ὁ Ἰταλιώτης), he was one of the λόγιμοι besieged in Rusciac in 548 (cf. Chalazar and Gudilas); he and Gudilas negotiated its surrender to Totila and presumably he, like the other Italians there, was given his life but lost his property; Proc. BG III 30.5-6. 19-24.

Deoteria wife of Theodebert c. 533-c. 540

Married, with a daughter, she lived at Cabrières; during her husband's absence she became the mistress of Theodebert, who married her after becoming king in 533; Greg. Tur. HF III 22-3. Later she had her own daughter murdered, fearing lest the girl take Theodebert's eye as she grew up; Greg. Tur. HF III 26. Eventually Deoteria was abandoned by Theodebert in order to marry Wisegardis (his betrothed for seven years, probably 532/533-539/540) and he had nothing more to do with her; Greg. Tur. HF III 27. Her name suggests that she was a Gallo-Roman.

Dervanus dux of the Sorbs 630

In 630 he submitted to the Wends under Samo after they had defeated the Franks; he and his people, of Slav origins, had long been subject to the Franks; Fredegar. IV 68 (Dervanus dux gente Surbiorum, que ex genere Sclavinorum erant et ad regnum Francorum iam olem apexerant, se ad regnum Samonem cum suis tradedit).

DESIDERIVS I v.c., memorialis (Italy) VI

An estate owned by him near Tibur later came into the possession of Gregorius 5 (later pope) who in 587 donated it to the monastery of St Andreas in clivo Scauri; Marini, P. Dip. 89 = MGH, Epp. II, App. I, p. 438 (ex successione Desiderii clarissimi viri inter alios memorialis).

Desiderius 2 dux (in Gaul) (?574/575) 576-587

He married twice, his second wife being Tetrada (by mid 585), and had children; Greg. Tur. HF VIII 27, x 8.

dux a. 576-587: he was dux under Chilperic; Greg. Tur. HF V 13 (dux Chilperici regis, in 576), 39 (in 580), VI 12 (in 581), 31 (in 583), VII 9 (in 584). Probably in office by 575 (see below). He apparently remained dux under Gundovald (584-585) and under Guntram until his death in 587; Greg. Tur. HF VII 27, 28, 34 (all in 585, under Gundovald), VIII 27 (in 585, under Guntram), 43 (in 587), Joh. Bicl. s.a. 587 (Francorum dux, at his death).

At a date not after 575 (perhaps during the civil wars in 573 to 575, cf. HF IV 47-51) Desiderius defeated an army of Sigibert at Albi; Greg. Tur. HF VIII 45. In 576 he was himself defeated near Limoges by Guntram's general Mummolus 2; Greg. Tur. HF V 13. In late 580 near Paris he and Bobo 1 arrested Chilperic's son Chlodovechus on orders from the king; Greg. Tur. HF V 39. In 581 he defeated Ragnovaldus and captured Périgueux, Agen and other cities of Guntram in that area and subjected them to the rule of Chilperic; Greg. Tur. HF VI 12. In 582 he apparently entered into a secret understanding with Mummolus (cum quo foedus ante duos annos inierat) to support the claims of the pretender Gundovald; Greg. Tur. HF VII 10. In 583 he and Bladastes governed territories of Chilperic, apparently in south-west Gaul; with an army from the area under them (cum omni exercitu provinciae sibi commissae) they advanced against Bourges from a direction opposite to Berulfus (who came from the north); they plundered the regions through which they passed and fought the people of Bourges before advancing to besiege the city, burning and plundering even the churches; when Chilperic and Guntram made peace they were ordered to abandon the siege and return home (ad propria, presumably meaning to Chilperic's territory), but they carried away from the Bourges area great amounts of plunder and continued to burn, rob and kill as they passed through the district of Tours as if still in enemy country; Greg. Tur. HF VI 31.

At the death of Chilperic in late 584 Desiderius immediately went to Toulouse and seized the treasure being taken to Spain as her dowry by Rignunthis; he then joined Mummolus in Avignon and they took Gundovald with them to the Limousin and proclaimed him king at Brive-la-Gaillarde; Greg. Tur. HF VII 9-10, Fredegar. IV 2 (in November 584). He was a leading supporter of Gundovald; Greg. Tur. HF VII 27 (in 585, in Toulouse), 28.

At the approach of Guntram's army (from Poitiers, HF VII 28) in 585, he deserted Gundovald and sought to protect himself and his possessions in a fortified location (infra castrorum munitionem); Greg. Tur. HF VII 34, 43. Later in 585 he visited the court of Guntram to make his peace, taking with him several clergy, and was pardoned but only after their intercession; he was restored to favour and departed with gifts from Guntram; Greg. Tur. HF VIII 27.

He now apparently settled in Albi with most of his possessions (Desiderius dux, qui maxime in eiusdem urbis territorio meliora facultatis suae condiderat); in 587 however the city was restored by Guntram to Sigibert's son Childebert and Desiderius, fearing reprisals (for his earlier victory over Sigibert), removed his wife, possessions and

troops to the vicinity of Toulouse; there, after reportedly arranging the division of his property between his wife and children, he marched with Austrovaldus against the Visigoths at Carcassonne, but in the attack he was surrounded and killed; Greg. Tur. *HF* VIII 45, Joh. Bicl. s.a. 587.

Desiderius 3 bishop of Eauze 585

A layman, appointed bishop of Eauze in succession to Laban by Guntram in 585 (cui Desiderius ex laico successit); Greg. Tur. *HF* VIII 22. His name suggests that he was a Gallo-Roman and, as he perhaps bribed the king, a wealthy man. For Laban, cf. *Conc. Gall.* 511-695, p. 249.

Desiderius 4 bishop of Vienne 596-607

A Gallo-Roman of noble family (vir de stimate claro Romanis a parentibus ortus); *V. Desid. Vienn.* 1 2 (MGH, *Scr. Rer. Mer.* III, p. 630).

Bishop of Vienne: he is attested as bishop in the correspondence of pope Gregory from 596 to 601; Greg. *Ep.* VI 52, IX 157, 218, 220, XI 34. He fell foul of Protadius and was exiled by a council at Chalon in 603; recalled after the death of Protadius in 605, in 607 he quarrelled with Brunichildis and was executed; *V. Desid. Vienn.* 1 4, 11, 15ff., Fredegar. IV 24, 32.

Desiderius 5 bishop of Cahors 630-650

Of noble family from Albi in Aquitaine, son of Salvius and Herchenfreda, brother of Rusticus 6, Syagrius 3, Avita and Selina; *V. Desid. Cad.* 1 (MGH, *Scr. Rer. Mer.* IV, pp. 563-4).

He served in the court of Chlotharius II, where he became *thesaurarius* after 613; *V. Desid. Cad.* 2 (p. 564). On the death of his brother Syagrius in 629/630 he briefly combined the post of *thesaurarius* with that of governor of Provence held by his brother; *V. Desid. Cad.* 7 (p. 568; loco praefecturae eius).

Bishop of Cahors a. 630-650: by spring 630 he had already become bishop of Cahors in succession to his other brother Rusticus; *V. Desid. Cad.* 12ff. (pp. 571ff.). He occupied the see until his death in 650; *V. Desid. Cad.* 35, and cf. Krusch, MGH, *Scr. Rer. Mer.* IV, p. 554 for the date.

A collection of his correspondence is extant; MGH, *Epp.* III, pp. 191ff. See Siroheker, no. 103.

Destasia wife of Vulfarius M VI

Wife of Vulfarius; miraculously cured by bishop Germanus 'in pago Alisiense' (?Alise-Ste-Reine, in Lugdunensis I); in gratitude she made

an annual payment (singulis annis tributum vitae solvit pro pretio); Ven. Fort. *V.S. Germ.* XI 36.

Deusdedit 1 scriba (of Ravenna) 533/537

Appointed by the PPO Cassiodorus Senator (*PLRE* II) and reminded of his responsibilities; Cass. *Var.* XII 21 (addressed 'Deusdedit scribae Ravennati').

Deusdedit 2 tabellio (at Classis) 551

Forensis civitatis Classis Rav(ennati)s, in 551; Marini, *P. Dip.* 119 = *P. Ital.* 34, lines 73-4 (described as 'notus rogatariusque noster' by the vendors, the clergy of the Gothic Church). Cf. Fl. Ioannes 76. Also recorded as *forensis* at Classis in Jan. 552; Marini, *P. Dip.* 74-74A = *P. Ital.* 4-5B VII, line 2 (Deusdedit for. civ. Classis Rav.).

DEVSDEDIT 3

v.c., palatinus sacrarum largitionum (in Italy) 572

V.c., palatinus s(a)c(rarum) l(argitionum); at Ravenna on June 3, 572, he purchased a property near Ariminum from Dominus *v.h. agellarius*; the estate (fundus cui vocabulum est Curtinis) was already partly owned by him; Marini, *P. Dip.* 120 = *P. Ital.* 35, lines 9, 16-17, cf. lines 66, 71, 75, 80, 86 (styled *v.c.*).

Possibly identical with Deusdedit *v.c.* who witnessed a deed of sale on March 10, 591; Marini, *P. Dip.* 122 = *P. Ital.* 37, line 96. Cf. Rusticana 1.

Deusdedit 4 landowner; subdeacon at Ravenna 625

Son of Anonymus 26 (magister militum) and Melissa; a *subdiaconus* of the church of Ravenna, he owned property and made a donation to the church of Ravenna in 625; Marini, *P. Dip.* 94 = *P. Ital.* 21 (a. 625; he was *filius ... (?) mag. mil. et Melissae*).

Deusdona ?son of Opilio M/L VI

Buried in the same tomb as his father (hic requiescit Deusdona con patre suo) in the catacombs of St Iuanuarius at Naples; *CIL* X 1535 = *ILCV* 141b. His father was apparently Opilio (who died in 569).

Deuterius (*CIL* VI 31968) V/VI; *PLRE* II.

Deuterius (*ILCV* 729) IV/VI; *PLRE* II.

Deuterius ?advocate (at Rome) 534

Scolasticus; pupil (discipulus) of Securus Memor Felix whom he

helped edit Martianus Capella at Rome in 534; *Subscript* to Mart. Cap. *Lib. I*. For the date, see Felix.

Memmius Sallustius Salvinus Diannius (*CIL* xi 2089) V/VI; *PLRE* II.

Fl. Didyma gloriosissima femina (Egypt) VII

Named in a document from Arsinoe, *Stud. Pal.* III 72, lines 2-4 π[αρ] ὕμων Φλ Διδύμη(ς) τῆ(ς) ἐνδοξωτάτη(ς) γαμέτη(ς) τοῦ τῆς ἐνδόξου μνήμη[ς]/[¹²... γεν]ομένου στρατηλάτου ταύτης τῆς Ἀρσινοϊτῶν πόλεως. For her husband, see Anonymus 27. Cf. also Stephanus 63.

A landowner called Didyma is recorded in *Stud. Pal.* VIII 820, line 2 ἀπό μερ(ίδος) προσόδ(ου) οὐσί(ας) Διδύμης, possibly at Hermopolis, in the seventh century.

Didymus I chartularius M VI/M VII

Διδύμου χαρτουλαρίου; Dumbarton Oaks seal 58.106.1775 (seal; obv.: monogram (71) of Διδύμου; rev.: monogram (356) of χαρτουλαρίου).

Fl. Didymus 2 vicarius of a legio (at Syene) L VI

Son of Silvanus; ἀπό βικαρ(ίου) λεγε(ώνος) Συήνης; witness to a document; *P. Monac.* 8, 47 Syene (late sixth century). He had formerly been deputy commander (for the *tribunus*?) of the legion (or legionary detachment) stationed at Syene. For troops at Syene, cf. *Not. Dig. Or.* xxxi 35 (milites miliarenses), and see Jones, *LRE* III, p. 204, n. 127.

Diogenes (or Diogenianus): grammaticus IV/VI; *PLRE* II.

Diogenes (*SEG* XIV 379) V/VI; *PLRE* II.

Diogenes I philosopher 531/532

A native of Phoenicia, a pagan and a philosopher, he was one of those who accompanied Damascius (*PLRE* II) and Simplicius I (from Athens) to Persia under Chosroes and subsequently returned disillusioned to the Roman empire but with their freedom of conscience and belief and their security guaranteed under the terms of a treaty (of Sept. 532); *Agath.* II 30-1, esp. 30.3 (= *Suid.* Π 2251). See further Alan Cameron, *Proc. Cam. Phil. Soc.* 1969, 7-29.

Diogenes 2 officer of Belisarius' bodyguard 533-548/549

He was an officer (δορυφόρος) of the bodyguard of Belisarius, serving with him in Africa in 533, *Proc. BV* I 23.5; in Italy in 537-538, *BG* II 9.9;

on the eastern frontier in 542, *BP* II 21.2; and again in Italy in 548/549, *BG* III 36.1, 37.9.

In late 533, soon after the capture of Carthage, while on a spying mission for Belisarius with twenty-two *bucellarii*, he was trapped by a superior Vandal force and narrowly escaped capture with his men; he himself was wounded badly in the fighting; *Proc. BV* I 23.5-19. He was in Rome during the Gothic siege of 537-538 and was sent out twice by Belisarius on important sallies with colleagues; *Proc. BG* I 27.11-12 (c. April 537, with Mundilas), II 5.9 (c. Nov. 537, with Traianus 2), and cf. *Belisarius*, pp. 200-201. Probably in early 538 he was sent to investigate an incident at an aqueduct and found evidence that the Goths were trying to enter the city through it; *Proc. BG* II 9.9-10. In 542 he was with Belisarius at Europum on the eastern front; *Proc. BP* II 21.2.18.20, and see further Adolius.

Before Belisarius left Italy in early 549 he put Diogenes in command of the three thousand strong garrison at Rome (Διογένην αὐτοῖς ἄρχοντα... ἐπέστησεν), together with Paulus 13; *Proc. BG* III 36.1, cf. 36.16 (Paulus). In summer 549 the city was besieged by Totila and Diogenes conducted the defence in an able manner, preventing Gothic attempts to damage the walls and sowing corn throughout the city (Portus having fallen to the Goths) to avert a shortage; *Proc. BG* III 36.2-3. When the city fell through treachery (on Jan. 16, 550) he escaped to Centumcellae, though wounded, with a few others; *Proc. BG* III 36.15.

He assumed command of the fort of Centumcellae; *Proc. BG* III 37.9 (ἦρχε δὲ τότε τοῦ ἐνταῦθα φυλακτηρίου Διογένης). Besieged there by Totila in 550, he refused to surrender the city immediately but agreed to exchange hostages and surrender the city on an appointed day if after reporting to the emperor he received no promise of help; the siege was then raised; *Proc. BG* III 37.11-18. When the day arrived he refused to surrender, claiming no longer to have authority to do so since a Roman army under Germanus (*PLRE* II) was reportedly coming; he requested the return of the hostages on both sides and then turned his attention to the defence of Centumcellae; *Proc. BG* III 39.25-8 (midsummer 550). Nothing further is recorded of Diogenes, but Centumcellae was in Gothic hands in 552 (*Proc. BG* IV 34.20).

Described by Procopius (in stock phraseology) as a clever man and a good soldier; *Proc. BG* III 36.1.

Diogenes 3 ?a man of rank (at Constantinople) M VI

A member of the Green faction and popular with everyone, including the emperor, he was accused of homosexuality by Theodora but finally

acquitted for lack of evidence (cf. Theodorus 52); he was tried publicly by distinguished judges because of his status (διὰ τὴν Διογένους δόξαν); Proc. *Anecd.* 16.23-8.

Diogenes 4 sophist ?VI

Ὁ διασημώτατος σοφιστής; native of Abila in Phoenicia; Steph. Byz. s.v. Ἀβίλη. Possibly διασημώτατος here means 'famous' rather than *perfectissimus*. Diogenes is otherwise unknown and was perhaps a contemporary of Stephanus. He is unlikely to be identical with Diogenes 1, who was a philosopher, not a sophist.

Diogenes 5 logothetes M VI/M VII

Diogenus (l)ogot(h)etu; Zacos 1353 (seal; obv.: ΔΙΟΥΤΕΠΗΣ; rev.: (L)ΟΥΤΟΥΕΤΥ).

DIOGENES 6 comes (et dioecetes) (Egypt) L VI/VII

He and Phib 2 were each in charge of a group of estates which probably formed part of the property of the Apion family; *P. Oxy.* 2031, line 1 + διοικ(ήσεως) τοῦ κόμ(ετος) Διογένους. He was a *comes et dioecetes*; cf. Georgius 55.

Diogenia (*CIL* v 1601) V/VI: *PLRE* II.

DIOMEDES 1 silentiarius and Palaestinae dux 528

SILENTIARIUS and DVX PALAESTINAE in 528, whose enmity with the Kindite Arethas (*PLRE* II) led to the latter's flight and subsequent murder by Alamundarus (*PLRE* II); Joh. Mal. 434 (τοῦ δουκὸς Παλαιστίνης Διομήδου σιλεντιαρίου), Theoph. AM 6021 (ὁ δούξ Παλαιστίνης, unnamed).

Diomedes 2 PPO (Orientis) 572

In office a. 572 May 18; Justin II, *Nov.* 7 (= Zepos, *Ius Graecoromanum* I, *Coll.* I, *Nov.* vii, = Just. *Nov.* 144) (addressed Διομήδει ἐπάρχῳ πραιτωρίων, concerning the Samaritans).

Diomedes 3 PVC VI/VII (?M/L VI)

+ ἐπὶ Διομήδους ἐπάρχου, with a round monogram of Ῥώμης; recorded on a brickstamp, in *Rev. Arch.* 32 (1876), p. 90, no. 35 and *Hell. Phil. Soc.* 13 Suppl. (1881), 23-4.

If identical with Diomedes 2, the date was M/L VI.

Diomedes 4

v. glor., ex praefectis, commerciarus at Tyre M VI/E VII

Διομήδους ἐνδοξοτάτου ἀπὸ ὑπάρχων καὶ κομμερκιαρίου ἀποθήκης Τύρου; Zacos 130 bis, note, no. 1 = Schlumberger, *Sigill.*, pp. 317-8, no. 1 = Laurent, *Bulletin* I 623, no. 3 (seal).

Perhaps an honorary prefect (and so not identical with Diomedes 2 or 3), holding the post of *commercarius* at Tyre (cf. Moschus). Cf. however Feissel, *Travaux et Mémoires* 9 (1985), p. 468, n. 17 for a different view. It should be noted that the imperial busts on this seal may be those of Justin II, Sophia and Tiberius (a. 574/578); see Feissel, *loc. cit.*

Dionysius: deacon and doctor (at Rome) ?E V or M VI; *PLRE* II.

DIONYSIUS 1

dux Phoenices 528

Ὁ δούξ Φοινίκης; in 528 he was one of the Roman commanders sent to pursue Alamundarus (*PLRE* II) after the murder of Arethas the Kindite (*PLRE* II) (the others included Arethas the Ghassānid, Gnouphas, Naaman 1, Ioannes 6 and Sebastianus 1); they failed to overtake him as he retired southwards, and so attacked his headquarters in Persia and captured many prisoners and much booty there; before returning in triumph to Roman territory they also took four Persian forts; Joh. Mal. 435, cf. Theoph. AM 6021 (on the same events). For the date, cf. Gnouphas. He was apparently succeeded very soon afterwards by Proclianus.

Dionysius 2 wealthy man (in Phoenice) M VI

A man of wealth living in Phoenice Libanensis, whose property was inherited by the emperor, allegedly by means of a forged letter (cf. Ioannes 30 of Edessa); Proc. *Anecd.* 12.6.

Dionysius 3 scholasticus (at Antinoe) c. 549/550

Τοῦ σοφωτάτου σχολαστικοῦ Διονυσίου; recorded in a papyrus from Antinoe; *SB* 9616 verso 22 and 26-7.

Dionysius 4 honorary consul M VI/M VII

Διονυσίου ἀπὸ ὑπάτων; Zacos 2874 (seal; obv.: + ΔΙΟ/ΝVCI/OV +; rev.: ΑΠΟ/VΠΑ/ΤΩΝ). There is a similar seal in Xanthoudides, *EEBS* v (1928), pp. 32-4, no. 3, pl. no. 3.

Dionysius 5 leading citizen of Damascus E VII

A leading citizen of Damascus (τῶν ἐν τέλει λαμπρῶν), of the family of the historian Nicolaus of Damascus; husband of Iulia, father of Isidorus 11; Sophronius, *Mir. SS. Cyr. et Ioh.* 54 (PG 87.3, col. 3621-5).

Dioscorus 1 advocate of the PPO Orientis 528-529

Advocate at the bar of the PPO Orientis and member of the commission which produced the first edition of the *Codex Iustinianus* in 528 and 529; Just. *Const.* 'Haec' (a. 528 Feb. 13), *Const.* 'Summa' (a. 529 April 7) (cited under Praesentinus 1). He and Praesentinus were the only two advocates serving on the commission.

DIOSCORVS 2 praefectus augustalis 535

In office when the patriarch of Alexandria, Timothy IV, died (on Feb. 7, 535) and was succeeded by Theodora's candidate, the monophysite Theodosius; Dioscorus and Aristomachus 1 then helped to expel Theodosius and install Gaianus; Liberat. *Brev.* 20 (augustalis), cf. Joh. Nik. 92.4 ('a prefect named Dioscorus', when Theodosius was driven out and Gaianus installed, perhaps on Feb. 10, 535), Severus of Ashmunein, *Hist. Patr.* 1 13 (PO 1, pp. 458-9) ('the governor of Alexandria', wrongly called Ioannes). See Maspero, *Hist. des patr. d'Alex.*, pp. 110-17, 347ff., for the dates. Cf. also Aristomachus.

Dioscorus 3 doctor (at Tralles) M VI

Native of Tralles; brother of Alexander 8, Anthemius 2, Metrodorus and Olympius 2; a successful doctor, he practised at Tralles, where he died; Agath. v 6.5. Son of Stephanus 1; Alex. Trall. *Ther.* iv 1.

Fl. Dioscorus 4 landowner of Aphrodito M VI

Son of Megas; κτήτωρ of Aphrodito; he sent to the empress Theodora a complaint about the pagarch of Antaeopolis; *P. Cairo Masp.* 67283 III 6. Cf. Iulianus 13.

Fl. Dioscorus 5 ?v.c. (Egypt); scholasticus and poet M VI

The archive of Dioscorus, discovered at the village of Aphrodito, near Antaeopolis, in the Thebaid, contains a number of poems composed by him as well as a large number of public and private documents, written in both Greek and Coptic, many of them drafts written in his own hand. A number of documents are only known to have come from his archive because they are in his handwriting (e.g. *P. Lond.* v 1820, 1821, 1843,

1845, 1902B). The archive is principally published in *P. Cairo Masp.* I-III and *P. Lond.* v. Some poems are included in *P. Lit. Lond.* and most of his literary work is in Heitsch, pp. 128-52. See also *P. Freer* 1-4 (L. S. B. MacCoull, diss., 1973), *P. Mich.* XIII 659-74 (ed. by P. J. Sijpestein, *Stud. Amst.* 10, 1977) and *P. Vatic. Aphrod.* 1-26 (ed. by R. Pintaudi, *I papiri vaticani greci di Aphrodito*, 1980), and cf. G. Malz, *The Papyri of Dioscorus; publications and emendations*, in *Studi Calderini-Paribeni* 2 (Milan, 1957), pp. 345-56 and L. S. B. MacCoull, *The Coptic Archive of Dioscorus of Aphrodito*, *Chron. d'Égypte* 56 (1981), pp. 185-93.

He was a native of Aphrodito; *P. Cairo Masp.* 67087, 67128, 67129, 67130, 40901 (unpublished; ὄρωμένω ἀπὸ κόμης Ἀφροδίτης τοῦ Ἀνταίοπολίτου νόμου), and cf. Heitsch, 13, line 11, 14, line 2. His father was Apollos; *P. Cairo Masp.* 67064, 67087, 67094, 67096, 67109, 67112, 67116, 67118, 67127, 67128, 67129, 67130, 67134, 67161, 67251, 67303. *P. Lond.* v 1661, 1686, 1692a and b, 1698. His grandfather's name was Dioscorus also, while his great-grandfather had a Coptic name, Psimanobet; *P. Cairo Masp.* 67109, 67112. Possibly he was brother of Phoebammon (they were the two heirs of Apollos); *P. Cairo Masp.* 67134, cf. 67109 and 67024.

He studied grammar, rhetoric and law and by 543 had become a *scholasticus*; *P. Cairo Masp.* 67064 (written before 543 since his father Apollos was still alive; it mentions - line 13 - τὸν ἐλλογιμῶτ(ατον) σχολαστικὸ[ν]/[ὄ]μῶν υἱὸν Διόσκορον), cf. also *P. Cairo Masp.* 67097D (διήγημα ἀποκηρυξίως).

He was head of the family by 544 and perhaps already by Dec. 543; *P. Cairo Masp.* 67127 (a. 544), cf. 67087 (a. 543 Dec.; his lands had been robbed). His father is last recorded alive in 541; *P. Cairo Masp.* 67126. Dioscorus was one of the landowners (κτήτορες) at Aphrodito; *P. Cairo Masp.* 67087 (cf. above), 67088, 67116 (a. 548 or 563), 67118 (a. 547), 67130, *P. Lond.* v 1686 (a. 565).

He is attested as πρωτοκομητής of Aphrodito in 547 and in 553 and is recorded as such in several undated papyri; *P. Cairo Masp.* 67128 (a. 547), *P. Cairo Masp.* 67094 (a. 553), *P. Lond.* v 1661 (a. 553), and cf. *P. Lond.* v 1682 and *P. Cairo Masp.* 67067.

In 551 he was involved with a petition from the village to the emperor concerning infringements of its *autopragia* (see Iulianus 13 and Theodosius 9) and, with other prominent villagers, he visited Constantinople; *P. Cairo Masp.* 67024, 67032, 67186, SB 7438, and cf. Palladius 1.

He was still resident in Aphrodito in 553; *P. Cairo Masp.* 67303. By 566 he had moved to Antinoopolis; *P. Cairo Masp.* 67161 (a. 566 Sept. 28; now living in Antinoopolis), and see Victor 4. There he practised as a

nomicus, as attested by a number of documents drafted by him and written in his handwriting. By autumn 573 he was back in Aphrodito; *P. Cairo Masp.* 67096 (cf. below) and cf. Bell, *Aegyptus* vi, p. 178.

He was possibly a *vir clarissimus*; cf. *P. Cairo Masp.* 67066 (undated, addressed τῷ ἐμῷ δεσπ(ότη) τ(ῷ) τ(ᾶ) π(ά)ντ(α) λαμπρο(τάτῳ) κ(αί) εὐδοκίμ(ωτάτῳ) κυρ(ίῳ) Διοσκόρῳ), but in the subscript of 67067 and regularly elsewhere he is usually styled εὐδοκιμώτατος or θαυμασιώτατος.

He is last attested alive in 585; *P. Cairo Masp.* 67111, 67325.

In 573 he was the φροντιστής κουράτωρ of the monastery founded at Aphrodito by his father; *P. Cairo Masp.* 67096. He is also mentioned in *P. Cairo Masp.* 67108 (a. 547), 67127 (a. 544), 67129 (a. 549), 67133 (undated), 67251 (a. 549), *P. Lond.* v 1692a and b, 1698.

The poems composed by him (see above) survive in draft form and record many alternative lines. Among them are eulogies of officials in the Thebaid and of other notables (e.g. Athanasius 3, Callinicus 4, Colluthus 3, Dorotheus 7, Ioannes 59, Phoebammon 4 and Romanus 1). There survives also a eulogy on the emperor Justin II; Heitsch, 1 (= *P. Cairo Masp.* 67183). Dioscorus was also the author of a Greek-Coptic glossary, ed. by H. I. Bell and W. Crum, *Aegyptus* vi (1925), pp. 177ff.

See further *P-W*, Suppl. vi 27-9 (R. Keydell) and *JHS* 64 (1944), pp. 21-36 (H. I. Bell, *An Egyptian Village in the Age of Justinian*). For a study of the life and works of Fl. Dioscorus, see L. S. B. MacCoull, *Dioscorus of Aphrodito, his Work and his World* (1989).

Dioscorus 6 v.c. M VI

Recorded in a papyrus perhaps from Antinoe; *P. Cairo Masp.* 67010, line 14 Διοσκόρο(υ) τοῦ λαμπροτάτου. Perhaps identical with Dioscorus son of Iul(ianus?) mentioned in line 7 of the same document (Διοσκόρου Ἰουλιανού? ...).

Dioscorus 7 v.c. (Egypt) c. 570

Ὁ λαμπροτάτος]; son of Theophile and Phoebammon 2; *P. Cairo Masp.* 67279 Antinoe (c.a. 570).

(FL.) IOANNES (MENAS?) IVSTINIANVS (DEMOS) THE-
NES STR(ATON) (E)LIAS THE(ONAS) (DIO)SCORVS 8
praseses Thebaidis VI

[Φλς] Ἰωάννης Μηνάς? Ἰουστινιανῶς Δημοσθένης Στρίάτων Ἡλίας Θεῶνᾶς Διοσκόρος ὁ μεγαλοπρεπέστατος ἄρχ(ων) τῆς Θεβαίων ἐπαρχείας; he appointed a *riparius* of Aphrodito; *P. Cairo Masp.* 67281 Antinoe (sixth century).

Dioscorus 9 vir gloriosus (Egypt) VI

Recorded in a list of payments in a sixth-century papyrus from Antinoe, jointly with the heirs of a certain Theodorus; *P. Ant.* 110, line 6 μερ(ίς) τῶν ἐνδοξοτ(άτων) Διοσκόρου and the heirs of Theodorus. Cf. also Erythrius.

Dioscorus 10 ?customs official (Egypt) VI/VII

Described as γραμματεὺς ἔθνους Βλεμμείου ἀπὸ κομερκίῳ; recorded as making a loan of money; *BGU* III 972 Latopolite nome. The date is VI/VII, on Epeiph 30 of indiction 15. He was apparently an official concerned with trade with the Blemmyes.

Dioscurides v.c. (in Egypt) VI

Λαμπροτάτος); *P. Oxy.* 2020, line 34 (the document records payments of barley by, among others, his heirs). Presumably a landowner in the Oxyrhynchite nome.

Comitas *qui et* Dipundiaristes

Diviniana (*CIL* vi 31968) V/VI; *PLRE* II.

DIVS v.c., cancellarius and topoteretes of Antaeopolis c. 566/568

Son of Theodosius, grandson of Victor, great-grandson of Iulius; he was τοποτηρητής of Antaeopolis when Athanasius 3 was *dux Thebaidis* (c. 566/8); *P. Cairo Masp.* 67279 = *P. Beaugé* 2, lines 13-15 (καὶ τῆς τοποτηρείας ἐπιλαβόμενος τῆς Ἀνταιοπολιτῶν π[ρ]ῶν, Δίος ὁ λαμπροτάτος) κ[α]γκελλάριος), ὁ καὶ υἱὸς Θεοδοσίου(υ) Βικτωρος Ἰουλίου(υ)). The papyrus, from Antinoe, is undated but was addressed to Callinicus 4.

Dizo (*CIL* v 1646) V/VI; *PLRE* II.

Doda nobilis femina (in Gaul) E VII

Nobilis et religiosa femina; she lived at Nantes and sent supplies of corn to Columbanus; Ionas, *V. Columb.* 1 22 (*MGH, Scr. Rer. Mer.* IV, p. 97).

Dodo son of Severus; in Gaul L VI

For the name, cf. Förstemann 412.

Son of Severus 3, brother of Burgolenus; he and his brother brought charges against their father, probably in 578, and secured his exile but subsequently were themselves accused of treason and executed; their property, which was considerable, was confiscated; *Greg. Tur. Hist.* v 25.

Gundegiselus *qui et Dodo*

Dolabza

Persian satrap 591

Persian envoy to Maurice in autumn 590 in Constantinople; Theoph. Sim. v 16.6 (Δαλαυζάν τον Πέρσην).

A satrap, sent by Chosroes to Maurice at Constantinople in early 591 to deliver the keys of Dara; Theoph. Sim. v 3.10 (Δολαβζάν τον σατράπην).

On the chronology, cf. Whitby, pp. 136, n. 13, 156, n. 91.

His name was Hormisdas Jurābzīn (Julābzīn); Noeldeke, *Tabari*, p. 289, note, and see Justi, pp. 8-9, s.n. Ahura-mazdāh, no. 24.

Domegiselus

Frankish notable M/L VI

Possibly a native of Angers; see below.

He served under Chilperic, who sent him as envoy to Spain with Ansoaldus in 582 to discuss Riginthis' dowry; Greg. Tur. *HF* vi 18. In autumn 584 he was one of the *virī magnifici* who escorted Riginthis when she left Paris for Spain; Greg. Tur. *HF* vi 45.

After Chilperic's death he perhaps retired into private life at Angers. In 585 he played a leading role among the citizens of Angers in expelling Theodulfus, a new *comes* sent by Guntram; Greg. Tur. *HF* viii 18 (Angers was technically subject to Chilperic's son Chlotharius II). In the same year he and Beppolenus clashed but came to terms; Greg. Tur. *HF* viii 42.

Domentianus

dux et augustalis (or ?praeses) Arcadiae 640-641; ?patricius 641

Younger brother of Eudocianus, he was the brother-in-law of Cyrus 17; Joh. Nik. 116.11 (p. 566 Zotenberg), 119.8.10 (pp. 570-1).

DVX ET AVGVSTALIS (OR ?PRAESES) ARCADIAE a. 640-641: he was in office in 'the city of Fayum' (Piom; presumably identical with Arsinoe, the chief city in the Fayum, modern Madīnat al-Fayyūm) and Abūīt in July 640; Joh. Nik. 112.11-12 (p. 559). He is styled prefect, Joh. Nik. 116.11 (p. 566), 119.6 (p. 570); and general, Joh. Nik. 118.4 (p. 568) (in command of soldiers), 119.17 (p. 571). He was either the immediate successor of Theodosius 41 as *dux et augustalis* of Arcadia, or else civil governor of Arcadia.

In July 640, after the Roman defeat at Heliopolis, he fled from 'the city of Fayum' to Abūīt and from Abūīt (apparently close to the Nile) to Nikiu; the Arab forces under 'Amr then occupied the Fayum; Joh.

Nik. 112.11-12 (p. 559). In autumn 640 he was left in Nikiu with a few troops to guard the city; Joh. Nik. 113.5 (p. 560). He was joined there by Kalādji (and perhaps by Theodorus 166); Joh. Nik. 114.8 (p. 561). During the siege of Babylon he and Theodorus were unable to reach the fortress to help the inhabitants; Joh. Nik. 115.8 (p. 562) (and see Theodorus 166). In spring 641 he was attacked in Nikiu by 'Amr; at the news of the Arabs' approach he boarded a ship and escaped to Alexandria, deserting his troops and his fleet, who panicked and fled; many were killed and the Arabs seized Nikiu and much of the area, massacring the inhabitants wholesale; Joh. Nik. 118.4-5 (p. 568), and cf. index 117(118).

In Alexandria there was great disunity among the Roman officials and Domentianus was heavily involved; he and Menas 41 were at loggerheads and Theodorus 166 refused to forgive Domentianus for his flight from Nikiu; he was hostile towards Cyrus, formerly his friend (now in exile); he was partly to blame for outbreaks of street fighting in Alexandria, recruiting partisans of the Blue faction and using them against his opponents; Joh. Nik. 119.6.9.10.16 (pp. 570-1). Eventually he was dismissed from his office by Theodorus and expelled from Alexandria; Joh. Nik. 119.17 (p. 571), 120.10 (p. 573) (apparently two references to the same event) (probably after the return of Cyrus).

He wanted to make peace with the Arabs and discussed this with Cyrus after the latter's return; he seems to have had the support of the empress Martina; Joh. Nik. 120.1 (p. 573).

In late 641 Domentianus was with other high-ranking persons ('les autres patrices') who accompanied Valentinus 5 when he crowned as emperor Constantine the younger (i.e. Constans II); Joh. Nik. 120.44 (p. 579). He was perhaps a *patricius*.

Domentzia 1

mother of Phocas L VI

Mother of the emperor Phocas; Joh. Ant. fr. 218 d (Δυσμενζιανή, MS; cf. Domentzia 2).

Domentzia 2

daughter of Phocas L VI/E VII

Δομεντζία; Theoph. (Domentzia, Anast. Bibl.). Δομεντζιά; Zon., Nic. Call. Δυσμενζιανή, MS of Joh. Ant.

Daughter of the emperor Phocas (and Leontia); in 607 she married Priscus 6; Joh. Ant. fr. 218d, 218e, Theoph. AM 6099, Zon. xiv 14, Nic. Call. *HE* xviii 55.

Domentziolus: see Domentziolus.

Domianus: see Damianus.

Dominica 1 wife of Florentius E/M VI

Wife of Florentius 3; mother of Apollinaris 3; r(everendissima) f(emina); she died aged about sixty-eight and was buried in Sept. 569 at Ravenna; *CIL* xi 317 = *ILCV* 622 Ravenna.

DOMINICA 2 ?c.f. (East) 590-597

Named in letters from pope Gregory to Narses 9 at Constantinople in 590, 593 and 597, in which Gregory sent greetings to her; *Greg. Ep.* i 6 (cited under Narses), iii 63 (cited below), vii 27 (gloriosas autem filias meas domnam Domnicam et domnam Eudochiam mea vice salutate). She was possibly a daughter of Narses and Hesychia and sister of Eudochia.

In 593 she wrote a letter to Gregory who refused to reply because, although a Latin, she wrote in Greek; *Greg. Ep.* iii 63 (domnae Domnicae salutes meas dicite, cui minime respondi, quia cum sit Latina graece mihi scripsit). She was therefore of western origin, presumably a member of one of the senatorial families which settled in Constantinople in the sixth century, and consequently either Narses or Hesychia, if not both, was of western descent.

She apparently held some post at the imperial court but by 597 had become the head of a convent where Gregory asked Narses to ensure that she could devote herself to the religious life free from worldly distractions; *Greg. Ep.* vii 27 (sed quia praedictam domnam Domnicam iam diu est quod audio praepositam factam, hoc circa eam vestra caritas vigilet, ut, quia iam servire in labore terreni palatii non compellitur, omnes mundi huius perfecte strepitu fugiat, totam se Deo conferat).

Dominica 3 gloriosa femina (in Italy) L VI

Gloriosa filia; wife of Ioannes; urged to join her husband in Rome which he was unable to leave; *Greg. Ep.* vii 34 (a. 597 July). Her husband was Ioannes 109, city prefect of Rome from 597 to 599. In 599 arrangements to protect her on her journey to rejoin her husband in Rome were made with Theodorus 49 and bishop Marinianus, both at Ravenna; *Greg. Ep.* ix 116, 117 (a. 599 Feb./April; she is here the unnamed wife of Ioannes 109). Presumably she lived in Ravenna.

Dominicus 1 notarius (at Grado) 571/586

Dominicus notar(ius) vot(um) solvit; *AE* 1975, 416q on a mosaic pavement in the cathedral at Grado, from the time of bishop Elias (a. 571/586). He was perhaps an ecclesiastical official.

Dominicus 2 secretarius (?cleric) 591

Secretarius; one of those whom the subdeacon and rector Peter was

instructed to question concerning missing church vessels; *Greg. Ep.* i 42 (a. 591 May). He may well be an ecclesiastical official.

Domitianus

nephew of the emperor Maurice; bishop of Melitene c. 580-602/603

Son of Petrus 55 (the brother of Maurice); *Chron.* 1234, lxxxii, Mich. Syr. x 23, cf. Joh. Nik. 96.5.13, 99.2 (pp. 527, 528, 535 Zotenberg) (son of Maurice's paternal uncle). Described as a relative of Maurice; Joh. Eph. *HE* iii 5.19, Evagr. *HE* vi 18, Theoph. Sim. iv 14.5, viii 11.10, Theoph. AM 6081, AM 6094, Nic. Call. *HE* xviii 20, *Chron.* 1234, lxxvi.

Bishop of Melitene c.a. 580-602/603: appointed by Maurice in c. 580 (cf. Mauricius, p. 858); Joh. Eph. *HE* iii 5.19 (about two years before Maurice became emperor), cf. *Chron.* 1234, lxxvi (his appointment). Bishop of Melitene; Evagr. *HE* vi 18, Theoph. Sim. iv 14.5, v 3.1, viii 11.11, Theoph. AM 6081, AM 6094, Nic. Call. *HE* xviii 20, Joh. Nik. 96.5.13, 99.2 (pp. 527, 528, 535), Mich. Syr. x 23, 25, *Chron.* 1234, lxxxii. For his death, see below.

He was a close confidant and adviser of Maurice; Joh. Eph. *HE* iii 5.19. An able and astute adviser, he was employed by the emperor on important affairs of state; Theoph. Sim. viii 11.11. In 587/588 he was one of the prominent persons to whom Childebert II wrote to seek support for peace between the Romans and the Franks; *Ep. Austras.* 33 (*MGH, Epp.* iii, p. 142). In 590 he was involved in the restoration of the Persian king Chosroes and was sent to join him at Constantina; Evagr. *HE* vi 18, Theoph. Sim. iv 14.5, Nic. Call. *HE* xviii 20. He secured the surrender of Martyropolis; Theoph. Sim. iv 15.9. Later he accompanied the expedition under Narses 10 and Chosroes as far as Mardin; Theoph. Sim. v 3.1. In 598/599 he was authorised by Maurice to begin a persecution of monophysites; Mich. Syr. x 23, 25, *Chron.* 1234, lxxxii, *Chron.* 724, p. 145 = p. 112, *Chron.* 819 ad a. 910.

In Maurice's will, made in 596/597 and discovered in the reign of Heraclius, Domitianus was named as guardian of the emperor's children; Theoph. Sim. viii 11.10-11.

Domitianus died on Jan. 12, 602, and was buried at Constantinople in the church of the Holy Apostles; Theoph. AM 6094.

He received several letters from pope Gregory; *Ep.* iii 62 (a. 593 Aug.), v 43 (a. 595 June 1), ix 4 (a. 598 Sept./Oct.). Addressee of one of the theological works of the (pro-Chalcedonian) bishop of Alexandria, Eulogius; Phot. *Bibl.* 225.

See further Honigmann, *Studi e Testi* 173, pp. 217-223, and Paret, *REB* 15 (1957), pp. 42-72.

Domitius (Rossi II, p. 113, n. 77) V/VI: *PLRE* II.

DOMITIVS I vir magnificus (at Naples) 598-599

Vir magnificus, associated with **Faustus 2** in 598; *Greg. Ep.* IX 76 (a. 598 Nov./Dec.). See further **Faustus**.

Vir magnificus, asked Gregory in 599 to intercede with **Maurentius 3** on behalf of his son who wanted a license for sailing; *Greg. Ep.* IX 159 (a. 599 May/June; to **Maurentius**).

Possibly one of the *seniores* of Naples.

Domitius 2 honorary consul VII

Δομιτίου ἀπὸ ὑπάτων; *Zacos* 792 = *Dumbarton Oaks seal* 58.106.1932 (seal: obv.: +ΔΟ/ΜΙΤΙ/ΟV; rev.: +ΑΠ/ΟVΠΑ/ΤΩN).

Domitius 3 patricius 639

Ὁ πατρικίος Δομίτιος, one of the highest dignitaries in the imperial procession to Hagia Sophia on Jan. 1, 639; *Const. Porph. de cer.* II 28. See further **Nicetas 8**.

Domnellus erogator (at Ravenna) (?598-?)599

Addressee of two letters from pope Gregory in 599, both addressed 'Domnello erogatori'; *Greg. Ep.* IX 173 (a. 599 July; he is styled 'vestra magnitudo'), 240 (a. 599 Aug.; he is styled 'gloria vestra' and 'magnitudo vestra'). In July 599 Gregory hoped that he would soon visit Rome; *Ep.* IX 173. He wrote to Gregory complaining of bad health; Gregory replied with the wish that God 'qui vos miseram et deiectam diligere fecit Italiam' would cure him and also expressing satisfaction that he had been reappointed to undertake the duties of military paymaster and had accepted, in spite of his reluctance (de militari enim roga, quam vos contra voluntatem vestram principali significastis iussione iterum suscepisse, omnino sumus libenter amplexi scientes quod magnitudo vestra cautiore salubriorique provisione militari necessitati concurrat); **Domnellus** was at Ravenna and in contact with the exarch; *Ep.* IX 240.

He was an imperial appointee, apparently of the rank of *gloriosissimus* ('gloria vestra'), sent to Italy to manage the finances of the army; in 599 his appointment was renewed, suggesting that he was first sent as *erogator* in 598. To judge by his functions, he may in fact have been the *sacellarius*; cf. *Greg. Ep.* V 39 (a. 595 June 1; Gregory writes: breviter indico quia,

sicut in Ravennae partibus dominorum pietas apud primicerius Italiae saccellarium habet, qui causis supervenientibus cotidianas expensas faciat, ita et in hac urbe in causis talibus eorum saccellarius ego sum).

Domnentiolus military commander (in Sicily) 550

Domnentiolus; *Proc.*, *Men. Prot.* (MSS Δομενεντιόλου). **Dometioli**; *Joh. Mal. Domentziolus*; *Theoph. Domitziolus*; *Zach. Comentioli*; *Theoph. Byz.* (= *Phot.*).

Nephew (sister's son) of **Buzes**; *Zach. HE* IX 4, *Proc. BG* III 39.3. Therefore nephew also of **Cutzes** and **Benilus**. Father of **Ioannes 81**; *Joh. Mal.* 493, *Joh. Mal. fr.* 49 (*Exc. de ins.*, pp. 173-4), *Men. Prot. fr.* 15, *Theoph. AM* 6055. For the reference in *Theoph. Byz. fr.* 1 = *Phot. Bibl.* 64, see **Ioannes**. See stemma 13.

In April 531 (about the time of the battle of Callinicum) **Domnentiolus** was sent by **Buzes**, who was ill in Amida, with an army to Abhgārsāt (site unknown); the army was defeated and **Domnentiolus** captured and carried away to Persia; *Zach. HE* IX 4. After peace was concluded in 532 he returned from Persia in an exchange of prisoners; *Zach. HE* IX 5.

In 543 he was one of the Roman commanders (οἱ Ῥωμαίων ἄρχοντες) on the eastern front; before the campaign he camped at Phison near Martyropolis with **Iustus 2**, **Peranius**, **Ioannes 32** and **Ioannes 64**; *Proc. BP* II 24.15. They crossed the Persian frontier at the nearest point when they heard that the other Roman generals had invaded (cf. **Petrus** (*PLRE* II, p. 870), **Philemuth**, **Verus**, **Martinus 2** and **Valerianus 1**) but failed to unite with them; *Proc. BP* II 24.20. They invaded the district of Taraunitis, took a small amount of plunder, and then withdrew to Roman territory; *Proc. BP* II 25.35.

In 550 **Domnentiolus** was commander of Roman forces in Messana in Sicily (τῶν τῆδε Ῥωμαίων ἡρχεν); when the Goths under **Totila** attacked Messana, he came outside the fortifications and engaged them in battle; he checked them, but then withdrew back inside to concentrate on defence, leaving the countryside unprotected; *Proc. BG* III 39.3-4.

Domentziolus I curator domus Hormisdæ ?578/579

Domitziolus; *Joh. Eph. Domnitziolus*; *Chron. Pasch.* **Domentziolus**; *Theoph. Sim.*, *Theoph.*

Uncle (or possibly cousin) of **Patricius 9**; *Chron. Pasch.* s.a. 605.

CURATOR DOMVS HORMISDAE ?a. 578/579: in office as 'curator ('oconomus') domus regiae' in 578/579; *Joh. Eph. HE* III 6.28 (for the date, see below). Attested in 605 as formerly *curator domus Hormisdæ*; *Chron. Pasch.* s.a. 605 (Δομνιζιόλου κουράτορος γενομένου τῶν Ὀρμ-

ισδου). He was certainly *curator domus* in 578/579, but not necessarily yet *curator domus Hormisdæ*.

Sent to Armenia by Tiberius in 578/579 with gold to pay the troops, mutinous because they had not been paid; Joh. Eph. *HE* III 6.28. For the date, see Feissel, *Travaux et Mémoires* 9 (1985), pp. 472-3 with n. 33.

Sent again to Armenia by Maurice on the occasion of the Armenian revolt of 589 in which Ioannes 100 was murdered; he put down the rebellion and sent its leader Symbatius to Constantinople for punishment; he is described as one of the leaders of the senate and a man of distinction close to Maurice (ἄνδρα περιφανῆ φιλιώτατόν τε καὶ ἐς συγκλήτου βουλὴν ἐν τοῖς κορυφαιοτέροις προλάμποντα); Theoph. Sim. III 8.5-6.

Mentioned again in 602 when he and the PPO Constantinus 33 Lardys put pressure on the Green faction to appoint a man called Crucis as their διοικητής; Theoph. AM 6094.

Dommentziolus 2 honorary consul VII

Δομμεντζιόλω ὑπάτω; Zacos 1454 (seal; obv.: cruciform monogram of Θεοτόκε βοήθει; rev.: +ΔΟ/MNENT/ZIOΛΩ/VΠAT/[Ω?]).

Domnica 1 mother of Agnellus ?VI

Wife of Ioannes 151, mother of Agnellus 3 and Maximus 8; *AE* 1973, 250 = 1975, 422g Trieste. See Agnellus.

Domnica 2 patricia VI/VII

Δομνίκας πατρικ[ί]ας; Zacos 793 = Dumbarton Oaks seal 58.106.5179 (seal; obv.: +ΔΟ/MNIK/AC; rev.: ΠΑ/ΤΡΙΚ/[Ι]AC).

DOMNICIR (IVS?) v.c., optio numeri (in Italy) E VII

Domnicir(ius?) v.c. optio num(eri) eq(uitum) Sermisi(ani); witness of a donation drawn up in Rome; Marini, *P. Dip.* 92 = *P. Ital.* 18-19B, lines 53, 66. see Stephanus 58.

Domnicus (*CIL* v 1586) V/VI: *PLRE* II.

DOMNICVS 1 (v.c.) (in Italy) ?534

'Domnicus vero quidam unus e principibus terrae (= Italy) iram contra tyrannum habebat, et apud regem Iustinianum confugit, eumque de regione docuit'; he was elderly, learned in the Scriptures, and a Chalcedonian; he frequently disputed (on religious matters) and was known personally to the author (pseudo-Zacharias); Zach. *HE* IX 18. He was perhaps one of the western aristocrats sent by Theodahad to defend

his conduct before Justinian in late 534, most of whom chose instead to attack him and evidently remained in the east; see Liberius (*PLRE* II, p. 679) and Opilio (*PLRE* II, p. 808), and cf. Proc. *BG* I 4.15.23-5.

Since Domnicus 2 was already PPO of Illyricum in March 535, it seems unlikely that this is the same man; nor is this man, already elderly, likely to be identical with Domnicus 3.

Domnicus (Dominicus) 2 v. glor., PPO per Illyricum 535-540

VIR GLORIOSISSIMVS, PPO PER ILLYRICVM a. 535 March 16-540 April 7: in office a. 535, March 16, Just. *Nov.* 6 epil. (Δομνίκω τῷ ἐνδοξοτάτῳ ἐπάρχῳ τῶν παρὰ Ἰλλυριοῖς ἱερῶν praetoriῶν); April 15, Just. *Nov.* 7 epil. (as *Nov.* 6, but reading πραιτωρίων); April 19, Just. *Nov.* 8 iusiurandum (Dominico gloriosissimo praefecto apud Illyricum praetorium); June 15, Just. *Nov.* 33 (Dominico viro illustri praefecto praetorio per Illyricum); a. 539 June 9, Just. *Nov.* 162 (Δομνίκω τῷ ἐνδοξοτάτῳ ἐπάρχῳ; concerning Illyricum); a. 540 April 7, *Nov. App.* 1 (Dominico praefecto; concerning Illyricum). Also attested in Just. *Nov.* 165 (Δομνίκω τῷ ἐνδοξοτάτῳ ἐπάρχῳ), which cites *Nov.* 63 of 538 March 9.

Fl. Domnicus 3

comes domesticorum (536-540; honorary consul and patricius 540

Flavius Domnicus; *Coll. Avell.* 93.7.

A member of the senate (ἐκ βουλῆς; also Proc. *BG* II 29.1) (see below); in 536 he was sent to Africa with Germanus (*PLRE* II, p. 506) and Symmachus 2 after the rebellion of Stotzas; he assumed command of the infantry (τῷ πεζῷ στρατῷ ἐπιστατήσων) in succession to Ioannes 16 (of Epidamnus) who had died; Proc. *BV* II 16.2. He commanded the infantry of Germanus at the battle of Cellas (Scalas) Veteres in 537; Proc. *BV* II 17.4. He was recalled to Constantinople with Germanus and Symmachus in 539; Proc. *BV* II 19.1.

Since he was already a member of the senate he was probably already *comes domesticorum* in 536 (see below); for the granting of this title in order to confer the rank of *illustis* (i.e. membership of the senate), see Cass. *Var.* VI 11, and cf. *PLRE* II, pp. 879 (Philoxenus 8) and 880 (Phlegethius 2). For his African command (536-539) he may have been *MVM vacans*; if so he had relinquished the title by 540.

In early 540 he and Maximinus 2 were sent by Justinian as envoys to the Goths under Vitigis in Ravenna; Proc. *BG* II 29.1-7.22-3. See further Maximinus and cf. Belisarius, p. 206. He also took to Italy a letter from Justinian to pope Vigilius and returned to Constantinople later in the year with letters from Vigilius to the emperor and the

patriarch Menas, both on matters of faith, to which Domnicus appended his own signature by way of approval (see below); *Coll. Avell.* 92.1.16 (undated; to Justinian), 93.1.7 (a. 540 Sept. 17; to Menas).

COMES DOMESTICORVM a. (536?–)540; and EX CONSVLE ET PATRICIVS a. 540: in appending his signature he listed his own titles; *Coll. Avell.* 93.7 (ET ALIA MANV SUSCRIPTIO PATRICII DOMINICI. Flavius Domnicus v.c. comes domesticorum, ex consule ac patricius has scidas a beatissimo atque apostolico papa Vigilio in causa fidei factas ad domnum nostrum Iustinianum... sed et ad Menam virum beatissimum Constantino-politanae episcopum civitatis relegens conferens consentiensque suscripsi die XV kal. Octobr. Iustino v.c. consul.). Gloriosus vir filius noster Domnicus ex consule atque patricius; *Coll. Avell.* 92.1. Patricius; *Coll. Avell.* 93.1. On the *comitiva domesticorum*, see above.

The letters of Vigilius supported the decisions of the council of Constantinople in 536 against the monophysites and in favour of Chalcedon; Domnicus was therefore himself an orthodox Chalcedonian.

Domninus (*MAMA* VIII 323) L V/VII: *PLRE* II.

Domninus I cancellarius of the PPO M VI

Addressee of an encomium by Fl. Dioscorus 5; *P. Cairo Masp.* 67316 = Heitsch XLII 7, verso 9–10 (Εἰς τὸν [κρί ? Δ]ομνινὸν τὸν καγκελλάριον τῶν ἐπάρχων)/[ἐγκώμια] μετὰ ἀκροστοιχίδος; the acrostich runs: εἰς τὸν κ.1... Δομνινὸν χ ε). The word before Domninus seems to have been something like κριτην; the letters χ ε suggest χ(αρτουλάριον) ἐ(πάρχων).

Domninus 2 ?PVC c. 567

Early in the reign of Justin II Domninus renovated and adorned with statues of Justin and Sophia the lawcourts (praetorium) at Constantinople; *Anth. Gr.* IX 658 (by Paul the Silentiary; Κόσμον Ἰουστίνου βασιλεὺς ῥυτίπωντα καθήρας / καὶ τὰ μέγιστα Δίκης ἠγλαΐσεν τεμένη / σοῖς δὲ πόνοις, Δομνῖνε, κατηφέα νύκτα διώκει / ἐκ Θέμιδος μεγάρων, ἐκ βιοτῆς μερόπων; the lemmata of Librarius B and Planudes both allude to τὸ μέγα πραιτώριον), 659 (by Theaetetus *scholasticus*; ὡς ἀγαθὸν καὶ παῖς ἐπὶ γῆραι· παιδροτέρους γὰρ / Δομνῖνος θαλάμους μητρὸς ἔτευξε Δίκης. / λάμπω ἐγὼ διὰ παιδός, ὁ παῖς δ' ἐμείο φαίνει· / κύδεα δ' ἀλλήλοις ἀντιχαριζόμεθα), 812 (Anonymous; Θεῖον Ἰουστίνου, καθαρὸν φρουρήτορα θεσμών, / Δομνῖνος καθαρῆς ἐν προθύροισι Δίκης), 813 (Anonymous; τῆς Σοφίης τὸδ' ἄγαλμα Δίκης προπάροιθε θυράων, / οὐ γὰρ ἀνευθε δίκης ἔπρεπε τὴν σοφίην). The first two poems were included in the *Cycle* of Agathias, the second two possibly not; cf. McCail, *JHS* 89 (1969), p. 94. None of these poems alludes unambiguously to

Domninus as one who administered justice, although IX 659 could be so interpreted. However, as the renovator of the *praetorium*, here almost certainly that of the PVC, he was very probably the holder of that office. If he was, he held it after Iulianus 15, and therefore not before 567, and probably not much later; cf. Alan and Averil Cameron, *JHS* 86 (1966), pp. 21–2.

Fl. Marianus Michaelius Gabriellus Sergius Bacchus Narses Conon Anastasius Domninus Theodorus Callinicus.

Domnitiolus I brother of Phocas; Mag. Off. 603–610

Δομνιτζίολος; Joh. Ant. Δομεντίολος; Nic. *Brev.* Δομεντζίολος; Theoph. Nicknamed ὁ Κουδόχειρ; Joh. Ant. fr. 218f.

Brother of the emperor Phocas; Joh. Ant. fr. 218f (*FHG* v 38), Nic. *Brev.* 5, Theoph. AM 6095, 6102. Therefore brother also of Comentiolus 2 and probably uncle of Domnitiolus 2 (with whom he is confused in later Byzantine sources). Also recorded in the late Chronicle of Theodorus Scutariotes, in Sathas, *Μεσαιωνικὴ Βιβλιοθήκη* VII 107, cited in Kaegi, *New Evidence*, p. 311.

MAG. OFF. a. 603–610: appointed by Phocas in 603; Theoph. AM 6095 (ἐποίησε δὲ Φωκᾶς τὸν ἴδιον ἀδελφὸν Δομεντζίολον μάγιστρον). Still *magister* in 610, when sent by Phocas to guard the Long Walls against Heraclius; on receiving news that Heraclius had reached Abydos, he abandoned the walls and fled back to Constantinople; Theoph. AM 6102 (τὸν ἀδελφὸν αὐτοῦ, Δομεντίολον τὸν μάγιστρον). After the overthrow of Phocas he was executed on Heraclius' orders; Joh. Ant. fr. 218f, Nic. *Brev.* 5.

Domnitiolus 2

nephew of Phocas; patricius and curapalates 603–610

Δομνιτζίολος; *V. Theod. Syc.* Δομεντζίολος; Theoph., Cedr., Zon.

Nephew (ἀνεψίος) of Phocas; *V. Theod. Syc.* 120, Theoph. AM 6096. In Cedr. I 710 and Zon. XIV 14 he is called the brother of Phocas and (Zon.) *magister*, through confusion with Domnitiolus I. Husband of Irene, by whom he had three sons; *V. Theod. Syc.* 140 (when Theodore visited Constantinople they were still childless but the holy man foretold that they would have children).

VIR GLORIOSISSIMVS, PATRICIVS ET CVRAPALATES a. 603–610: appointed by Phocas, *V. Theod. Syc.* 120 (Δομνιτζίολου τοῦ ἀνεψίου αὐτοῦ πατρικίου καὶ κουροπαλάτου γενομένου). Ὁ ἐνδοξότατος πατρικίος καὶ κουροπαλάτης; *V. Theod. Syc.* 128, 140, 148. Κουραπαλάτης; *V. Theod. Syc.* 152 (in 610), Theoph. AM 6096 (in 604) (cited below).

In 604 he was appointed MVM PER ORIENTEM in place of Leontius 29

and sent to the east to continue the war with the Persians; *V. Theod. Syc.* 120 (sent by Phocas to the east ἐπὶ τὸ λαβεῖν τὸν στράτον καὶ ἀντιπαρατάξασθαι τῷ τῶν Περσῶν ἔθνει), *Theoph. AM* 6096 (Phocas dismissed Leontius καὶ χειροτονεῖ στρατηγὸν Δομεντζιόλον τὸν ἴδιον ἀνέμιον ὃν καὶ κουροπαλάτην ἐποίησεν), *Cedr.* 1 710. On his way eastwards, at Heliopolis (in Galatia), he learnt of the Lazic attack on Cappadocia and the conspiracy of Sergius 41; he waited there until they had withdrawn, visiting Theodore of Syceon meanwhile, and then proceeded to the east to join his troops; he subsequently fell into a Persian ambush but escaped, as Theodore had foretold; on his return to Constantinople he visited the saint and subsequently on his journeys back and forth he frequently visited him and gave generously to convents; *V. Theod. Syc.* 120, cf. 148 (on one such visit he flogged the tax-collector Megethius for failing to supply horses).

In 605 he persuaded Narses 10 to surrender, on promises of his safety, and sent him to Phocas (who had him executed); *Theoph. AM* 6097, *Cedr.* 1 710, *Zon.* xiv 14 (παρὰ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ τοῦ Φωκᾶ τοῦ μαγίστρου Δομεντζιόλου; see above).

While still *curapalates*, late in Phocas' reign (after Thomas had succeeded Cyriacus as patriarch of Constantinople in 607), he gave a quantity of gold to a jeweller at Constantinople to be made into a crucifix; Thomas gave relics to be incorporated in it; *V. Theod. Syc.* 128.

In 610, after the overthrow of Phocas, he was arrested and condemned to death by Heraclius but was pardoned after the intercession of Theodore of Syceon; *V. Theod. Syc.* 152.

Owner of a *domus* at Arcadianae (τὸν οἶκον αὐτοῦ ἐν Ἀρκαδιαναῖς); *V. Theod. Syc.* 140. On the district of Constantinople known as Arcadianae, see Janin, *Const. Byz.*, pp. 292–3.

Domnola wife of Burgolenus L VI

Daughter of bishop Victorius of Rennes, wife first of Burgolenus and then of Nectarius; she disputed ownership of a vineyard with Bobolenus, claiming that it was once her father's, and was attacked by him and killed with a number of her servants while attempting to occupy it; *Greg. Tur. HF* viii 32 (in 585), cf. 43 (wife of Nectarius; her murder was avenged by Antestius). The vineyard may have been at Angers; cf. Bobolenus.

Presumably mother of Constantina by Burgolenus; *Greg. Tur. HF* ix 40.

Domnolus domesticus (of Guntram) 585

Domesticus; sent by Guntram in 585 with Wandalmar 1 to convey

Mummolus 2's wife (Sidonia) and treasures from Avignon to the king; *Fredegar. iv* 4, cf. *Greg. Tur. HF* vii 40 (not named).

Fl. Rusticius Helpidius Domnulus: comes consistorianus (West) V/VI; *PLRE* II.

Domolenus tribunus fisci (in Gaul) 587

Tribunus fisci cognomento Domolenus; during an illness, he was instructed in a dream by Radegundis to build a church to St Martin in a certain place where relics lay and also, if he wished to regain his health, to release those held in custody by him; he discovered that the day of his dream was the very day on which Radegundis died (Aug. 13, 587, cf. *Greg. Tur. HF* ix 2); he released his prisoners, his health was restored, and the church was duly built; *Ven. Fort. V. S. Radeg.* xxxviii 87–90.

Donatus 1 doctor (in Burgundy) M/L VI

In late 580 he and Nicolaus 1 were executed after the death of their patient, Austregildis, wife of king Guntram; *Mar. Avent. s.a.* 581, cf. *Greg. Tur. HF* v 25 (not named) and see further Austregildis.

Donatus 2 officialis of the dux Sardiniae 591

In 591 he claimed the monastery (and estates) of St Vitus in Sardinia and, relying on the protection of the dux Theodorus 42, refused to allow the case to be judged; he was an *officialis* of the dux (*officialis vester*); *Greg. Ep.* i 46 (a. 591 June; to Theodorus).

Perhaps identical with the landowner Donatus whose field was ploughed up in 598 by bishop Ianuarius of Cagliari; *Greg. Ep.* ix 11 (a. 598 Oct.).

Donatus 3 primicerius (in Africa) M VI/E VII

Primicerius, recorded at Theveste; *CIL* viii 10637 = *ILCV* 488A = *ILAlg.* i 3433 = Pringle, no. 59 Theveste.

DONVS 1 v.s.; ecclesiastical notarius (Ravenna) 625

Donus v(ir) s(pectabilis) notarius et scriniarius s(an)c(t)ae Ravennatis eccl(esi)ae; ordered the registration of a donation (by the subdeacon Deusdedit) to the church of Ravenna in June 625; Marini, *P. Dip.* 94 = *P. Ital.* 21, lines 2, 3, 8 (dated in June of indiction 13, year 15 of Heraclius and 14 of his post consular years).

Donus 2 MVM et sacellarius (in Italy) 643/644

Sent with troops to Rome by Isaac 8, probably in 643 or 644, to suppress the revolt of Mauricius 8; on his arrival the revolt collapsed and

he sent Mauricius to Isaac at Ravenna under the *scribo* Maurinus 2 and the *chartularius* Thomas 33; *Lib. Pont.* 75 (misit Donum magistrum militum et sacellarium suum). See further Isaac and Mauricius.

Donus was the exarch's treasurer; his role in 643/644 suggests that the title *magister militum* was also a real office and he would therefore have combined two functions, but the combination of an honorific title with a financial office is well attested on seals (even though this particular combination is not attested); cf. e.g. Diomedes 4, Georgius 69, Ioannes 267, Paulus 58, Stephanus 38 and Theodorus 177.

Dorotheus 1 cavalry commander 530

One of the cavalry commanders in the army of Belisarius at the battle of Dara in 530; he was stationed on the right wing with Germanus 1, Ioannes 32, Cyrillus 2 and Marcellus 2; *Proc. BP* I 13.21.

Probably not identical with the MVM Dorotheus 2 who was apparently in Armenia when Dara was fought.

Dorotheus 2 MVM per Armeniam 530-533

MVM PER ARMENIAM a. 530-533: ἐτύγχανε δὲ Ἀρμενίας μὲν στρατηγὸς Δωρόθεος ὢν (in 530); *Proc. BP* I 15.3. Ὁ τῆς Ἀρμενίας στρατηγότης (in 531); *Joh. Mal.* 469, 472. Ὁ τῶν ἐν Ἀρμενίῳ καταλόγων στρατηγός (in 533); *Proc. BV* I 11.5, 14.14. In 530 Dorotheus was in Armenia under the authority of the MVM *praesentalis* Sittas 1; *Proc. BP* I 15.3, 15.11. On learning that the Persians were gathering an army near Theodosiopolis, they sent spies (cf. Dagaris) to their camp to gather information and then launched a surprise attack; the Persians fled and the Romans plundered their camp and returned home; *Proc. BP* I 15.1-8. Some time later Sittas and Dorotheus were in Satala when the Persians under Mermeroes invaded and made camp close by; according to Procopius, the Roman numbers were less than half those of the enemy (estimated at at least thirty thousand); Dorotheus remained in the city with the main army while Sittas with a small force went up into the hills; then when the Persians invested Satala, Sittas took them in the rear and Dorotheus attacked from the city; after a hard fight the Persians retreated to their camp and on the next day returned home unhindered by the Romans who chose not to pursue; *Proc. BP* I 15.9-17.

In 531, after the battle of Callinicum, Dorotheus led a Roman force in an attack on Persia (probably Persian Armenia) in which he killed Persarmenians and Persians and captured many Persian strongholds; among the latter was one in which Persian traders used to store their valuables because of its security and Dorotheus wrote to inform Justinian who sent Narses 1 to collect the contents; *Joh. Mal.* 469. Later in 531 he

was instructed by Rufinus (*PLRE* II, p. 956) to take action against a raiding party of Sabirian Huns who had penetrated down through Armenia as far as Euphratensis and Cilicia Secunda; at the news they retreated but Dorotheus followed and recaptured from them a large quantity of loot; *Joh. Mal.* 472.

In 533 Dorotheus was appointed one of the nine commanders of *foederati* (ἄρχοντες φοιδεράτων) on the expedition under Belisarius against the Vandals; *Proc. BV* I 11.5 (for the others, see Althias). He died en route at Caucana in Sicily; *Proc. BV* I 14.14.

Procopius described him as intelligent and experienced in warfare; *Proc. BP* I 15.3 (ἀνὴρ συνετός τε καὶ πολέμων πολλῶν ἔμπειρος).

Dorotheus 3 military commander (?tribunus) (East) 531

At the battle of Callinicum (April 19, 531; cf. Belisarius, p. 185) Dorotheus and Mamas were in command of the Isaurian troops (ἑξαρχοὶ Ἰσαύρων) stationed on the southern flank of the Roman army, next to Arethas and the Arabs; *Joh. Mal.* 463 (in this passage the word ἑξαρχοὶ is employed of Roman commanders in general and does not have a technical meaning). During the battle, after the Arabs fled, the Isaurians are said to have fled also, plunging into the Euphrates to try and cross; *Joh. Mal.* 464. Most of the Isaurians and their commanders (σὺν τοῖς ἄρχουσιν) died in the battle; *Proc. BP* I 18.38. It is possible that these two led the Isaurians only in the battle and that Longinus and Stephanacius were in command of them during the preceding march; both Dorotheus and Mamas were probably killed in the battle; see Longinus 1. Possibly they were the *tribuni* of the (newly recruited) Isaurian *numeri*; cf. *Proc. BP* I 18.39-40 (the Isaurians were newly recruited peasants).

Dorotheus 4

teacher of law at Berytus 530-534 (-?542); honorary QSP 533-534

Teacher of law (antecessor) at Berytus a. (530-) 533-534: *Just. Const.* 'Imperatoriam' (a. 533 Nov. 21; v.i., antecessor), *Institutiones*, title (cited below), *CJ* I 17.2.9 = *Const.* 'Tanta' (a. 533 Dec. 16; cited below). 11 (vir illustris et facundissimus antecessor), *Const.* Δέδωκεν (cited below), *Const.* 'Omnem' (a. 533 Dec. 16; one of the *virii illustres antecessores* to whom this constitution was addressed). 2 (facundissimus antecessor), *Const.* 'Cordi' 2 (cited below). Evidently he taught there in 530 when he was summoned to work on the Digest (see below). Among the addressees of *Const.* 'Omnem' he is named in second place, after Theophilus 1.

Presumably in Dec. 530 (cf. Tribonianus 1), he was summoned from Berytus to serve on the Digest commission; *CJ* I 17.2.9 = *Const.* 'Tanta' (et Dorotheum virum illustrem et facundissimum quaestorium, quem in

Berytiensium splendidissima civitate leges discipulis tradentem propter eius optimam opinionem et gloriam ad nos deduximus participemque huius operis fecimus; cf. the Greek version in *Const.* Δέδωκεν ὁ Δωροθέου τοῦ μεγαλοπρεπεστάτου κυαιστωρίου καὶ διδασκάλου ἐν τῇ τῶν νόμων ἀναδειγμένου πόλει (φαμέν δὲ τὴν αἰοιδιμόν τε καὶ περιφανῆ τῶν Βηρυτίων μητρόπολιν), ὃν ἡ περὶ αὐτοῦ χρηστὴ δόξα καὶ εἰς ἡμᾶς ἤγαγεν καὶ τῶν παρόντων μετασχεῖν προυτρέψατο πόνων). The members of the commission were selected by Tribonianus 1 himself for their knowledge of law, according to his instructions in *Just. Const.* 'Deo auctore' (a. 530 Dec. 15).

He also joined Tribonianus and Theophilus in 533 on a special subcommittee which compiled the *Institutes*; *Const.* 'Imperatoriam' 3 (quorum omnium sollertiam et legum scientiam et circa nostras iussiones fidem iam ex multis rerum argumentis accepimus), *Const.* 'Omnem' 2, *CJ* 1 17.2.11 = *Const.* 'Tanta', cf. *Inst.*, title (Dorotheum virum magnificum quaestorium iuris peritum et antecessorem Berytiensium inclitae civitatis).

In 534 he served on the commission on the second edition of the *Codex Iustinianus*; *Just. Const.* 'Cordi' (a. 534 Nov. 16; on the completion of the project; virum magnificum quaestorium et Beryti legum doctorem Dorotheum).

VIR ILLUSTRIS, QSP (honorary or titular) a. 533-534: he is styled *quaestorius*; *CJ* 1 17.2.9 = *Const.* 'Tanta' (= *Const.* Δέδωκεν) (a. 533 Dec. 16), *Const.* 'Cordi' 2 (a. 534 Nov. 16), *Institutiones*, title (all cited above). He had therefore received the dignity of QSP by Dec. 533 (perhaps conferred on him while working on the Digest; cf. Theophilus 1); he did not hold the actual post nor did he rank *inter agentes*, and his dignity was therefore either titular (vacans) or honorary.

He subsequently compiled an Index to the Digest, which is not extant but was cited among the *scholia* to the *Basilica* and was known to Stephanus 18; the work was not published before 542 since it alludes to *Just. Nov.* 115 of that year; see *Basilica*, ed. Heimbach, vi, intro., p. 12 with n. 15 and, on his commentary, pp. 36-47.

Dorotheus 5 father of Germanus 4 M VI

Father of Germanus 4 (and therefore like him a native of Bederiana - Justiniana Prima); *Agath.* v 21.2. Probably not Dorotheus 3 in view of his son's age in 559 but he could be identical with Dorotheus 1 (cavalry commander in 530).

Dorotheus 6 v. magn., magister (in Egypt) 567

In 567 he forwarded to the *dux Thebaidis* a petition from monks of the

village of Pharnon (διὰ τοῦ μ[εγ]αλοπρ[επεστάτου] μ[α]γίστερος Δωροθέου); *P. Cairo Masp.* 67003 perhaps from Antinoe. Cf. Ioannes 176.

His name is possibly to be restored in *P. Lond.* v 1678; see Callinicus 3.

DOROTHEVS 7

comes (et dux Thebaidis?) M VI

Addressee of an encomium from an unnamed poet at Aphrodito (who is certainly Fl. Dioscorus 5); *P. Cairo Masp.* 67120 = Heitsch xlii 14 Aphrodito (Antacopolite nome) (verso, line 31 εἰς τὸν κόμητα Δωροθέον, cf. 32-5 ἄρτι νέος Φαέθων ἐξάνθορος ἄμιν ἄρηξαι, τιθήνην κατὰ κόσμον ἄει Παφίης χθόνα τήνδε ἡμε[τέ]ρην κοινήσιν ἀν[ό]ρθ[ωσα]! ἐρίπουσαν, Δωρόθεε προφέριστε). He was a *comes* and is praised for coming to Aphrodito not to seek wealth but to help the poor; he was therefore either the provincial governor or the *dux Thebaidis*. Possibly identical with Dorotheus 8.

He was son of Apa Dios and brother of Callinicus 4, Colluthus 3 and Marcus 7; *P. Cairo Masp.* 67120 verso, and see Colluthus.

He may be identical with Δωρ]οθέω σελεντιαρ[ι]ω (cf. *P. Cairo Masp.* vol. III, p. 185, *add. et corr. ad* 67184; named in acrostich) whom Fl. Dioscorus honoured with some of his verses; *P. Cairo Masp.* 67184 (two poems). They do not prove that he was in office (though at recto, B 12-13 he is compared to Heracles and Ares) but do allude to a bride and possible children-to-be (B, verso 3) and so probably were intended as an epithalamium.

Dorotheus may therefore have been *silentiarius et dux* (or *praeses*) *Thebaidis*; cf. *Fasti* for similar combinations of titles.

Dorotheus 8

MVM (et dux Thebaidis?) VI

Δωροθέου [στρ]ατηλ[άτου]; *P. Cairo Masp.* 67289, verso 1 provenance unknown. Possibly he was the *dux Thebaidis*; holders of this office seem normally to have also borne the honorific title of *magister militum* and consequently to have been so described. His secretary was Fl. Cosmas 3.

Possibly identical with Dorotheus 7.

Dorotheus 9

v.c. (in Egypt) VI

Ὁ λαμπρότατος; brother of Fl. Menas 16; named in a list of accounts from the Apion estates; *PSI* 953, 70 Oxyrhynchus.

DOROTHEVS 10 v.c., comes and pagarch (of Hermopolis) VI

Issued a receipt for taxes for an eleventh indiction to the *adiutor* of a village called Phomosis; *BGU* XII 2196 Hermopolis (line 1 π[α]ρὰ) Δωροθέου λαμπρο[τάτου] σὺν Θε[ω] παγάρχ[ου]; cf. verso: [ἐν]τάγιον

το(ῦ) κόμη(ος) Δωροθέου). The document is dated Hathyr 4 (Oct. 31) of indiction 11.

Dorotheus 11

honorary consul VI

Δωροθέου ἀπὸ ὑπάτων; Zacos 794 = Dumbarton Oaks seal 55.1.1965 (seal, dated M VI/M VII Zacos, VI Oikonomides; obv.: +ΔΩ/ΡΟΘ/ΕΟΝ; rev.: ΑΠΟ/ΥΠΑ/ΤΩΝ). Similar seals are recorded in Schlumberger, *Sigill.*, pp. 479–80, no. 19 and Constantopoulos, *Molybdoboulla*, no. 582b.

Dorotheus 12

scholasticus (?at Antinoe) VI

Son of Avanthus; formerly *scholasticus*, now dead (Δωροθέου τοῦ τῆς μείας (sc. μακαρίας) μνήμης, ἀπογενομένου σχολαστικοῦ); *P. Cairo Masp.* 67340, verso 44 possibly from Antinoe.

Fl. Dorotheus 13

scholasticus (at Oxyrhynchus) VI

A tax receipt from Oxyrhynchus was issued to Φλ(αίω) Δωροθέω τῷ εὐδοκιμωτάτῳ καὶ ἔλλογιμ(ωτάτῳ) σχολ(αστικῷ); he was son of Theodorus τοῦ τῆς ἀρίστης μνήμης; *P. Oxy.* 2995.

DOROTHEVS 14 v.c., cancellarius (in the Thebaid) M VI/VII

Recorded on an inscription at Ombi for his part in building work there – σπουδῆς καὶ οἰκ(ονομίας) λαμπρ(οτάτου) Δωροθέου καγκ(ελαρίου); *SB* iv 7475 = *SEG* viii 780 Ombi. He served either the *dux Thebaidis* Gabriellus 3 or the civil governor of the Upper Thebais (of whom, however, the inscription makes no mention).

Dorotheus 15

chartularius M VI/M VII

Δωροθέου χαρτουλαρίου; Zacos 794A (seal; obv.: ΔΩ/ΡΟΘ/ΕΞ; rev.: ΧΑΡ/ΤΟΝ/ΛΑΡ,).

Dorotheus 16

illustrius M VI/M VII

Δωροθέου ἰλλουστρίου; Zacos 795 (seal; obv.: ΔΩ/ΡΟΘΕ/ΟΝ; rev.: +ΙΛΛ/ΟΝΤ/ΡΙΟΝ).

Dorotheus 17

ex praefectis M VI/M VII

Δωροθέου ἀπὸ ἐπάρχων; Fogg Art Museum seal 212 (seal; obv.: +ΔΩΡ/ΟΘΕΞ; rev.: +ΑΠΟ/ΕΠΑΡ/ΧΩΝ/+).

Dorotheus 18

chartularius (Egypt) L VI/VII

Ὁ ἔβδομημέτατος (sic) κύρ(ιος) Δωροθέος χαρτουλάριος; addressee of a receipt for quit-rent, acknowledged by a monk; *P. Mert.* 1 47, 2

provenance unknown, dated to Tybi 17 (Jan. 12) of a sixth indiction. The misspelt epithet is εὐδοκιμώτατος.

Dorotheus 19

patricius VII

Δωροθέου πατρικίου; Zacos 796 (seal; obv.: ΔΩΡΟ/ΘΕΟΝ; rev.: +ΠΑ/ΤΡΙ/ΚΙΔ).

FL. DOROTHEVS 20

v.sp., comes et dioecetes (Egypt) 601

An acknowledgement to Fl. Strategius 10 was sent via him (δ[ι]ὰ σοῦ Φλ. Δωροθέου τ[οῦ] π[ε]ριβλέπτου κόμ(ετος) καὶ διοικήτ[ο]υ αὐτοῦ); *P. Oxy.* 1991 (dated a. 601). He was perhaps manager of estates belonging to the Apions, and also bore the title of *vir spectabilis, comes*. On the date, see *Chron. d'Égypte* 56 (1981), p. 129.

Dorotis

bodyguard of Ioannes Troglita 546–548

One of the *armigeri* of Ioannes 36 Troglita in Africa from 546 to 548; *Coripp. Ioh.* v 279–80, 334, viii 620. He fought in the defeat of Antalas in winter 546/547; *Ioh.* v 328–38. With other bodyguards of Ioannes (Bulmitzis, Ariarith and Ioannes 38) he fought at Marta in summer 547; *Ioh.* vi 649–55. He fought also in the battle of the Plains of Cato in summer 548; *Ioh.* viii 620–2.

Dracolenus (Dragolenus)

dux (in Gaul) 578

On the name, cf. Förstemann 1462.

Nicknamed 'Industrius'; a *dux* under Chilperic in 578, he captured Dacolenus and delivered him to Chilperic at Brannacum (Berny); he swore to intercede for his life but instead urged the king to execute him for his crimes; later, on his journey home (in patriam, possibly to Poitiers), he tried to capture Guntchramnus Boso to deliver him also to the king, although he and Guntchramnus were linked by an agreement (foedus), but he was killed in the attempt; *Greg. Tur. HF* v 25.

Droctulfus 1

army commander (in Thrace) 587

Droctulfus; *Greg. Droctulft*; *Paul. Diac. Drocton*; *Epitaph.*, *Theoph. Sim.* (Δρόκτων). *Drocton*; *Agnellus*.

A Sueve, he was carried off into captivity (presumably in boyhood) by the Lombards, among whom he lived and grew up; *Epitaph.* (= *CIL* xi 319 = *Paul. Diac. Hist. Lang.* iii 19), line 3 (cum Bardis fuit ipse quidem, nam gente Suavus), *Paul. Diac. Hist. Lang.* iii 18 (iste ex Suavorum, id est Alamannorum, gente oriundus, inter Langobardos creverat), cf. *Theoph. Sim.* ii 17.9 (Λογόβαρδος δ' οὗτος τὸ φύλον).

Under the Lombards he prospered and became a *dux*, but then when

the occasion offered he deserted to the Romans and took up arms against the Lombards, to avenge his captivity; Paul. Diac. *Hist. Lang.* III 18 (quia erat forma idoneus, ducatus honorem meruerat; sed cum occasione(m) ulciscendae suae captivitatis repperit, contra Langobardorum ilico arma surrexit), cf. Greg. *Ep.* IX 9 (a. 598; cited below). He occupied Brixellum and with the help of Roman troops held it for a time until attacked by Authari and forced to abandon it and flee to Ravenna; *Epitaph.*, lines 11-14 (huius prima fuit Brexilli gloria capti; quo residens cunctis hostibus horror erat. Quo Romana potens valuit post signa iuvare, vexillum primum Christus habere dedit; perhaps this means that he there became a Christian), Paul. Diac. *Hist. Lang.* III 18 (in qua, i.e. Brixellum, Droctulfus dux a Langobardis confugerat, seque imperatoris partibus tradens, sociatus militibus, Langobardorum exercitui fortiter resistebat). The date of the capture of Brixellum by Authari was probably 584; Droctulf seems to have occupied the city for some time, possibly already before Authari became king (and not necessarily in connection with the proposed Frankish invasion of Italy of 584; cf. Goubert, II II, p. 24). With his help the Roman troops at Ravenna defeated the Lombards under Faroald and recovered Classis; Droctulf won a naval victory over Faroald at the river Badrinus; *Epitaph.*, lines 15-18 (inde etiam, retinet dum Classem fraude Faroaldus, vindicet ut Classem, classibus arma parat. Puppibus exiguis decertans amne Badrino, Bardorum innumeras vicit et ipse manus), Paul. Diac. *Hist. Lang.* III 19. This action, perhaps in conjunction with Smaragdus, was in 584 or 585; in late 585/early 586 a three-year truce was signed by Smaragdus with the Lombards; Paul. Diac. *Hist. Lang.* III 18, and cf. Goubert, *op. cit.*, p. 28.

During the truce Droctulf served in Thrace; in 587 he was appointed subordinate commander (ὑποστράτηγος), to Ioannes 101 Mystacon, though perhaps with special permission to act on his own initiative (ἔχειροτόνει δὲ καὶ τὸν Δρόκτωνα ὡσπερ αὐτῷ ὑποστράτηγον παρήγορον τινα δύναμιν ἐμπιστεύσας αὐτῷ); Theoph. Sim. II 17.9. They relieved Adrianople and Droctulf outgeneralled and defeated the Avars; Theoph. Sim. II 17.10-11, *Epitaph.*, lines 19-20 (rursus et in terris Avarem superavit eoīs, conquirens dominis maxima palma (sic) suis).

In 598 he was commended in a letter of pope Gregory to the exarch of Africa, Gennadius I, of whose reputation he had heard and under whom he wanted to serve; Greg. *Ep.* IX 9 (a. 598 Sept./Oct.; Droctulfus praesentium portitor (he was therefore travelling from Rome to Africa) de hostibus ad rem publicam veniens opinionis vestrae, quod longe lateque diffusum est, bono succensus est, ad excellentiae vestrae obsequia summo desiderio festinavit occurrere).

His patron saint was saint Vitalis and on his death-bed he asked bishop John of Ravenna to be buried in the church of San Vitale; he died at Ravenna and was indeed buried in San Vitale, where Paul the Deacon later saw and recorded his epitaph; *Epitaph.*, lines 21-6, Paul. Diac. *Hist. Lang.* III 19. The date of his death was after c. 606; the bishop John named in the epitaph must be John IV or John V, successively bishops of Ravenna from c. 606 to 632; cf. Agnellus, *Lib. Pont. Eccl. Rav.* 104-7.

Described in his epitaph as of fearsome appearance (hence no doubt the allusion to him as 'forma idoneus' in Paul. Diac. *Hist. Lang.* III 18, cited above) but of gentle nature, and as sporting a long beard (lines 5-6). Theophylact called him a warlike man; Theoph. Sim. II 17.9 (ἀνὴρ ἀλκιμώτατος καὶ πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον ἐμβριθέστατος). Said to have served the Romans devotedly, fighting with them in the destruction of his own people, and to have regarded Ravenna as his home; *Epitaph.*, lines 7-10 (hic et amans semper Romana ac publica signa, vastator genti adfuit ipse suae. Contempsit caros, dum nos amat ille, parentes, hanc patriam reputans esse Ravenna suam). His house at Ravenna later became the episcopal palace; it stood near to the church of St Theodore; Agnellus, *Lib. Pont. Eccl. Rav.* 86 (non longe a domo Droctonis, qua domus una cum balneo et sancti Apolenaris monasterio, quod in superiora domus structum, episcopium ipsius ecclesiae fuit).

Droctulfus 2 conspirator against Childebert 589

He assisted Septimina to bring up the children of Childebert II; found guilty of plotting against the king, he was sent to hard labour in the vineyards; Greg. Tur. *HF* IX 38. See Sunnegisclus.

Droserius 1

honorary consul and curator domus divinae rerum Placidiae VI/VII

Δροσερίου τοῦ εὐκλεσε[τ]άτου ἀπὸ ὑπάτων καὶ κουρ[ά]τορος τοῦ θεοῦ οἴκου τῶν Πλακιδίας; named in a letter of uncertain meaning but clearly official; *P. Antin.* III 188.

Droserius 2

PVC VI/VII

Named on several glass weights, all reading + Δροσερίου ἐπάρχου (or similar); Monneret de Villard, Catalogue C, nos. 4a-f (c = *CIG* 8995), Schlumberger, *Mél.*, p. 23, no. 3, p. 319, no. 2, and cf. p. 24 (on *CIG* IV 9030, where ΡΟΓΕΡΙ(ΟΥ) should be read ΔΡΟCEPI(ΟΥ)).

Drosus

secretarius E/M VII

Formerly *commentariensis* of Alexander 20, he became *secretarius* (τοῦ

νῦν σεκρεταρίου, τότε κομενταρησίου ὄντος Ἀλεξάνδρου ἀπὸ Περάδων); when *commentariensis*, he brought to court a man accused of theft; *Mir. Artem.* 18 (p. 22).

Dudus comes (?of a bandum) ?VI or X

An epitaph at Odessus records a Marcellus who was δέκαρχος βάνδου κόμιστος Δούδου κασταλίου Ῥουνις; Beshevliev, *Spätgr. u. spätlat. Inschr. Bulg.*, n. 89 Odessus. Dudus was *comes* commanding a *bandum* presumably at a fort called Ῥουνις (unidentified). The date may be sixth-century, to judge by the character of the inscription, but could be much later (?tenth-century) when the *scholarii* had been divided into thirty *banda* each under its own *comes*; cf. Bury, *Imp. Adm. Sys.*, pp. 53–5.

Dulciadus comes (of Angoulême) L VI

A noble Frank, he became *comes* at Angoulême; *Vita et Virtutes Eparchii* II 2 (*MGH, Scr. Rer. Mer.* III, p. 561) (Dulciadus nomine in territorio Egolesinensium comitivam optinuit dignitatem).

Dulcidius father of Justin II M VI

Husband of Justinian's sister, Vigilantia (*PLRE* II), father of Iustinus 5; *Vict. Tonn.* s.a. 567. Although brother-in-law of one emperor and father of another, he is not otherwise known. On the form of the name (Dulcidius, not Dulcissimus), see Stein, *Stud.*, p. 26, n. 1.

Apparently already dead when his son became emperor.

DVLCITIVS I proconsul (Asiae or Achaeae) VI

His death was commemorated in verses by an unnamed poet which were probably included in the *Cycle* of Agathias; *Anth. Gr.* VII 570 (cf. lines 1–2 Δουλκίτιον μὲν ἀνακτες ἄκρον βιότοιο πρὸς ὄλβον ἤγαγον ἐξ ἀρετῆς καὶ κλέος ἀνθυπάτων). All the surrounding poems in the *Palatinus* are by sixth-century writers; in Planudes III^a it is followed by poems by sixth-century writers.

Dulcitus 2 vir gloriosus, patricius (in Italy) 558/559

He wrote to inform Pelagius I that an old dispute between two churches in Campania had flared up again (filii nostri gloriosi viri patricii Dulciti directis apicibus); *Pelag. I, Ep.* 22 (a. 558 Sept./559 Feb.).

DVLCITIVS 3 vir magnificus, vicarius of the PPO Italiae 600

He was at Naples in 600, where orders from the PPO Italiae Ioannes 226 were to be forwarded to him by pope Gregory from Rome; *Greg. Ep.* X 8 (a. 600 March; addressed to Ioannes; scripsistis autem nobis, ut

Dulcivio viro magnifico agenti vices vestras dicere deberemus, ne quid super diatiposin auderet expendere; the matter concerned orders to seize ecclesiastical grain supplies at Naples for the state).

Dumerit (*Cass. Var. VIII* 27) c. 527: *PLRE* II.

Dynamius I patricius et rector Provinciae 581; (II) 593

Of noble family; *Ven. Fort. Carm.* VI 10.37 (celsum lare), *Epitaph.* (*MGH, Ad* VI 2, p. 194, Aviti Appendix XXI, = Le Blant, *Inscr. chrét. de la Gaule* II 515, no. 641) 7–8 (stemmae sublimis). Husband of Eucheria; *Epitaph.* 5. Grandfather of Dynamius 5; *Epitaph.* 21–2. Not to be confused with Dynamius 4 (husband of Aureliana); he could be identical with Dynamius 2, and, if so, was a native of Arles and had two sons, Evantius and another who was the unnamed father of Dynamius 5. See Stroheker, no. 108.

He was born c.a. 545, since he probably died in or soon after 595 aged fifty (see below).

In 565 he was at the court of Sigibert where he met Venantius Fortunatus; *Ven. Fort. Carm.* VI 10, lines 35–6.39–40, and see Koebner, pp. 17ff.

?In office in Marseilles a. 567: two years after this he was apparently in office in Marseilles, where Venantius addressed two poems to him; *Ven. Fort. Carm.* VI 9 (ad Dynamium de Massilia), cf. 9, lines 5 Massiliae tibi regna placent, and (for the date) 13–15 (two years have elapsed), VI 10 (item ad Dynamium). If this is correctly interpreted to mean that he was in office, it must have been one of lower rank than *patricius et praefectus Provinciae*, which he could not have held yet (cf. Iovinus 1 and Albinus 2). He apparently held a position concerned with the administration of justice; he was trained in the law (lege sagacem, *Ven. Fort. Carm.* VI 10, line 37) and was involved with justice (cate et pollens duilance Dynami, *Carm.* VI 10, line 33).

(PATRICIVS? ET) RECTOR (PRAEFECTVS) PROVINCIAE a. 581: in office in 581, *Greg. Tur. HF* VI 7, 11 (both 'rector Provinciae'). After the death in 581 of the bishop of Uzès, Dynamius had Albinus 2 made bishop and then, after Albinus' death, Marcellus 6, without king Childebert's approval and in opposition to Iovinus 1; *Greg. Tur. HF* VI 7. Also in 581 he opposed Childebert's wishes by plotting against the bishop of Marseilles, Theodorus, aided by the local clergy; he denied access to the city to Childebert's agent, the *dux* Gundulf, and to Theodorus, but when tricked and captured he sought pardon, gave presents to Gundulf and swore loyalty to Childebert and Theodorus; however after the departure

of Gundulf he wrote to Guntram attacking the loyalty of Theodorus; Greg. Tur. *HF* vi 11.

He left office no later than 587; see Nicetius 3.

In 587 he and Lupus 1 were reconciled with Childebert following the agreements between Childebert and Guntram at Andelot; Greg. Tur. *HF* ix 11.

PATRICIUS (ET RECTOR PROVINCIAE) (II) and RECTOR of the papal patrimony in Gaul a. (590/591?-) 593 April (-?late 594/early 595): in office a. 593 April, Greg. *Ep.* iii 33 (addressed 'Dinamio patricio Galliarum'; he is styled 'vestra gloria' and 'gloriosus', had forwarded church revenues to Rome and is sent by Gregory a small crucifix with relics). He was governor of Provence and also was made *rector* of the papal patrimony in Gaul by pope Gregory (possibly early in Gregory's papacy); by September 595 he no longer performed either function, perhaps through ill-health; Greg. *Ep.* vi 6 (a. 595 Sept.; Dinamius patricius, qui ex nostra commendatione rebus ipsis sollicitudinem impendebat, eas modo gubernare, ut cognovimus, non potest). He ceased to exercise these functions in late 594 or early 595, since Arigius had recently succeeded him in April 595; Greg. *Ep.* v 31.

His offices are alluded to on his epitaph (see below); *Epitaph.* 19 patricium te culmen habet, tu rector in orbe es.

He died shortly afterwards, aged fifty, and was buried in a church of the martyr Hippolytus (possibly, though not necessarily, at Arles; cf. Buchner, p. 95, n. 45); ten years later, his wife died and was buried in the same tomb, and their grandson Dynamius composed a joint epitaph for them; *Epitaph.*, esp. 13-14 (aged fifty). To judge by his status in 565 he could hardly have been born much after 545, and so must have died in or soon after 595, though he was evidently, so far as Gregory knew, still alive in Sept. 595.

Two undated letters of his survive, written to an unnamed friend and to the bishop of Metz, Vilicus; *Ep. Austras.* 12 and 17 (*MGH, Epp.* iii, pp. 127 and 130), and cf. Buchner, p. 78 with n. 56. He wrote verses (not extant); Ven. Fort. *Carm.* vi 10. 57-62. He composed an extant Life of Maximus, abbot of Lérins and then bishop of Riez (*PL* 80.31ff.), with an *epistula dedicatoria* to Urbicus bishop of Riez (attested from 584 to 589) (Vrbico papae Dinamius patricius salutem). He may also have composed a Life of Marius, another abbot of Lérins, although the extant version is a later reworking (*PL* 80.25ff., and see Buchner, p. 80, n. 60).

Dynamius 2

father of Evantius L VI

Native of Arles; father of Evantius; Greg. Tur. *HF* x 2.

He could be identified with either Dynamius 1 or Dynamius 4.

Dynamius 3

?at Genoa 594

Addressee of a letter (not extant) from pope Gregory in 594, when he was perhaps at Genoa (styled 'filium nostrum domnum Dynamium'); Greg. *Ep.* iv 37 (a. 594 July; to Constantius, bishop of Milan). The Milanese clergy had taken refuge in Genoa.

Dynamius 4

notable in Gaul 596-597

Husband of Aureliana; he and his wife were deeply religious and obtained from pope Gregory a charter of privileges for the monastery of St Cassian (probably at Marseilles) which they had apparently enlarged by joining it to a property of their own; Greg. *Ep.* vii 12 (a. 596 Oct.; to Respecta, abbess of St Cassian, granting the charter). In 597 July Gregory wrote to them rejoicing at their devotion to the religious life; Greg. *Ep.* vii 33 (addressed 'Dinamio et Aureliae (sic) per Francias').

Possibly identical with Dynamius 2.

DYNAMIUS 5

grandson of Dynamius 1 L VI/E VII

Grandson of Dynamius 1 and Eucheria; he composed their epitaph (not before 605) at his (unnamed) father's request; *Epitaph.* (in *MGH, AA* vi 2, p. 194, Aviti Appendix XXI = Le Blant, *Inscr. chrét. de la Gaule* II 515, no. 641), lines 21-2 (Dinamius parva lacrimans haec carmina fudi, nomen avi referens, patre iubente, nepos).

Possibly author of verses in praise of the island of Lérins (De Lérine insula Laus Dinamii); Rossi, *ICVR* II 1, 70 = *Anth. Lat.* 12, no. 786a, and see Buchner, p. 82, with n. 66.

Cf. Strohecker, no. 109.

Džuan Veh

Persian general c. 603/604

On the name, see Justi, p. 123, s.n. Ĵuwānōē, no. 2.

Sent by Chosroes against Armenia in the reign of Phocas; Sebeos xxii, p. 56. He wintered at Dvin, then met the Romans in battle on the plain of Eghivart, was defeated and killed; Sebeos xxii, p. 57. Cf. Datoyean.

E...cimus

praefectus M VI/M VII

Ἐ...κίμου ἐπάρχου; Zacos 2995 (seal; obv.: circular inscription, Ε...ΚΙΜΟΒΕΤΙΑΡΧ[Ω], around a bust; rev.: blank). Cf. Feissel, *Rev. Num.* 28 (1986), p. 121, n. 6 (suggesting [Εὐδο]κίμου and identifying him as a PVC).

Ebero cubicularius (of Childebert II) 584

Cubicularius Childeberti regis; left at Poitiers by Gararicus after Chilperic's death in 584, to hold it for Childebert; expelled by the citizens when they submitted to Guntram; Greg. Tur. *HF* vii 13.

Eberulfus cubicularius (of Chilperic) 584

His son received baptism from Gregory of Tours; Greg. Tur. *HF* vii 22.

Cubicularius of Chilperic; after Chilperic's death in 584, he allegedly refused an invitation from Fredegundis to stay with her, whereupon she accused him to Guntram of killing Chilperic, stealing much of the royal treasure and carrying it off to Tours; to escape Guntram, he took refuge in the church of St Martin at Tours, whose property he had often, according to Gregory, stolen; Greg. Tur. *HF* vii 21. His property was confiscated and his lands sold; while he remained in sanctuary, he created problems for Gregory and the clergy; Greg. Tur. *HF* vii 22. Finally, in 585, he was tricked and murdered by Claudius 1; Greg. Tur. *HF* vii 29.

On the role of the *cubicularius* in the Frankish kingdoms, cf. Dalton II 565-6.

Eboricus king of the Sueves 583-584

Eboricus; Joh. Bicl., Isid. Eurichus; Greg. Tur., Fredegar.

Son of Miro and, presumably, Sisegutia; Joh. Bicl. s.a. 583, s.a. 585, Isid. *Hist. Sueb.* 92, Greg. Tur. *HF* vi 43, Fredegar. III 83. He was still youthful (*adulescens*) in 583; Isid. *Hist. Sueb.* 92.

KING of the Sueves a. 583-584: he succeeded his father as king in Gallaecia in 583; Joh. Bicl. s.a. 583, Isid. *Hist. Sueb.* 92, Greg. Tur. *HF* vi 43. On his accession he gave an oath of loyalty to the Visigothic king Leovigild; Greg. Tur. *HF* vi 43. In 584 he was deposed by his sister's husband, Audeca, and sent into a monastery; Joh. Bicl. s.a. 584, s.a. 585, Isid. *Hist. Sueb.* 92, Greg. Tur. *HF* vi 43, Fredegar. III 83.

Eborinus 1 Frankish comes (at Tours) L VI

Comes at Tours; his wife was among many miraculously cured by St Martin when Tours was afflicted by a plague of boils 'superiore anno'; Greg. Tur. *Mir. S. Mart.* III 34. The date is uncertain; this book was perhaps written after 582 (III 8) and before 588 (IV 5).

Eborinus 2 comestabuli (in Burgundy) 607

Comestabuli, under Theoderic II in Burgundy, sent in 607 as envoy to

Witteric, with Rocco and bishop Aridius of Lyon, to fetch Ermenberga; Fredegar. IV 30. His name is also spelt Aeborinus, Aepporinus, Ebronius.

Ebracharius dux (in Gaul) 589-590

dux (under Guntram) a. 589-590: dux, Greg. Tur. *HF* IX 28 (in Paris under Guntram in 589), X 9 (under Guntram in 590), Fredegar. IV 12 (in 590). He was dismissed in 590 (see below).

In 589 he arrested Ebregisel and brought him before Guntram in Paris; Greg. Tur. *HF* IX 28.

In 590 he and Beppolenus 1 commanded Guntram's army against Warochus and the Bretons who had been raiding the districts around Nantes and Rennes; on their march, which took them across the Vilaine and the Oust, plundering as they went, he quarrelled with Beppolenus, allegedly suspecting that in the event of victory Beppolenus would succeed to his office of *dux* (*ipse*, sc. Beppolenus, *ducatum eius acquireret*); shortly before they encountered the Bretons, he deserted Beppolenus, taking with him more than half the troops, and refused to intervene unless he heard of Beppolenus' death; on the news of his death he went to Vannes, where he accepted peace offers and promises of good behaviour towards Guntram from Waroch and also exacted oaths of loyalty to Guntram from the clergy and townspeople; he then withdrew from Brittany but lost many men in a Breton attack near the Vilaine; he led his army back by a different route, fearing reprisals from those whom they had plundered before; they passed through Angers, where his advance guard was beaten and humiliated, and through Tours, which they plundered heavily; following many complaints from his men to Guntram that he and Willacharius had deliberately led them into trouble after taking bribes from Waroch, he was brought before the king, rebuked and expelled from his presence; Greg. Tur. *HF* X 9. For his part in Beppolenus' death, he was deprived of his possessions and reduced to abject poverty; Fredegar. IV 12 (cited under Beppolenus).

Ebregiselus envoy (of Brunichildis) 589

Envoy to Reccared in Spain, sent by Brunichildis with gifts; in Paris he was arrested by Guntram (cf. Ebracharius) and accused of bearing gifts to the sons of Gundovald 2, but allowed to continue his journey after explaining; he had often previously gone to Spain on embassies; Greg. Tur. *HF* IX 28.

Ebrimuth Ostrogoth; patricius after 536

Ἐβρίμουθ; Proc. Ebremud; *Marcell. com. Addit.* Evermud; Jord. On the name, cf. Schönfeld, p. 84.

An Ostrogoth, son-in-law of Theodahad (*PLRE* II), husband of Theodenanthe; Proc. *BG* I 8.3, *Marcell. com. Addit.* ad a. 536, Jord. *Get.* 308, *Rom.* 370.

Sent by Theodahad to guard the Straits of Messina when Sicily was captured by Belisarius, he deserted to the Romans in 536 with his followers; Proc. *BG* I 8.3, *Marcell. com. Addit.* ad a. 536, Jord. *Get.* 308-9, *Rom.* 370.

PATRICIVS: immediately sent by Belisarius to Constantinople, he was rewarded by the emperor and given the dignity of *patricius*; Proc. *BG* I 8.3 - αὐτίκα τε παρὰ βασιλέα σταλείς, γερῶν τε ἄλλων ἔτυχε καὶ ἐς τὸ πατρικίων ἄξιωμα ἦλθε).

Ebrulfus Frankish grafio M VII

One of the addressees with Wandelbertus of a letter from Clovis II (?c. 640); Marini, *P. Dip.* 63 (cited under Wandelbertus).

Ecclesiarius military commander (in Tripolitana) 609

Supporter of Phocas; defeated in 609 with Mardius and Isidorus 10 by supporters of Heraclius; Joh. Nik. 109.23 (p. 551 Zotenberg). See further Mardius.

Edantius vir gloriosus; dux Sardiniae 588/589

Vir gloriosus and *dux Sardiniae* in the seventh indiction, i.e. Sept. 588/Aug. 589; he received orders from the emperor to end certain abuses in Sardinia; Greg. *Ep.* I 47 (a. 591 June; antea ad Edantium gloriosum virum iam per indictionem septimam, tunc ducem Sardiniae, sacra imperialia concurrerunt, quibus omnia praeceperunt gravaminum capitula submoveri).

The rank of *vir gloriosus* was higher than that of *dux*; Edantius was probably an honorary *magister militum* (and so member of the Senate) appointed to the post of *dux Sardiniae*. See Theodorus 42 (probably his successor, by 591) and Zabardas.

Edermas ?maior domus (of Calopodius) and MVM (in Thrace) 559

In 559 Edermas and Sergius 4 were overwhelmed and captured in Thrace by the Huns of Zabergan; Joh. Mal. 490, Theoph. AM 6051. What position he held is not certain; Malalas describes him as Ἐδέρμαν μαιζότερον Καλοποδίου, Theophanes as τὸν Ἐδερμᾶν, τὸν στρατηγὸν Καλοποδίου τοῦ ἐνδοξοτάτου κουβικουλαρίου καὶ πραιποσίτου (cf. Calopodius 1). The passage in Malalas immediately precedes a substantial lacuna in the text and appears itself to be defective, by comparison with the corresponding passage of Theophanes, who here used Malalas as his source. However the text of Theophanes as it stands

is incomprehensible; there was no such post as στρατηγὸς τοῦ δείνος, either in public life or private, and it is not possible to identify Edermas as the son of Calopodius since *cubicularii* were eunuchs. The words of Malalas, μαιζότερος Καλοποδίου, are themselves obscure, since μαιζότερος is a word whose meaning varies with the context; it should perhaps be interpreted here by reference to its Latin equivalent *maior* and Edermas could then be understood to be the *maior domus* of Calopodius, apparently acting as a general in Thrace in 559 in face of the marauding Huns (for a partial parallel, see Bonus 4). It is possible that Theophanes himself did not understand μαιζότερος; either he rendered it as στρατηγός, as a suitable word in this context, or else, the word στρατηγός perhaps occurring in the original Malalas text to define Edermas' role (e.g. Ἐδέρμαν {τὸν στρατηγὸν καὶ} μαιζότερον Καλοποδίου), he confused it with Edermas' connection with Calopodius. In the account of this event in Cedr. I 677, the text, probably based on Theophanes, has: ἐκράτησαν δὲ καὶ τὸν στρατηλάτην καὶ τὸν στρατηγόν.

Effanis comes (under Theoderic II, in Burgundy) 607

A *comes* under Theoderic II, at Vienne in 607; *Passio S. Desiderii* 8. See further Betto.

EILIPHREDAS (Εἰλιφρέδας)

dux Phoenices Libanensis 586(-588?)

DUX PHOENICES LIBANENSIS a. 586(-?588): ἄρχων... τῆς Ἐμέσης, in 586 he was with Philippicus on campaign against the Persians and commanded the left wing of the Roman army, together with Apsich 2, at the battle of Solachon; Theoph. Sim. II 3.1. Emesa was the metropolis of Phoenice Libanensis. In spring 588 he was with Priscus 6 at Monocarton (in Mesopotamia) when the army mutinied; he was sent to display an image of Christ to the mutineers in an attempt to pacify them, but they threw stones at it; Theoph. Sim. III 1.11.

Elemundus king of the Gepids M VI

KING of the Gepids and father of Vstrigotthus; died shortly before 549 (οὐ πολλῶ ἔμπροσθεν) of illness; succeeded by Thorisin (Turisindus); Proc. *BG* IV 27.19.26.

Ellesboas: king of the Aethiopians E/M VI; *PLRE* II.

Eleutherius patricius, chartularius and exarchus Italiae 616-619

He was a eunuch and a *cubicularius*; *Lib. Pont.* 70 (patricius et eunuchus), 71 (patricius et eunuchus), Paul. Diac. *Hist. Lang.* IV 34 (patricius eunuchus).

PATRICIVS, CHARTVLARIVS ET EXARCHVS ITALIAE a. 616-619: styled 'patricius', *Lib. Pont.* 70, 71, Paul. Diac. *Hist. Lang.* iv 34 (all cited above). In these literary sources the *exarchus Italiae* seems normally to have been known as the *patricius* (or *patricius Romanorum*, cf. Gregorius 15). Eleutherius is recorded in a document which names his *consiliarius* as Procopius 10; Marini, *P. Dip.* 123 = *P. Ital.* 38-41, lines 9-10 (Procopius was 'consiliarius dom(i)ni viri excellentissimi Eleutherii chartularii exarchi Italiae').

He was sent to Italy by Heraclius to defend the districts still subject to the Romans against the Lombards; *Auct. Haun. Extr.* 21 (= *MGH, AA IX*, p. 339). He was defeated by the Lombard *dux* Sundrarius, in the reign of Agilulf, and sued for peace, the Romans having to agree to pay five hundred pounds of gold per annum; *Auct. Haun. Extr.* 22. Eleutherius was apparently in office already in 616, when Agilulfus died; the chronology is uncertain, because *Auct. Haun. Extr.* goes on to narrate the revolt of Eleutherius (see below) as if it occurred before the death of Agilulf (described in *Auct. Haun. Extr.* 24), but the man who probably preceded Eleutherius as exarch, Ioannes 239, seems to have been murdered shortly before, if not during, the pontificate of Deusdedit (consecrated late 615) (the avenging of the murder of Ioannes was presumably one of the new exarch's first tasks).

During the pontificate of Deusdedit (a. 615-618) Eleutherius went to Ravenna where he executed the assassins of the former exarch Ioannes 239; he next visited Deusdedit in Rome before going to Naples to deal with the rebellion of Ioannes 240 (of Compsa) whom he overthrew and killed; he then returned to Ravenna, distributed their pay to the troops (data roga militibus) and restored peace in Italy (in tota Italia); *Lib. Pont.* 70, Paul. Diac. *Hist. Lang.* iv 34 (= Agnellus, *Lib. Pont. Eccl. Rav.* 106).

In 619, on the day before pope Boniface V was ordained, he himself rebelled and leaving Ravenna marched on Rome; at the fortress of Luceoli the soldiers of Ravenna attacked and killed him and his head was sent to the emperor at Constantinople; *Lib. Pont.* 71 (Eleutherius patricius et eunuchus factus intarta assumpsit regnum), Paul. Diac. *Hist. Lang.* iv 34 (post haec, i.e. the overthrow of Ioannes 240 of Compsa, isdem Eleutherius patricius eunuchus imperii iura suscepit) (= Agnellus, *Lib. Pont. Eccl. Rav.* 106), *Auct. Haun. Extr.* 23 (urged by bishop John IV of Ravenna to go to Rome to be crowned, after assuming the purple at Ravenna).

Elias (*P. Harris* 155) V/VI: *PLRE* II.

Elias: pater civitatis (Caesarea) V/VI; *PLRE* II.

Elias 1 student of rhetoric E/M VI

A student of rhetoric under Choricus of Gaza, who addressed one of his orations to him and his fellow-students Procopius 1 and Ioannes 4 on the occasion of their marriages; Chor. *Or.* 6. They were still students of Choricus at the time; *Or.* 6.2.27. Elias was the son of a successful lawyer; *Or.* 6.36 (ὁ δὲ δὴ τοῦ τρίτου πατὴρ πολὺς τε ὁμοῦ καὶ ταχὺς ῥέων ἐν λόγοις καὶ νόμων ἐπιστήμη πλουτῶν, ὅσον ἐνεστί χρῆσθαι δικαίως τῇ τέχνῃ, τοσοῦτον μετέρχεται κρίσεως ἀκριβοῦς διὰ πάντων ὁμοίως αὐτῶ χωρούσης πραγμάτων). His bride was well-born (τὴν ἴσῃν εὐγένειαν φέρει); *Or.* 6.37.

Elias 2 patricius; CSL 529

Ὁ πατρίκιος Ἡλίας, ὁ κόμης τῶν λαργιτιῶνων; one of the high-ranking persons who accompanied the empress Theodora on her visit to the hot springs of Pythia (in Bithynia) in summer 529; Theoph. AM 6025. For the date, cf. Joh. Mal. 441. A monogram (95) on a silver vase, probably from the reign of Justinian, can be interpreted as Ἡλίας; Dodd, *BSS*, table III, no. 6, cf. Feissel, *Rev. Num.* 28 (1986), pp. 136-7, with nn.97-8, and fig. 2. If correct, this interpretation dates the vase to when Elias was CSL.

Elias 3 MVM (vacans) and dux (in Egypt) (?537-) 539

Probably a native of Egypt (see below).

He was a *magister militum* in Egypt in 539 (for the date, see Stein, *Bas-Emp.* II 392, note from 391); his removal from office was planned by the patriarch Paul, on whom Justinian had conferred special powers to dismiss heretical - i.e. monophysite - army officers (accepitque ab imperatore potestatem super ordinationes ducum et tribunorum, ut removeret haereticos et pro eis orthodoxos ordinaret), but Elias was informed of Paul's intentions by a friend, the deacon Psoes, in letters written in Coptic; this act led to the arrest of Psoes and his death at the hands of Rhodon (at the instigation of Arsenius, *PLRE* II); Liberat. *Brev.* 23 (cogitante Paulo episcopo remove Heliam magistrum militum).

Since Elias understood Coptic he was probably a native of Egypt, and he was also apparently a monophysite. He held office in Egypt and was perhaps therefore an MVM *vacans* holding a post as *dux*; the date is after the reform of the administration of Egypt and so he will have been *dux* of either Thebais, Arcadia, Augustamnica or Libya (the *dux et augustalis* of Alexandria was Rhodon). It is unlikely that a monophysite would have been appointed to such an office after Paul was sent to Egypt to eliminate them (in late 537/early 538, cf. Stein, *Bas-Emp.* II 385,

389-91), and therefore Elias probably held office already in late 537 (before the reforms), as *dux* of Egypt, Thebais or Libya.

Elias 4

PPO Illyrici 541

In office a. 541 June 1, Just. *Nov.* 111 (one copy was addressed Ἡλίῳ ἐπάρχῳ Ἰλλυρικοῦ); a. 541 Dec. 12, Just. *Nov.* 153 (one copy was addressed Ἡλίῳ τῷ ἐνδοξοτάτῳ ἐπάρχῳ τοῦ Ἰλλυρικοῦ). For the inscriptions, cf. Just. *Nov.* (ed. Schoell and Kroll), pp. 521, on line 12, and 728, on line 15.

ELIAS 5

comes (in Egypt) c. 549/550

A landowner at Antinoopolis and Arsinoe, addressee of two letters from an agent of his, Origenes, at Antinoopolis; *SB* vi 9616 = Gerstinger, *Silloge Bizantina in onore di S. G. Mercati* (1957), 128ff., recto, line 15 + Σύν Θεῶ τῶ ἐμῶ . . . δεσπότη (τη) μεγαλοπ(ρεπεστατῶ) κόμητι. His name is mentioned only at recto, line 8 τοῦ δεσπότη μου τοῦ κυρ(ίου) Ἡλίῳ, but allusions to e.g. τὸν δεσπότην μου τὸν κόμητα occur throughout verso and recto. For the date, see Gerstinger, *loc. cit.* (referring to *P. Lond.* v 1708) and cf. Marcianus 6. Cf. also Taurinus 1.

Elias 6

philosopher; ex praefectis M VI

A philosopher, he was probably a student of Olympiodorus (*PLRE* II, Olympiodorus 5); he and David 2, whose works are confused with his in the manuscript tradition, were probably both teachers at Alexandria, where Elias seems to have succeeded Olympiodorus and then to have been succeeded in turn by David; cf. Westerink, *Anonymous Prolegomena*, pp. xxi-xxiv, *Mnemosyne* 14 (1961), pp. 129-31. He wrote a Commentary on the Prior Analytics of Aristotle, of which fragments survive; ed. Westerink, *Mnemosyne* 14 (1961), pp. 134-9 (Σχόλια σὺν Θεῶ εἰς τὸ πρῶτον τῶν Προτέρων Ἀναλυτικῶν ἀπὸ φωνῆς Ἡλείου φιλοσόφου καὶ ἀπὸ ἐπάρχων). Extant works by him include a Commentary on the Isagoge of Porphyry with prolegomena to philosophy, and a Commentary on the Categories of Aristotle with prolegomena to Aristotle (ed. Busse, *CAG* xviii, 1). He also wrote on the *De Interpretatione* of Aristotle (see Busse, *CAG* iv, 5, pp. xxvi-xxviii). He may have written a (lost) work on the *De Sectis* of Galen and was perhaps the author of the anonymous Prolegomena to Platonic Philosophy (ed. Westerink, *Anonymous Prolegomena*, 1962).

His title of ἀπὸ ἐπάρχων was certainly honorific and was presumably a reward for his scholarly activities (cf. Evagrius).

ELIAS 7

comes M/L VI

Ἡλίῳ κόμητος; Zacos 604 (seal; obv.: eagle; rev.: ΗΛΙΑ/ΚΟΜΙ/ΤΟC).

Elias 8

? ex praefectis VI

Ἡλία ἐπάρχου (? or ἐπαρχικοῦ); Zacos 1378A = Dumbarton Oaks seal 58.106.3700 (seal; obv.: in centre a bust, on upper circumference ΗΛΙΑΕΠΑΡΧΙΚ; rev.: in centre a bust, on upper circumference . . . ΠΧΚ (Zacos), .V.Ε. . . ΠΑΚ (Oikonomides); whether he was a *praefectianus* or an honorary prefect, or even a genuine *praefectus*, is unclear). For ἐπαρχικός, see Feissel, *Rev. Num.* 28 (1986), p. 121, n. 6.

Elias 9

scriniarius (in Palestine) E VII

Σκριν(ιάριος); son of Promus; his epitaph at Beersheba is dated Jan. 20, 605; *CRAI* 1905, p. 541 = *Nouvelles Archives* 1913, fasc. 10, p. 79 Birosaba (Beersheba). Cf. *Rev. Bibl.* 1904, pp. 266-70.

Elias *qui et Barsoca* 10

MVM (East) 628

One of three men sent by Heraclius on March 25, 628, to escort Persian representatives to him; *Chron. Pasch.* s.a. 628 (Ἡλίαν τὸν ἐνδοξότατον στρατηλάτην τὸν ἐπὶ κλην Βαρσοκά). Cf. Gusdanaspes and Theodotus 7.

Elias 11

chartularius VII

Ἡλία χαρτουλαρίου; Zacos 3016 (seal; obv.: cruciform monogram of Θεοτόκε βοήθει; rev.: cruciform monogram (95A) of Ηλία χαρτδλαρίδ).

Elias 12

patricius VII

Ἡλία πατρικίῳ; Zacos 1457a = Dumbarton Oaks seal 55.1.490. Zacos 1457b, Dumbarton Oaks seal 58.106.2895 (three seals; obv.: cruciform monogram of Θεοτόκε βοήθει; rev.: ΗΛΙΑ/ΠΑΤΡΙ/ΚΙΩ). Another specimen occurs in Zacos' series, and a similar seal is in Ebersolt, *Musées*, no. 466.

Elias 13

patricius VII

Ἡλία πατρικίῳ; Dumbarton Oaks seal 58.106.2087 (seal; obv.: +ΘΕΩ/ΤΟΚΕΒ/ΟΗΘΕΙΤΩ/ΔΟΝΛΩ/COV+; rev.: between two (?) cypress trees (or perhaps palm branches), +/ΗΛΙ/ΑΠΑ/ΤΡΙΚ/ΙΩ).

Elias 14

scribo VII

Ἡλία σκρίβονος; Zacos 1458a, 1458b = Dumbarton Oaks seal 55.1.492 (two seals; obv.: cruciform monogram of Θεοτόκε βοήθει; rev.: ΗΛΙΑ/CKPIB/ONOC). The seals are in fact in different styles and so may belong to two different men. Two further seals similar to 1458b occur in Zacos' series, and for a similar seal, see also Ebersolt, *Musées*, no. 492.

Elias (Zacos 1613): see Strategius 11.

Elias: see also Helias.

(Fl.) Ioannes (Menas?) Iustinianus (Demos)thenes Str(aton) (E)lias
The(onas) (Dio)scorus

Ella vir illuster (in Spain) 589

Vir inluster; one of the *seniores Gothorum* who subscribed the catholic faith at the Third Council of Toledo, in 589; Mansi ix 989 = Vives, *Concilios*, p. 123. In 653 and 655 an Ella *comes et dux* and *vir inluster officii palatini* subscribed the Eighth and Ninth Councils of Toledo, and in 693 an Ella *comes* and *vir inluster* subscribed the Sixteenth; Mansi x 1223, xi 32, xii 85 = Vives, *Concilios*, pp. 289, 307 and 521.

Ellamus man of wealth (at Pessinus) E/M VI

He donated twenty pounds of gold to a church at Pessinus in Galatia, an example followed by the PPO Phocas; Joh. Lyd. *de mag.* iii 74. The prefecture of Phocas (*PLRE* ii, p. 882) was in 532. Ellamus was evidently a man of wealth, and perhaps a native of Pessinus.

Elmingirus ('Ελμίγγειρος) officer (in Lazica) 556

A Hun, he was a *λοχαγός* (tribunus; cf. Stein, *Bas-Emp.* ii 814-15) in Lazica in 556; in the defence of Phasis, he and Dabragezas were in charge of boats guarding the river; Agath. iii 21.6.

ELMINZVR ('Ελμινζούρ) ?comes rei militaris (in Lazica) 556

A Hun, he was a *ταξιάρχος* serving under Iustinus 4 in Lazica in 556; Agath. iv 15.1 (ἕνα τῶν ἀμφ' αὐτὸν ταξιάρχων). In summer 556 he was sent by Iustinus with two thousand cavalry from Nesus to Rhodopolis where he caught the Persian garrison off guard and easily captured the city; he allowed the native population to remain there, although taking hostages, and restored the city to Roman control; Agath. iv 15.1-3. See Theodorus 21 for his title.

Elpidius 1 envoy to the Avars 583 and 584

PRAETOR SICILIAE before 583; Theoph. Sim. i 4.6 (cited below). (VIR ILLUSTRIS), ?PATRICIUS a. 583; in 583 he was a member of the senate of Constantinople, Theoph. Sim. i 4.6 (ἄνδρα ἐς συγκλήτου βουλὴν ἀναγόμενον, τῆς τε Σικελίας ἡγεμονεύσαντα καὶ τῶν τοῦ πραίτωρος ἐπιβάντα βημάτων ἀρχὴ δέ τις αὐτῆ παρὰ Ῥωμαίοις οὐκ ἄκομπος). In Theophanes and Cedrenus (see below) he is called

'Ελπίδιον τὸν πατρίκιον, which, unless they had some other source of information, is presumably a misunderstanding of Theophylact's reference to the senate.

In 583 Elpidius and Comentiolus 1 were sent as envoys to the khan of the Avars to discuss peace; they met him at Anchialus but found him in an angry mood which Elpidius tried in vain to assuage; Theoph. Sim. 14.6-8. In 584 (spring) he again visited the khan on an embassy and this time returned to Constantinople with the Avar envoy Targitius and discussions this time ended with the signing of a truce; Theoph. Sim. i 6.4-6, Theoph. AM 6075, Cedr. i 692.

Elpidius 2 scholarius M/L VI

'Ελπίδιου. Elpidium schol(arium); Zacos 606 (seal; obv.: eagle, with cruciform monogram (73) of 'Ελπίδιου; rev.: ΕΛ[P]ΙΔ/ΙΥΜSC/HOLF).

Elpidius 3 illustrius; controller of the arsenal 605 or 607

On June 7, 605 or 607, he was executed for plotting against Phocas; *Chron. Pasch.* s.a. 605 (ἰλλούστριος), Theoph. AM 6099, AM 6101 (ὁ ἐπάνω τοῦ ἀρμαμέντου). According to the *Chron. Pasch.* his death was longer and more painful than that of the other conspirators; presumably his position of trust at the arsenal, from which he undertook to supply weapons (Theoph. AM 6101), was the reason. See further Theodorus 150. For his post, cf. Bury, *Imp. Adm. Sys.*, p. 118, Oikonomides, *Listes*, p. 317 with nn. 173, 174.

Emeterius (*CIL* vi 31969) V/VI; *PLRE* ii.

Emporius: rhetor V/VI; *PLRE* ii.

Enantiophanes; see Anonymus 113.

Ennes commander of Isaurians (in Italy) 535-539

Brother of Tarmutus; Proc. *BG* i 28.23, 29.42. Evidently an Isaurian. In 535 Ennes was commander of the Isaurians (who numbered about three thousand, *BG* i 5.2) sent to the West under Belisarius to reconquer Italy; Proc. *BG* i 5.3. Ἀρχηγός Ἰσαύρων (or similar); Proc. *BG* i 5.3 (a. 535), 10.1 (a. 536), 28.23 (a. 537), ii 12.27 (a. 538).

He was present at the siege of Naples in late 536; he and Magnus 1 were sent with a picked force by Belisarius to penetrate the defences of the city through an aqueduct; once inside they killed the guards in two of the towers on the wall and then gave a pre-arranged signal for Belisarius to make a general assault on the city, as a result of which Naples was captured; Proc. *BG* i 10.1-26.

In 537 he was in Rome during the Gothic siege; during fighting outside the walls (in summer 537, cf. Belisarius, p. 200) he went with some cavalry to the aid of his brother, hard-pressed in battle (cf. Tarmutus); Proc. *BG* I 29.42.

In spring 538 Belisarius sent a thousand troops, Isaurians and Thracians, to Milan under the overall command of Mundilas; Ennes was given command of the Isaurian contingent, Paulus 7 of the Thracians; Proc. *BG* II 12.26-7. For the course of the expedition, see Mundilas. When the siege of Milan by the Goths and Burgundians began, Ennes was in Milan with Mundilas and Paulus and a total of only three hundred soldiers between them; Proc. *BG* II 12.40. The city finally surrendered in spring 539, when Mundilas and Paulus were carried away captive (cf. Proc. *BG* II 21.38-9, 22.1-2, *Marcell. com. Addit.* ad a. 539), but the fate of Ennes is not recorded.

FELIX ENNODIVS 1 ?v.c. (in Gaul); bishop ?M VI

His epitaph survives near Brignoles in Provence; *CIL* XII 338 with p. 809 = *ILCV* 149, and cf. *BCTH* 1913, pp. 315ff.

Of senatorial origin, he held high office in the civil administration before entering the church and becoming a bishop; lines 1-4 stemmate praecipuum trabeatis fascibus ortum Innodium leti his sopor altus habet qui post patricia praeclarus cingula rector subiecit Christi colla subacta iugo, and cf. lines 7-8 sic gemeno Felix perfunctus munere gaudet egregius mundo placitus et domino.

The words 'patricia cingula' suggest that he was *patricius* and *rector* of Provence (cf. *Dynamius* 1, *Iovinus* 1).

He was possibly a member of the same family as the poet and bishop of Ticinum, Magnus Felix Ennodius (*PLRE* II, pp. 393-4).

Possibly identical with Ennodius 3.

Cf. also Stroheker, no. 113.

Ennodius 2 dux (in Gaul) 585-587

comes of Poitiers in 577 under Childebert II: when Poitiers was seized from Childebert by Chilperic in 577, Ennodius was taken before him and exiled and his property was confiscated; a year later he was allowed home and given back his property; Greg. Tur. *HF* V 24 (Ennodium ex comitatu ad regis praesentiam perduxerunt, sc. Chilperic's men).

dux of Tours and Poitiers under Childebert II a. 585-587: appointed in 585 to succeed Berulfus; Greg. Tur. *HF* VIII 26 (Turonicis vero atque Pictavis Ennodius dux datus est). In 587 while still in this office he was also given command of Vicus Iulii (Aire) and Benarna (Lescar) (an area in Novempopulana in south-west Gaul, not contiguous with his other

command) (Ennodius cum ducatum urbium Turonicae atque Pictavae administraret, adhuc et Vici Iuliensis atque Benarnae urbium principatum accipit); however he was then dismissed as *dux* of Tours and Poitiers by Childebert at the request of the *comites* of those cities and withdrew to south-west Gaul but was dismissed from that post also and returned to private life; Greg. Tur. *HF* IX 7.

He was at Metz in 590 where he conducted the official prosecution of bishop Egidius of Reims for treason against Childebert; Greg. Tur. *HF* X 19 (ex duce).

Ennodius 3 vir inluster (in Gaul); envoy 587/588 and ?bishop

Member of an embassy from Childebert II to the emperor Maurice in late 587/early 588; his colleagues were Grippio, Radan and Eusebius 8; *Ep. Austras.* 25 (*MGH, Epp.* III, pp. 138-9) (inlustro viro sancto Ennodio). He was probably a bishop; cf. Goubert, II i, pp. 132-3. For the date, see Goubert, *op. cit.*, pp. 135-7.

Ennodius (Greg. Tur. *HF* IV 35): see Evodius.

Fl. Entolius MVM et proconsul (Palaestinae Primae) ?M/L VI

An inscription from Caesarea recording building work in a church by Fl. Strategius 4 is dated ἐπὶ Φλαουτου Ἐντολίου ἐνδοξωτ(άτου) στρατηλ(άτου) καὶ ἀνθυπάτου and in a tenth indiction; *Rev. Bibl.* 68, p. 121, no. 15 Caesarea. The date is probably middle or late sixth-century, after Justinian's provincial reform of 536 placed Palaestina Prima under a proconsul (*Just. Nov.* 103); the civil and military powers were still normally separate in Palestine, and Entolius may therefore have held an (exceptionally) united command but was more probably an honorary *magister militum* in office as proconsul of Palaestina Prima. Cf. Athanasius 3 and Iulianus 19 (governors of the Thebaid in 567 and 578).

Eoin (Euin) Lombard dux of Tridentum 574-595

dux of Tridentum a. 574-595: he was *dux* of Tridentum in the interregnum following the death of Cleph (574); Paul. Diac. *Hist. Lang.* II 32 (cited under Gisulfus 1). In 574 or 575 he defeated and killed the Frank Chramnichis at Salurnum north of Tridentum, recovering a large quantity of plunder; he then drove out the Franks and regained control of Tridentum (expulsisque Francis, Tridentinum territorium recepit); Paul. Diac. *Hist. Lang.* III 9 (Tridentinus dux). Apparently soon afterwards, perhaps in 575 (it is recorded as contemporary with the death of Sigibert) he married the daughter of Garibaldus king of the

Bavarians; Paul. Diac. *Hist. Lang.* III 10 (dux Tridentinorum). Possibly in 586 or 587 he was put in command of the expedition sent by Authari against Istria; after pillaging and burning he made a one-year truce (with the Romans) and returned with much plunder for the king; Paul. Diac. *Hist. Lang.* III 27 (dux Tridentinus). Early in the reign of Agilulf he was sent as envoy to make peace with the Franks; Paul. Diac. *Hist. Lang.* IV 1 (dux Tridentinorum).

He died in c. 595 and was succeeded by Gaidoaldus; Paul. Diac. *Hist. Lang.* IV 10 (cited under Gaidoald). See Gaidoald for the date.

Epachius Gallo-Roman; priest ?VI

Ex genere senatorio, he was a priest 'in vico illo Ricomagensi' (Riom, in the Auvergne) where 'nullus... iuxta saeculi dignitatem haberetur nobilior'; he was a drunkard; Greg. Tur. *Glor. Mart.* 87. Cf. Stroheker, no. 114.

Epaites (?) ?v.c. (in Egypt) VI

Addressee of a letter of recommendation for a wife and mother-in-law sailing to the Arsinoite nome; *PSI* I 97 provenance unknown (verso: Δεσπότη μου τὰ πά(ν)τα λαμπρο(τάτῳ) εὐδοκ(ιμωτάτῳ) π(α)π(ᾶ) (?) 'Επαίτει κρείτ(ονι)). Perhaps π'π' should be expanded as π(ραι)π(οσίτῳ).

Eranacius ?comes (Egypt) VI

A document of unknown provenance records an order issued (line 1) π(αρά) τοῦ κόμητος 'Επανακίω προ(νοητή), and is endorsed (verso) ἐντάγι(ον) κόμη(τος) 'Επ'ανακίω; *P. Grenf.* II 98 = *Stud. Pal.* VIII 1156. Eranacius is perhaps the name of the comes, but see also Phoebammon 15.

Ephraemius: CSL (honorary); comes orientis 523-524, 526; patriarch of Antioch 527-545; *PLRE* II.

Ephraemius candidatus 532

'Ο κονδιδᾶτος; a confidant of Hypatius (*PLRE* II), who, during the Nika riot, sent him to the palace to inform Justinian that his enemies were at his mercy in the hippodrome; after meeting Thomas 5 he returned to tell Hypatius that it was his fate to become emperor as Justinian had fled; subsequently Justinian had him exiled to Alexandria; *Chron. Pasch.* s.a. 532.

Epictetus v.d., memorialis 535

Memorialis, at Constantinople in 535; formerly assistant of Tribonianus

1 'in legum confectione'; Just. *Nov.* 35 (a. 535 May 23). See further Theodosius 2.

EPIGONVS v.c., comes (sacri consistorii) 551

'Επίγονο[s] ὁ λαμπρό(τατος) κ[ό]μ(ης); native of Cappadocia (and from the same city as Fl. Palladius 1); in 551 he and Palladius were associated in a formal agreement made at Constantinople with Fl. Dioscorus 5 and others to visit Aphrodito in the Thebaid and to further their lawsuit there; *P. Cairo Masp.* 67032, line 16. See Palladius for date and circumstances.

Epimachus official of the domus divina (Egypt) 581

'Ο ἀιδέσιμος 'Επίμαχος ἐπικέμ[ενος τοῦ] θείου οἴκου; son of Iustus; he was a native of Oxyrhynchus; *P. Oxy.* 1892. Dated in years 258 and 227 of the local eras (i.e. 581 A.D.). He was a local official of the *domus divina*.

Epiphanes patricius M/L VI

'Επιφάνους πατρικίου; Zacos 322a = Dumbarton Oaks seal 55.1.289 (seal; obv.: cruciform monogram (83) of 'Επιφάνους; rev.: square monogram (246) of πατρικίδ). Another specimen occurs in Zacos' series. Another seal, Zacos 322b, has the same words but there are differences in the monograms on the obverse (cruciform monogram 82) and the reverse, so it may have belonged to a different person.

Epiphania 1 mother of the emperor Heraclius L VI/E VII

Mother of Heraclius 4, she was living in Constantinople in 610; Theoph. AM 6102, cf. Joh. Ant. 218f.

Epiphania quae et Eudocia 2 Augusta; daughter of Heraclius E/M VII

'Επιφάνια ἡ καὶ Εὐδοκία; *Chron. Pasch.* s.a. 611, 612, 624. Epiphania; Theoph., Cedr., Zon. Eudocia; Nic., Mich. Syr., *Chron.* 1234, cf. Bar Hebr.

Daughter of the emperor Heraclius and Eudocia; *Chron. Pasch.* s.a. 611, 612, 624, Nic. *Brev.* 16, 21, 24-5, Theoph. AM 6102, AM 6104, Cedr. I 714, Zon. XIV 15, Mich. Syr. XI 3, *Chron.* 1234, xcvi, Bar Hebr., *Chron.*, p. 89. Born on July 7, 611, she was baptised on Aug. 15; *Chron. Pasch.* s.a. 611, Theoph. AM 6102, Zon. XIV 15. She was crowned Augusta by the patriarch Sergius on Oct. 4, 612; *Chron. Pasch.* s.a. 612, Theoph. AM 6104, Cedr. I 714, Zon. XIV 15.

In c. 629 she was allegedly promised in marriage by Heraclius to the

khan of the Khazars and sent to marry him, but his death occurred first and she returned to Constantinople; Nic. *Brev.* 16, 21-2, Mich. Syr. xi 3, *Chron.* 1234, xcvi, Bar Hebr., *Chron.*, p. 89. Cf. Pernice, *L'Imperatore Eraclio*, p. 155, n. 2.

Epiphanius ?relative of Solomon VI

IGC 47 Dascalio (island of Nesus, in the gulf of Adramyttium). See Solomon 6.

Epiphanius 1 (Scholasticus) advocate and translator M VI

A *scholasticus*, he translated Greek ecclesiastical works into Latin for Cassiodorus; Cass. *Inst. Div. Litt.* v 2 (Didymus on Proverbs), v 4 (Epiphanius on the Song of Solomon; this work was in fact by Philo of Carpasia, cf. Christ-Schmid-Stählin vii 2.2, p. 1450, n. 8), viii 6 (Didymus on the Canonical Epistles), xi 2 (the Codex Encyclius, documents supporting the Council of Chalcedon), xvii 1 (the three church historians Socrates, Sozomen and Theodoret - the *Historia Tripartita*). The last work is a one-volume Latin version of the three Greek historians; cf. Cass. *praef. ad Hist. Trip.* (quos - i.e. Socrates, Sozomen and Theodoret - nos per Epiphanium scholasticum Latino condentes eloquio necessarium duximus eorum dicta deflorata in unius stili tractum... perducere et de tribus auctoribus unam facere dictionem). Epiphanius is styled 'vir disertissimus'; Cass. *Inst. Div. Litt.* v 2.

Cf. also *P-W* vi 195, no. 5 (Jülicher).

EPIPHANIVS (?qui et Stephanus) 2 governor (consularis) of Cyprus L VI

A native of Cyprus and father of the patriarch of Alexandria, John the Almsgiver; he had a distinguished career and became governor of Cyprus; Sophronius, *V. Ioh. El.* 2 (τοσοῦτον ἔσχε τὸ κατὰ τὸν βίον ἐπιφανὲς καὶ φερωνύμως ὡς φέρε εἰπεῖν ἐπίσημον, ὥστε τὰς τῆς Κυπρίων ἡνίας νήσου ἐπαρχικῶς ἐμπιστευθῆναι παρὰ τῶν τηνικαῦτα κρατούντων προκέκριτο).

His name is given as Stephanus in *Anth. Gr.* vii 679 (verses on John supposedly by Sophronius patriarch of Jerusalem); which source gives the correct name (unless he had both) is unresolved. See Stephanus 23. Cf. also Alan Cameron, *CQ* n.s. xxxiii, no. 1 (1983), pp. 288-90.

Epiphanius 3 lector of the church of Cagliari L VI

Husband of Matrona and son-in-law of Pomponiana (= Pompeiana); Greg. *Ep.* xiv 2 (a. 603). He was dead by 591; Greg. *Ep.* i 46 (a. 591

June; unnamed son-in-law of Pompeiana). Owner of a *domus* in Caralis (Cagliari) where he was *lector* of the church; Greg. *Ep.* xi 13.

In 591 his will was being strongly contested by his mother; Greg. *Ep.* i 46. In it he ordered a monastery to be founded in his house; he bequeathed property to it, assigning his widow however a usufructuary interest, on the expiry of which (postea extincto usufructu) it was to benefit the monastery; Greg. *Ep.* xiv 2. In 600 the monastery had still not been built; the site was next to a convent of nuns (cf. Pompeiana) and bishop Ianuarius had therefore refused permission; Greg. *Ep.* xi 13 (a. 600; to Ianuarius).

Epiphanius 4 meizoterus (on Nesus) VI

+ Ἐπιφανίου μίζοτέρου; IGC 47 Dascalio (island of Nesus, in the gulf of Adramyttium). Cf. Solomon 6.

Epiphanius 5 MVM VII

Ἐπιφανίῳ στρατηλάτῃ; Zacos 799 (seal; obv.: ΘΕΟΤ/ΟΚΕΒΟ/ΗΘΕΙ; rev.: ΕΠΙΦΑ/ΝΙΩΣΤΡ/ΑΤΗΛΑ/ΤΗ+). A similar seal is Dumbarton Oaks seal 55.1.1969 (obv.: ΘΕΟΤ/ΟΚΕΒΟ/ΗΘΕΙ; rev.: ΕΠΙΦΑΝ/ΙΩΣΤΡ/ΑΤΗΛΑ/ΤΗ+).

Epiphanius 6 MVM VII

Ἐπιφανίῳ [σ]τρατη[λ]άτῃ; Dumbarton Oaks seal 55.1.496 (seal; obv.: cruciform monogram of Θεοτόκε βοήθει; rev.: +ΕΠΙ/ΦΑΝΙΩ/ΤΡΑΤΗ/ΑΤΗ).

Erarichus king of the Ostrogoths 541

Ἐράριχος; Proc. Erarius; Marcell. com., Jord., Paul. Diac. No coins with his name or monogram are known; Kraus, 174-5, and cf. also Stein, *Bas-Emp.* ii 568, n. 1 from 567.

A Rugian, with great authority among his people, he served in 541 in the Gothic army in Italy; Proc. *BG* iii 2.1.

KING of the Ostrogoths a. 541: in the confused situation following the murder of Ildibad (in May/June 541), Erarich was proclaimed king by the Rugi and accepted reluctantly by the Goths; Proc. *BG* iii 2.4-5. Successor of Ildibad; Marcell. com. *Addit.* ad a. 541, Jord. *Rom.* 379, Paul. Diac. *Hist. Rom.* xvi 22. His reign lasted for five months only; Proc. *BG* iii 2.6, cf. Jord. *Rom.* 379, Paul. Diac. *Hist. Rom.* xvi 22 (ruled for about a year). He sent envoys (cf. Caballarius) to Justinian offering a peace on the terms originally proposed to Vitigis in 540, that the Goths should all withdraw north of the Po; he is said, however, to have made a secret offer to surrender all Italy and resign his crown in return for a large sum

of money and the title of patrician; Proc. *BG* III 2.15-17. The Goths were unhappy with his rule, finding him incompetent to pursue the war with the Romans and accusing him of involvement in the murder of Ildibad; Proc. *BG* III 2.10, cf. 2.6 (he achieved nothing of note). Probably in late 541, while his envoys were still in Constantinople, he was murdered by the Goths and succeeded by Totila; Proc. *BG* III 2.18, *Marcell. com. Addit.* ad a. 542, Jord. *Rom.* 379, Paul. Diac. *Hist. Rom.* XVI 22. Procopius narrates his accession immediately after the sixth year of the war in Italy ended (in June 541; *BG* III 1.49); Erarich may therefore have been king from July to November/December 541. Cf. Totila.

Eratosthenes scholasticus and poet M VI

Author of poems included in the *Cycle* of Agathias; *Anth. Gr.* v 242, 277, VI 77-8, IX 444 (all Ἐρατοσθένους σχολαστικοῦ).

The argument to Theocritus, *Idyll* XII, was written by an Eratosthenes, perhaps the same man; see Gow, *Theocritus* I (1950), p. lxxxiv.

Erchantrudis nun E/M VII

Of noble family (parentibus nobilibus), she became a nun in Gaul; Ionas, *V. Columb.* II 13 (*MGH, Scr. Rer. Mer.* IV, pp. 133-4).

Erchinoaldus maior domus (of Clovis II) ?641-?657

He was related to the mother of Dagobert I; Fredegar. IV 84 (cited below). Father of Leudesius (who subsequently became *maior domus* in 673; *Lib. Hist. Franc.* 45, *Fredegar. Cont.* 2).

MAIOR DOMVS PALATII a. 641?-a. 657: he became *maior domus palatii* in Neustria under Clovis II after the death of Aega, probably in 641; Fredegar. IV 84 (post discessum Aeganae Erchinoaldus maior domus, qui consanguineus fuerat de genetrice Dagoberti, maior domus palatii Chlodovei efficitur), cf. *Lib. Hist. Franc.* 42 (eo tempore (i.e. under Dagobert), defuncto Gundelando maiorum domo inclito, Dagobertus rex Erchonoldo viro inlustre in maiorum domatu statuit; this is probably a mistake, as the likeliest candidate for the post in Neustria under Dagobert is Aega; the *maior domus* in Austrasia (under Sigebert III) was Pippinus; cf. also Gundelandus). In 642 he was *maior domus* in Neustria and Flaochadus was *maior domus* in Burgundy; Fredegar. IV 89, 90. In September 642 he accompanied Flaochad and Clovis from Paris to Autun where he conspired with Flaochad to trap Willibadus; although not taking part in the battle in which Willibad was killed, he and the other Neustrians apparently joined in pillaging his camp; Fredegar. IV 90.

He continued to serve under Clovis throughout his reign; *Fredegar. Cont.* I (habebatque, sc. Clovis II, maiorem domi palatii virum

strenuum atque sapientem nomine Erchinoaldum). He died, apparently soon after the death of Clovis and accession of Chlotharius III (late 657); *Fredegar. Cont.* 2 (eodem quoque tempore mortuus est Erchinoaldus maior domus palatii; succeeded by Ebroin).

Described as vigorous and wise; *Fredegar. Cont.* I (cited above). He was a gentle, kindly person, humble and well-disposed towards the clergy, not proud nor avaricious, who did not enrich himself unduly (rebus mensuratim ditatus); Fredegar. IV 84. However, a hostile account of him, recording his last illness and death, lays stress on his refusal to distribute his wealth to the poor in spite of the entreaties of bishop Eligius; *V. Eligii* II 27 (*MGH, Scr. Rer. Mer.* IV, p. 715) (styled 'palatii praepositus').

The Saxon Balthildis, future wife of Clovis II, was once a slave in his household (recepta est a principe Francorum viroque industri Erchinoaldo quondam); said to have wanted to marry her after his first wife died but he eventually married someone else; *V. S. Balthildis* 2 (= *MGH, Scr. Rer. Mer.* II, p. 483).

According to Bede he was a *patricius* at the court of Clovis II; he welcomed St Fursey when he fled from Britain, helped him become abbot of Lagny and subsequently gave him burial on his own estates at Péronne (near the Somme) (in villa sua, cui nomen est Perrona); Beda, *HE* III 19 (patricius Ercunualdus).

Ermenarius (Ermarius) maior palatii (of Charibert) 627

'Gubernator palatii' of Charibertus 3, murdered at Chlotharius II's court at Clichy in 627 by followers of Aighyna; Fredegar. IV 55. See also Produlfus.

Ermenberga daughter of Wittericus 607-608

Her name is also spelt Ermenberta. Daughter of the Visigothic king Wittericus; her hand in marriage was sought by the Frankish king of Burgundy, Theoderic II (see Eborinus 2 and Rocco); she married him at Chalon in 607, but the marriage was never consummated, through the influence of Brunichildis and Theudila, and in the following year Ermenberga was sent back to Spain, without the rich dowry which had accompanied her; Fredegar. IV 30. In consequence an alliance was formed against Theoderic by Wittericus, Chlotharius, Theodebertus and the Lombard king Agilulfus; Fredegar. IV 31.

Ermenegildus Visigothic prince and rebel 580-584

Ermenegildus; coins (Miles, pp. 199-200). Hermenegildus; *elsewhere*.

On the name, see Schönfeld, p. 77. According to Greg. Tur. *HF* v 38 he took the name Ioannes when he became a Catholic.

Son of Leovigildus; Joh. Bicl. s.a. 573, 579, Greg. Tur. *HF* v 38, vi 18, 40, 43, viii 28, Greg. *Dial.* iii 31, Isid. *Hist. Goth.* 49, Paul. Diac. *Hist. Lang.* iii 21. Elder brother of Reccared; Joh. Bicl. s.a. 573, Greg. Tur. *HF* v 38, Greg. *Dial.* iii 31. Husband of Ingundis 2 (see below). Father of Athanagildus 2.

In 573 he and Reccared were made colleagues of their father in the kingship; Joh. Bicl. s.a. 573.

In 579 he married Ingundis, daughter of the Frankish king Sigibert; Joh. Bicl. s.a. 579, Greg. Tur. *HF* v 38, vi 40, 43, viii 28, Paul. Diac. *Hist. Lang.* iii 21. At the same time Leovigild gave him part of the kingdom to rule; Joh. Bicl. s.a. 579 (provinciae partem ad regnandum tribuit), Greg. Tur. *HF* v 38 (dedit eis unam de civitatibus, in qua residentes regnarent). Ingundis was a devout Catholic and she and bishop Leander of Seville converted Ermenegild to Catholicism; Greg. Tur. *HF* v 38, Greg. *Dial.* iii 31 (Leander), Paul. Diac. *Hist. Lang.* iii 21 (Leander). Probably in 580 he rebelled against his father, allegedly through the influence of his stepmother Goisuintha (an Arian) (factione Goisuinthae reginae tyrannidem assumens), at first in Seville but later involving other cities and strongholds (alias civitates atque castella); Joh. Bicl. s.a. 579. He sought help from Miro, the king of the Sueves, and also from the Byzantine forces in Spain (cf. Greg. Tur. *HF* v 38 ad partem se imperatoris iungit, ligans cum praefecto eius amicitias, qui tunc Hispaniam impugnabat) but was besieged in Seville in 583 and defeated; subsequently he was taken prisoner in Cordoba, stripped of his royal robes and exiled to Valencia; Joh. Bicl. s.a. 583, 584, Greg. Tur. *HF* v 38, vi 18, 40, 43, Greg. *Dial.* iii 31, Isid. *Hist. Goth.* 49. In 585 he was in Tarraco and was there murdered by Sisbertus, probably with the approval of Leovigild; Joh. Bicl. s.a. 585, 587, Greg. Tur. *HF* viii 28 (killed by Leovigild), Greg. *Dial.* iii 31 (killed by Leovigild), Paul. Diac. *Hist. Lang.* iii 21.

He had left his wife and his infant son Athanagildus with the Byzantine forces in Spain; Greg. Tur. *HF* viii 28.

Ermenfredus son-in-law of Aega M VII

Son-in-law of Aega; shortly before Aega's death he murdered Chainulfus at Augers; his possessions were attacked by Chainulfus' relatives, supported by queen Nantechildis, and he fled to the church of St Remigius at Reims for refuge; Fredegar. iv 83. The date was probably 641.

Possibly identical with Ermenfredus who murdered the *maior domus* Ebroin in 680, but this man may be of a later generation; *Lib. Hist. Franc.* 47, *Fredegar. Cont.* 4.

Ermeno Frankish dux (under Dagobert) 635

A Frank, in 635 he was one of ten *duces* on the expedition under Chadoind which subdued the Wascones; Fredegar. iv 78. His name is also spelt 'Hermenricus'.

Ermenricus domesticus (of Clovis II) 642

Domesticus; in Sept. 642 he was sent by Clovis, Erchinoaldus and Flaochadus to persuade Willibadus to come to Autun; Willibadus who trusted him showered him with gifts and followed him to Autun; Fredegar. iv 90.

Perhaps to be identified with 'Ermenricus vir illuster' who supposedly attended a council at Clichy under Dagobert and subscribed a (spurious) charter issued there, dated May 26, 634 (?); Mansi x 611-12 (data sub die vii kal. Iunias, anno V regni domni Dagoberti regis) = *MGH, Diplomata Imperii* 1, p. 143.

Erpo: see Herpo.

Erythrius: ?patricius, c. 527; *PLRE* II.

Erythrius (*P. Bour.* 19.2) V/VI: *PLRE* II.

Erythrius vir gloriosus (Egypt) VI

His heirs are recorded in a sixth-century papyrus from Antinoe; *P. Ant.* 110, line 3 τοῦ τ(ῆς) ἐνδόξου μυ(ήμητος) Ἐρυθρίου. Cf. also Dioscorus 9, Ioannes 158 and Palladius 6.

Esdilasas (Ἐσδιλάσος) Moorish chieftain (in Byzacena) 534-535

One of the leaders of the Moors who revolted against the Romans in Byzacena in 534 and 535; he, with Cutzinas, Iourphouthes and Medisinissas, killed Aigan and Rufinus 1 in late 534, were defeated by Solomon 1 first at Mammes and then at Bourgaon in 535; after Bourgaon Esdilasas surrendered to the Romans under promises of safety and was taken back to Carthage; Proc. *BV* II 10.6., 11.15, 12.26.29. See further Solomon.

Esimiphaeus (Ἐσιμιφαῖος) king of the Himyarites c. 525-c. 531

Probably identical with Sumayfa' Ashwa', father of Ma'dikarib (a dependent of Yazid and opponent of Abraha); Glaser, *Zwei Inschriften*,

pp. 86, 89ff. (named on line 17 of Gl. 618), and see Shahid, *The Martyrs of Najran*, pp. 228–29 (he is called Abraam in the *Martyrium Arethae*, pp. 44–58 and the *Vita Gregentii*).

A Himyarite and a Christian, he was appointed king of the Himyarites (the Homeritae) by the king of Ethiopia, Hellesthaeus (= Elesboas, *PLRE* II), probably in 525; ordered to pay an annual tribute to the Ethiopians; Proc. *BP* I 20.1. On the date, cf. Elesboas and see Glaser, *op. cit.*, p. 125, but cf. also Shahid, *The Martyrs of Najran*, pp. 235ff.

Probably in late 530/early 531 an embassy was sent to him by Justinian seeking his assistance for the war against Persia; he agreed but did nothing; Proc. *BP* I 20.9–12. Cf. Iulianus 8 and Nonnosus.

Shortly afterwards there was a revolt and he was overthrown and succeeded by Abraha; he was imprisoned; Proc. *BP* I 20.3.

Euagees

Vandal prince E/M VI

Εὐαγέης; Proc. Oageis; Luxorius.

Nephew of the Vandal king Hilderich (*PLRE* II), brother of Hoamer; Proc. *BV* I 9.2.9.14. He had a daughter, Damira, who died in infancy; Luxorius, *Epigr.* 59 Epitaphium de filia Oageis infantula, cf. lines 3–4 Damira hoc tumulo regalis clauditur infans, cui vita innocua est quarto dirupta sub anno.

He was apparently on campaign when his daughter died; Luxorius, *Epigr.* 59, lines 15–18 at pater Oageis, Libyam dum protegit armis, audivit subito defunctam funere natam. Nuntius hic gravior cunctis fuit hostibus illi, ipsaque sub tali flevit Victoria casu.

After the overthrow of Hilderich by Gelimer (May 530) he and Hoamer were imprisoned; Proc. *BV* I 9.9. Attempts by Justinian (in 530/531) to secure their release only led to their closer confinement; Proc. *BV* I 9.14. When Belisarius approached Carthage (early Sept. 533), Euagees and Hilderich were executed by Ammatas on Gelimer's orders; Proc. *BV* I 17.11–12.

He owned a medicinal herb garden celebrated in verse by Luxorius; Luxorius, *Epigr.* 83 De horto domni Oageis, ubi omnes herbae medicinales plantatae sunt.

Evagrius

ex praefectis (honorary PPO); historian L VI

Author of an ecclesiastical history covering the period from the Council of Ephesus (431) to 594, in six books, continuing in the tradition of Eusebius, Sozomen, Socrates and Theodoret; cf. Evagr. *HE* I praef., IV 29 (see below), *HE* I–VI titles, VI *ad fin.* (Εὐαγρίου σχολαστικοῦ Ἐπιφανέως καὶ ἀπὸ ἐπάρχων ἐκκλησιαστικὴ ἱστορία), Phot. *Bibl.* 29.

Native of Epiphania in Syria II; *V. Sym. Iun.* 233, Evagr. *HE* I–VI

titles (cited above). He was born in 536 or 537 (see below). He was at elementary school at Apamea when Antioch fell to the Persians (in 540); Evagr. *HE* IV 26. While at school he caught the plague (in 542); Evagr. *HE* IV 29. He was related to his fellow-citizen, the historian John of Epiphania (Ioannes 162); Evagr. *HE* V 24.

SCHOLASTICVS: he became an advocate, living and working at Antioch; *V. Sym. Iun.* 233, Evagr. *HE* I–VI titles, Phot. *Bibl.* 29. In 588 he visited Constantinople as assessor of bishop Gregory of Antioch (ἐμοῦ παρεδρεύοντος καὶ παρόντος γε αὐτῶ) in order to defend him on charges of paganism; Evagr. *HE* VI 7. He evidently worked for Gregory and displays strong personal bias on his behalf in his history.

He married and had several children but lost his wife and several of the children, as well as other relations and members of his household, in various visitations of the plague; in 592, in the fourth such visitation, a daughter and his grandchild perished; Evagr. *HE* IV 29. In October 588 he remarried and records that the festivities were disrupted by the great earthquake which struck Antioch (Oct. 29, 588; Higgins, p. 31); Evagr. *HE* VI 8.

He concluded his history with the twelfth year of the emperor Maurice (594), recording the death of bishop Gregory; Evagr. *HE* VI 24. He was engaged in the composition of *HE* IV 29 in 594, written fifty-two years after the plague struck Antioch in 542 and when Evagrius himself was in his fifty-eighth year. In addition to the history he published a collection of original documents, many composed (by him) for bishop Gregory, and apparently also a panegyric on the birth of Maurice's son Theodosius 13 (in 585); for these writings he was made honorary QSP by Tiberius (578/582) and honorary PPO by Maurice; Evagr. *HE* VI 24 (δι' ὧν καὶ δύο τετυχήκαμεν ἀξιωματῶν, Τιβερίου μὲν Κωνσταντίνου τῆ τοῦ κυαιστωρίου περιβαλόντος, Μαυρικού δὲ Τιβερίου δέλτους ὑπάρχων στείλαντος, ἐφ' ἣ συντεθείκαμεν, ὅτε τὰ ὄνειδη τῆς βασιλείας λύσας Θεοδόσιον ἐς φῶς προήγαγε προοίμιον αὐτῶ τε καὶ τῶ πολιτεύματι πάσης εὐδαιμονίας παρασχόμενον).

After the death of a daughter he is said to have lost his faith but to have been brought back to the fold by St Symeon the Stylite; *V. Sym. Iun.* 233. This is probably the incident alluded to in Evagr. *HE* VI 23, when Symeon saw a composition of his written in distress at the loss of children and warned him to avoid brooding on such matters as displeasing to God.

He was a Chalcedonian and his work displays a strong bias in that direction, often giving a quite different version from that in the contemporary monophysite historian, John of Ephesus. See Pauline Allen, *Evagrius Scholasticus the Church Historian* (Louvain, 1981).

Euangelus advocate (at Caesarea) M VI

Τῶν ἐν Καισαρεία ρητόρων Εὐάγγελος τις ἦν οὐκ ἄσημος ἀνὴρ; his career prospered greatly and he acquired much wealth and land; however when he bought for three hundred pounds of gold a seaside village (κώμη) (called Porphyreon), Justinian purchased it from him at a much lower price, asserting that it was unsuitable for a man who was only an advocate to own such a village; Proc. *Anecd.* 30. 17-19 (cited by Procopius as one of Justinian's more ridiculous acts). Caesarea was probably the one in Palestine, Procopius' own city. For Porphyreon (in Phoenice, on the coast north of Sidon), cf. Jones, *CERP*, p. 467.

Evanthes father of Ioannes Troglita E/M VI

Father of Ioannes 36; Coripp. *Ioh.* vii 576-7 (ossa per Evantis digno bene compta sepulchro, quae talem genuere virum). Therefore father of Pappus also and grandfather of Petrus 8. The family probably came from Thrace; cf. Ioannes 36.

The exact form of his name is uncertain.

He was evidently dead by 548 when the words quoted were supposed to have been said.

Evantia mother-in-law of Hilarius M/L VI

Described by Venantius Fortunatus as grieving at the death of her son-in-law Hilarius 2; Ven. Fort. *Carm.* iv 12, lines 17-18. Since her son-in-law's family was noble, it is likely that Evantia's was also. Cf. Stroheker, no. 117.

Evantius envoy of Childebert II 589

Son of Dynamius 2 of Arles; envoy of Childebert II to Constantinople in 589; murdered with his fellow-envoy Bodegiselus at Carthage on their way there; Greg. Tur. *HF* x 2. See also Grippo.

Cf. Stroheker, no. 138.

Eubulus patricius E/M VI

Owner of a *domus* in Constantinople in the days of the emperor Justin I; the district of τὰ Εὐβούλου was named after him; *Patr. Const.* iii 120 (τὰ δὲ Εὐβούλου ἐκτίσθησαν παρὰ Εὐβούλου πατρικίου ἐν τοῖς χρόνοις Ἰουστινίου τοῦ Θρακῆος, ἐπεὶ οἶκος αὐτοῦ ἦν). He was brother of Isidorus 1; *Patr. Const.* iii 121. On τὰ Εὐβούλου, see Janin, *Const. Byz.*, p. 325 (north-east of Hagia Irene, cf. *Chron. Pasch.* s.a. 532).

Eucarius (*CIL* vi 32949) V/VI: *PLRE* II.

EVCHERIA wife of Dynamius I
L VI

Of noble family (stemmate sublimis); wife of Dynamius 1; she outlived him by ten years and was then buried in the same tomb, in the church of the martyr Hippolytus (presumably in Marseilles) (in c. 605); *Epitaph.* (= *MGH, AA* vi 2, p. 194, Aviti Appendix xxi, = Le Blant, *Inscr. chrét. de la Gaule* II 515, no. 641). Cf. Stroheker, no. 118.

Eudaemon (*Not. Scav.* 1937, p. 473) IV/VI: *PLRE* II.

Eudaemon 1 PVC 532

PVC a. 532 Jan.: ἐπαρχος τῆς πόλεως; Joh. Mal. 473, 475, *Chron. Pasch.* s.a. 532. In Jan. 532 he sentenced to death for murder seven members of the circus factions, an event which led to the Nika revolt; Joh. Mal. 473. During the disturbances the crowds demanded the dismissal of Eudaemon, Ioannes 11 the Cappadocian and Tribonianus 1 and the emperor acceded, replacing Eudaemon with Tryphon 1; Joh. Mal. 475 (on Jan. 14), *Chron. Pasch.* s.a. 532.

Eudaemon 2 honorary consul; ?curator divinae domus c. 542

Uncle of Ioannes 31 Laxarion; Proc. *Anecd.* 29.4. Perhaps a native of Egypt, like his nephew. He had many relatives (see below).

HONORARY CONSVL and ?CVRATOR DOMVS DIVINAE c.a. 542: ἐς τε τὸ τῶν ὑπᾶτων ἀξίωμα ἤκων καὶ χρήματα περιβεβλημένος πολλὰ ἐπίτροπος τέως τῆς βασιλείως οὐσίας ἰδίας; Proc. *Anecd.* 29.4 (in c. 542, see below). The office which he held is difficult to identify; the word ἐπίτροπος suggests *curator* or *procurator* while the ἰδία οὐσία suggests the *res privata*. However the *procurator rei privatae* was a relatively humble provincial official, while Eudaemon was an *illustris* and in Constantinople. It is unlikely that he was *comes rerum privatarum* or *comes sacri patrimonii* (as proposed by Stein, *Bas-Emp.* II 753 and 761, n. 3) because of ἐπίτροπος (cf. also Faustinus 1). The phrase ἰδία οὐσία perhaps embraces all the emperor's private property, viz. the *res privata*, the *patrimonium* and the *domus divina*; if so, Eudaemon was probably a *curator domus divinae* (a post of illustrious rank, cf. *Fasti*).

In c. 542 (for the date, cf. Stein, *Bas-Emp.* II 753 with n. 1) Eudaemon was in Constantinople; he secured written confirmation from Justinian of the appointment of his nephew Ioannes as *dux et augustalis* at Alexandria; Proc. *Anecd.* 29.4-6. After the death of Ioannes, he pressed strongly for the summons of Liberius (*PLRE* II) to Constantinople; Proc. *Anecd.* 29.10.

Shortly afterwards Eudaemon died; he had amassed great wealth during his term of office, but he left no will or other indication concerning the disposal of his property, and although he had numerous relatives his whole estate went to the emperor; Proc. *Anecd.* 29.4 (cited above), 12-14.

Eudaemon 3

CRP 576

A monophysite, with Ioannes 90 and Petrus 17 he resisted persecution under Justin II (beginning in 571/2) and was later restored to his honours when the persecution relaxed (cf. Ioannes 90); in 576 when (allegedly; see below) sent on an embassy to Persia with Ioannes and Petrus he was honorary consul ('consul') and *comes rei privatae* ('κόμης περιβάτων'); Joh. Eph. *HE* III 2.11 ('gloriosus Eudaemon, qui comes rei privatae fuit').

He is not named in other accounts of this embassy in John of Ephesus (*HE* III 4.35, 6.12, Menander Protector (fr. 46) and Theophylact Simocatta (III 15.6), and the mention of his name in this connection in Joh. Eph. *HE* III 2.11 is probably a mistake. He seems there to be named as leader of the embassy, and so it is not likely that he could have been confused with Zacharias 2 (as suggested by Stein, *Stud.*, p. 81, n. 5); the head of the embassy was in fact the CSL Theodorus 34; possibly a confusion arose from the fact that Eudaemon and Theodorus held the two chief financial ministries and John of Ephesus (who at the time was held in custody in Constantinople and composed his history under the most difficult circumstances) either was misinformed or misunderstood which of the two was to lead the embassy; he later recorded the correct names at III 4.35 and 6.12 but presumably was never able to revise the earlier passage. For the difficulties under which he laboured, see *HE* III 2.50.

Eudela

Frankish dux (east of the Jura) 613

Dux; in 613 he joined Aletheus, Rocco and Sigoaldus in supporting Warnacharius 2 and joining Chlotharius II against Brunichildis; Fredegar. IV 42 (cited under Rocco). Later in 613 Chlotharius replaced him as dux in the district east of the Jura (in pago Ultra-Iurano) by Herpo 2; Fredegar. 43 (cited under Herpo).

EVDOCHIA

?c.f. (East) 590-597

Named in letters from pope Gregory to Narses 9 in Constantinople in 590 and 597, in which Gregory sent greetings to her; Greg. *Ep.* I 6 (a. 590; cited under Narses), VII 27 (a. 597; cited under Dominica 2).

She was perhaps daughter of Narses and Hesychia and sister of Dominica 2.

Eudocia *quae et Fabia* (= Aelia Flavia) wife of Heraclius 610-612
Eudocia; Nic. *Brev.*, Theoph., Zon. XIV 14, Joh. Nik. 116, 120. Eudocia *quae et Fabia*; *Chron. Pasch.* s.a. 611, s.a. 612, Zon. XIV 15, Cedr. I 713-14. Fabia; Joh. Ant., Joh. Nik. 106. Her official name as empress was Aelia Flavia; *P. Oxy.* 138, lines 35-6.

Daughter of 'Rogas' (probably Rogatus 2), of a leading family from Africa; Theoph. AM 6102, Zon. XIV 14.

The fiancée of Heraclius 4, in 610 she was living in Constantinople when the expedition of Heraclius came to attack Phocas; she and her future mother-in-law (Epiphania) were imprisoned by Phocas but rescued by supporters of the Green faction and delivered safely to Heraclius; Joh. Ant. fr. 218f (*FHG* V 38), Theoph. AM 6102, Zon. XIV 14, Joh. Nik. 106.2 (p. 541 Zotenberg).

She was married to Heraclius and proclaimed AVGVSTA on one and the same day, Oct. 7, 610; Theoph. AM 6102, Zon. XIV 15, Cedr. I 713-14. Wife of Heraclius; *Chron. Pasch.* s.a. 611, s.a. 612, Nic. *Brev.* 7, Joh. Ant. fr. 218f. Styled Augusta; *Chron. Pasch.* s.a. 612, Theoph. AM 6103, Cedr. I 713-14.

She bore Heraclius a daughter, Epiphania *quae et Eudocia*, on July 7, 611; *Chron. Pasch.* s.a. 611, Theoph. AM 6102, Zon. XIV 15. She bore him a son, Heraclius Constantinus 38, on May 3, 612; *Chron. Pasch.* s.a. 612, Theoph. AM 6103, Nic. *Brev.* 5, Zon. XIV 15, Cedr. I 714, Joh. Nik. 116.4, 120.2 (pp. 564, 575 Zotenberg).

She died on Aug. 13, 612, and was buried in the church of the Holy Apostles; *Chron. Pasch.* s.a. 612, Nic. *Brev.* 7, Theoph. AM 6103, Zon. XIV 15, Cedr. I 714.

Epiphania *quae et Eudocia*

Eudocianus military commander (Egypt) 631/639

Elder brother of Domentianus; Joh. Nik. 116.11 (p. 566 Zotenberg), 119.8 (p. 570 Zotenberg).

He ordered troops to attack the Gaianites (monophysites) when they threatened to seize the patriarch Cyrus who was persecuting them; Joh. Nik. 116.11 (p. 566 Zotenberg). These events occurred before the Arab attack on Egypt and are narrated out of order in John's history; see Butler, *Conquest of Egypt*, p. 191, n. 1.

Eudocianus was presumably in command of soldiers in Alexandria.

In early 641 he was in Babylon during the siege by the Arabs; when

it fell (Easter 641) he was responsible for gross cruelty towards the monophysites imprisoned there, thereby incurring the anger of Menas 41; Joh. Nik. 119.8 (p. 570 Zotenberg).

Eudoxius 1 ?v.c. (Egypt) M VI

Ὁ λαμπρότατος; mentioned in a document possibly from Antinoë; he should have been reported for irregular conduct by the *protocometes* Apollos; *P. Cairo Masp.* 67290. The date was probably before 542.

Eudoxius 2 gloriosus vir (at Constantinople) L VI

In two letters to Rusticiana 2 Gregory sent greetings to him; *Greg. Ep.* II 27 (a. 592 April; domnum Eudoxium et domnam Gregoriam), VIII 22 (a. 598 May; gloriosum vero domnum Eudoxium). He was possibly a son of Rusticiana and the husband of Gregoria 1. See stemma 9.

Fl. Euelpidius (*Pal. Quart.* 1896, p. 87 = *AE* 1896, 6) V/VI: *PLRE* II.

Eugenia (*CIL* XII 481 + p. 813) V/VI: *PLRE* II.

Eugenia (Sev. Ant. *Ep.* 110) 513/538: *PLRE* II.

Eugenia ?sister of Agathias M VI

Commemorated by Agathias in verses celebrating her beauty, her poetic skill and her knowledge of law; *Anth. Gr.* VII 593. According to a lemma (Palatine corrector) she was Agathias' sister.

Wife of Theodotus 4, with whom she had been led by circumstances to quarrel; she died before him; *Anth. Gr.* VII 596 (verses by Agathias on Theodotus, whom lemmata assert to have been brother-in-law of Agathias).

Both Eugenia and Theodotus were evidently contemporaries of Agathias, but nothing in the verses themselves supports the statements of the lemmata.

Eugenius (*Pal. Quart.* 1929, p. 16 and 1945, p. 94) IV/VI: *PLRE* II.

Eugenius 1 PPO (Orientis) 548

PPO (ORIENTIS) a. 548 late: addressee of the Latin version of Just. *Ed.* 8 which concerns the *vicarius Ponticae*, *Auth.* 121 (Eugenio pl. p.; dated Sept. 15/17, 548). He probably succeeded Bassus 4, to whom Just. *Ed.* 8 was addressed, very soon after the edict was issued, i.e. Sept./Oct. 548. He is recorded also in the index to a collection of prefectorial *formae*; Zachariae von Lingenthal, *Ἀνέκδοτα*, pp. 259ff., no. 36, pp. 265ff., no. 3 (τύπος Εὐγενίου ἐπάρχου).

In 560 late he accused Aetherius 2 and Georgius 7 of plotting to replace Justinian with Theodorus 34; when the allegations were proved false, the emperor confiscated Eugenius' *domus* and Eugenius saved himself only by seeking asylum in church; Theoph. AM 6053 (ὁ ἀπὸ ἐπάρχων).

Eugenius 2 notarius (at Rome) M VI

Sepulchrum Eugeni(i) not(arii) cum suis; apparently husband of Argentea and father of Boethius 2; *CIL* VI 8401 = Rossi I 1122 = *ILCV* 3778. He seems to have outlived his wife and son but was buried in the same tomb on the Vatican; cf. Argentea.

He was perhaps an ecclesiastical *notarius*.

Eugenius 3 v.d., palatinus sacrarum largitionum (in Italy) 572

V.d., pala(tinus) s(a)c(rarum) l(artitionum); son of Leontius 9; at Ravenna on June 3, 572, he witnessed a deed of sale of land to his colleague Deuseddit 3; Marini, *P. Dip.* 120 = *P. Ital.* 35, lines 67 and 92.

Eugenius 4 land-surveyor E VII

A native of Egypt, he was a land-surveyor (γεωμέτρης); cured of hydropsy by SS Cyrus and John; Sophronius, *Mir. SS. Cyr. et Ioh.* 42 (*PG* 87.3.3585-8). Perhaps a resident of Alexandria.

Eugraphius: commentator on Terence ?V/VI; *PLRE* II.

Evila (*CIL* XI 6784) V/VI: *PLRE* II.

Eulalius: comes domesticorum (East) c. 528; *PLRE* II.

Eulalius 1 ?officer of the palace guard 532

Ordered to imprison Hypatius and Pompeius (both in *PLRE* II) at the end of the Nika riot; *Chron. Pasch.* s.a. 532 (Justinian λέγει τοῖς εὐνούχοις καὶ σπαθαρίοις αὐτοῦ καὶ Εὐλαλίῳ τῷ βαρβάτῳ καὶ τοῖς κωνιδάτοις τοῖς ἐπιπέτοις). Evidently not himself a eunuch and not commander of the *spatharii* (see Narses 1), he was perhaps the officer in charge of the *candidati*.

Eulalius 2 comes Arvernorum 585-590

Husband of Tetradia (cf. below); *Greg. Tur. HF* VIII 45, x 8. They had two sons, Ioannes 167 (the elder) and another (name unknown); Eulalius was uncle of Virus and he seems also to have had a half-sister whose brother was Socratius; *Greg. Tur. HF* x 8. He evidently lived in Clermont (cf. below) and was probably a native of the Auvergne.

COMES ARVERNORVM a. 585-590: successor of Nicetius 2 in 585; Greg. Tur. *HF* VIII 18. In office in 587, Greg. Tur. *HF* VIII 45 (Eulalio tunc Arvernorum comiti); and in 590, *HF* X 6 (he released prisoners at the request of bishop Avitus of Clermont) and 8 (both passages call him 'comes').

In 585 he visited the court of Guntram to complain about the loss of his wife; Greg. Tur. *HF* VIII 27. He was violent and licentious and was for a time excommunicated by bishop Cautinus of Clermont (therefore before 571, cf. *HF* IV 31) when suspected of murdering his mother with whom he had quarrelled; he used to sleep with slave-girls and neglected his wife, whom he beat and whose jewels and gold he stole to pay his debts; after she left him taking all his moveable wealth, he committed several murders (see Socratius and Virus) and abducted and married a nun from Lyon; meanwhile to regain some of his property at Rodez he placed his elder son Ioannes in holy orders; in 590 he sued Tetrada for the return of his property and the court of bishops and laymen made her repay fourfold what she had taken; Greg. Tur. *HF* X 8.

Eulalius (Suid. Δ 39, Π 2251): see Eulamius.

Eulamius philosopher 531/532

A native of Phrygia, a pagan and a philosopher, one of the group (from Athens) which visited Persia (in 531/532) with Damascius (*PLRE* II); Agath. II 30-1 (= Suid. Π 2251), cf. Suid. Δ 39. In Suidas he is called Εὐλάλιος, in Agathias Εὐλάμιος. See further Diogenes 1.

Eulampius 1 honorary consul M VI/M VII

Εὐλαμπίου ἀπὸ ὑπάτων; Zacos 1354 = Dumbarton Oaks seal 58.106.1059 (seal; obv.: the letters of Εὐλαμπίου arranged in a cross; rev.: +/ΑΠΟ/ΥΠΑ/ΤΩΝ)

Eulampius 2 PVC E/M VII

Named on a glass weight; Monneret de Villard, Catalogue C, no. 1a (+ ἐπὶ Εὐλαμπίου ἐπάρχου). The names on these weights are those of city prefects of Constantinople.

An agent of the PVC Eulampius is recorded in the Miracles of St Artemius during or shortly after the reign of Heraclius; *Mir. Artem.* 22 (μειζότερος τοῦ τότε τῆς πόλεως ἐπάρχου Εὐλαμπίου). For the date, between 612 and 654, see Feissel, *Rev. Num.*⁶ 28 (1986), p. 124, with nn. 26-7.

Eulogius: patricius and PPO (honorary) (East) 525-532; *PLRE* II.

Eulogius 1 envoy of Justinian 533

Envoy of Justinian to Godas in Sardinia in 533; he returned with Godas' reply; Proc. *BV* I 10.32-3.

EVLOGIVS 2 v.sp., comes (Egypt) VI

Addressee of a letter from a monk; *PSI* I 49 verso (τῷ τὰ πάντα μεγαλοπρ(επεστάτῳ) καὶ περιβλέπτ(ῳ) κόμ(ιτι) Εὐλογίου - sic) provenance unknown. He is twice styled ἡ ὑμετέρα μεγαλοπρέπεια (recto, lines 1 and 4).

Eulogius 3 ?v.c. (Egypt) VI

Owner of a house at Aphrodito, in the Antaeopolite nome (οἶκον [τοῦ λα]μπρ(οστάτου) [κυ]ρίου Εὐλογίου); *P. Flor.* III 295, line 10 Aphrodito. Cf. Thomas 24.

EVMERIVS ?governor; bishop of Nantes 533-c. 550

An epitaph on him was composed by Venantius Fortunatus; *Carm.* IV 1 (Epitaphium Eumeri episcopi civitatis Namneticae). He came of noble family (lines 7-8 stemmate deducit fulgens ab origine culmen, et meritis priscos crescere fecit avos). Possibly a civil governor before becoming bishop (lines 9-10 emicuit populis geminum memorabile donum; inde gradu iudex, hinc pietate pater; for *iudex* as civil governor and not an allusion to his activity as bishop, cf. *Carm.* IV 2, lines 7-8 on bishop Gregory of Langres, = Gregorius Attalus, *PLRE* II, p. 179).

As bishop of Nantes he attended the second and fourth Councils of Orléans, in 533 and 541, and sent a representative to the third, in 538; *Conc. Gall.* a. 511-695, pp. 102, 128, 130, 144, 146.

His predecessor Epiphanius was bishop in 511 and his successor Felix 5 became bishop in c. 550.

Cf. Stroheker, no. 125.

EVMOLPIVS v.c., comes (East) 550

Native of Mopsuestia, born c.a. 490; *ACOec.* IV I, p. 120 (Eumolpius dixit: Eumolpius dicor; comes sum in hac civitate natus), p. 126 (aged about sixty in 550).

?AGENS IN REBUS, before a. 550: he was once in the imperial service; *ACOec.* IV I, p. 126 (militabam ministrans divinis et maximis iussionibus). The words imply a *militia* concerned with the execution of imperial commands, which suggests the duties of the *agens in rebus*. Whatever post he held, he apparently became *comes* on retirement.

v.c., COMES a. 550 June 17: he was one of the laymen living in

Mopsuestia called to testify before the synod there; *ACOec.* iv i, pp. 118 (clarissimus comes), 126 (comes). As the highest in rank Eumolpius spoke first of the 'clarissimi possessores et laudabiles huius habitatores quos seniores istius civitatis honestus defensor demonstravit'; *ACOec.* iv i, p. 120, cf. p. 125 (clarissimi et honestissimi et laudabiles viri) (the other lay witnesses were, in order, Theodorus 18, Eusebonas, Stephanus 10, Paulus cognomine Neonis, Anatolius 6, Martinus 1, Eustathius cognomine Roda, Anatolius, Rufinus 5, Comitas 4, Theodorus 17, Iohannes *tabularius*, Addaeus *civis*, Marcus 2, Iohannes *lecticarius* and Nicetas *tabularius*).

Eunapius (?) ex praefectis VI

Ἐπὶ ἐπάρχων Εὐναπίου; Dumbarton Oaks seal 55.1.29 (seal; obv.: two square monograms, nos. 27 and 85, of Ἐπὶ ἐπάρχων and (?) Εὐναπίου; rev.: two monograms of δούλου τῆς Θεοτόκου).

Eunius *qui et Mummolus*

Eunomius comes (civitatis Turonum) 580

Appointed by popular choice in 580 to succeed Leudastes; Greg. Tur. *HF* v 47 (data nobis et populo optione, Eunomius in comitatum erigitur; and cf. Ansoaldus). During 580 he co-operated with the *dux* Berulfus in placing Tours under military control and in keeping a watch on Gregory of Tours; Greg. Tur. *HF* v 49 (cum Eunomio comite).

He had retired by 584 (ex comite Eunomius), when he is recorded as having borrowed money from Armentarius 5 on the security of the public taxes; Greg. Tur. *HF* vii 23.

EVODIVS Gallo-Roman noble M VI

Euvodus; *MSS.* Ennodius; *some editors.*

Of senatorial family, father of Salustius and Euphrasius, he was a priest at Clermont under bishop Gallus (a. 525-551); chosen bishop of Javols (Gabalitana civitas), he was driven out by the people when about to be consecrated and eventually died still a priest; Greg. Tur. *HF* iv 13, 35 (senator), *V. Patr.* 6. 4 (ex senatoribus presbyter).

He was descended from, probably son of, Hortensius (*PLRE* II), and the legend that no one of Hortensius' family would ever be a bishop may have grown from his experience at Javols; cf. Greg. Tur. *HF* iv 35, *V. Patr.* 6. 4, and see Kurth, *Ét. franq.* I, pp. 200-4.

According to the *Vita Dalmatii* 9 (*MGH, Scr. Rer. Mer.*, III, p. 549) he succeeded his father as *comes Arvernorum*.

Cf. Stroheker, no. 139.

Eupaterius 1 MVM et dux Chersonis 589/590

In indiction 8 in the reign of Maurice (a. 589/590) he repaired a *caesareum* in the region of the Crimea (διὰ τοῦ γνησίου αὐτοῦ δούλου Εὐπατερίου τοῦ ἐνδοξοτάτου στρατηλάτου καὶ δουκὸς Χερσῶνος); Latyshev, *Christian Greek Inscriptions*, no. 99 near Taman, on the peninsular east of the straits of Kerch. Eupaterius was honorary MVM and *dux Chersonis*. For Roman troops in this area, cf. Joh. Mal. 432 (at Bosphorus, under a *tribunus*).

Possibly identical with Eupaterius 2.

Eupaterius 2 MVM et dux Sardiniae 598-599

Addressee of a letter of commendation from Gregory (for a certain Waldaric) in 598; styled 'magnitudo vestra'; Greg. *Ep.* ix 70 (a. 598 Nov./Dec.; addressed 'Eupaterio duci Sardiniae'). In 599 he was among several persons who wrote to inform Gregory of the wrecking of a synagogue at Cagliari (Eupaterii gloriosi magistri militum... scripta); Greg. *Ep.* ix 195 (a. 599 July).

Evidently an honorary MVM and *dux Sardiniae*. He could well be identical with Eupaterius 1; if so, he was transferred from Cherson to Sardinia between 589/590 and 598.

Euphemia 1 ?wife of Chosroes 540

A Roman lady captured at Sura in 540 by Chosroes and supposedly made his wife; Proc. *BP* II 5.28.

Euphemia 2 daughter of John the Cappadocian M VI

Only daughter of Fl. Ioannes 11 (John the Cappadocian); she was tricked into involving her father in a conspiracy against Justinian, which brought about his downfall; Proc. *BP* I 25.13-19.

Fl. Euphemia 3 gloriosa femina (in Egypt) M VI

Daughter of Musaeus; a landowner at Oxyrhynchus in 568; *P. Oxy.* 1038, 7-10 Φλ. Εὐφημία τῆ ἐνδόξω θυγατρὶ τοῦ τῆς ἐνδόξου μνήμης Μουσαίου γεουχούση καὶ ἐνταῦθα τῆ λαμπρᾷ Ὀξυρυγγιτῶν πόλει (dated a. 568 July 26).

Mother of Fl. Ioannes 110; by 598 she was dead and her son had inherited her property; *P. Oxy.* 2239, 4-5 (cited under Fl. Ioannes).

Cf. also Fl. Anastasius 15.

Euphemia 4 magnifica femina (in Egypt) VI/VII

Recorded among contributors of money for fuel for the public baths;

P. Oxy. 2040, line 16 (δ(ιὰ) τῆς μεγαλοπρε(πεστάτης) Εὐφημίας). The list of names partly coincides with that in *P. Oxy.* 2020. Cf. Ptolemaeus 2.

Euphemius 1 vir gloriosissimus (in Egypt) VI

Ἐνδοξ(ό)τ(ατος); *P. Oxy.* 2020, line 25 (the document records payments of barley by, among others, his heirs). Presumably a landowner in the Oxyrhynchite nome.

Euphemius 2 honorary consul M VI/M VII

Εὐφημίου ἀπὸ ὑπάτων; Zacos 325 (seal; obv.: cruciform monogram (88) of Εὐφημίου; rev.: ΑΠΟ/ΥΠΑ/ΤΩΝ).

Euphemius 3 decurio (palatii) M VI/VII

Εὐφημίου δεκουρίου(1); Zacos 1462 = Dumbarton Oaks seal 58.106.3283 (seal, dated VII Zacos, VI/VII Oikonomides; obv.: cruciform monogram of Θεοτόκε βοήθει; rev.: +/ΕΥΦΗ/ΜΙΩΔΕ/ΚΟΥΡΠΙΟ/ΝΗ).

Eu(ph)emius 4 ex praefectis VII

Εὐ[φ]ημίου ἀπὸ ἐπάρχων; Dumbarton Oaks seal 58.106.4182 (seal; obv.: cruciform monogram of Θεοτόκε βοήθει, in the quarters ΤΩ-Δ[δ]/[ΛΩ]-C[δ]; rev.: +ΕΥ/.ΗΜΙΩ/ΑΠΟΕΠ/ΑΡΧΩ.).

EVPHEMVS dux (in Egypt) VII

Mentioned as *dux* in a seventh-century papyrus; *P. Lond.* III, p. lix (= *P. Lond. inv.* 1148) provenance unknown.

EVPHRANTAS governor (?consularis) of Galatia Prima L VI

He took action to prevent grave robbing (τυμβωρυχία) and treasure hunting at various villages around Lagantia (Anastasiopolis) in Galatia; *V. Theod. Syc.* 114 (τὸν τῆς ἐπαρχίας ἄρχοντα Εὐφράνταν), 115 (Εὐφράνταν τὸν ἄρχοντα), 116 (τὸν κατ' ἐκεῖνο καιροῦ ἄρχοντα τῆς Ἀγκυρανῶν μητροπόλεως, Εὐφράνταν τοῦνομα). He was governor of Galatia Prima. In 535 the post was upgraded from *v.c.*, *consularis* to *v.sp.*, *comes Galatiae Primae* with the combination of civil and military duties (Just. Nov. 8, §3), but when in 548 the vicariate of Pontica was revived and the governor of Galatia Prima lost his military powers and reverted to a purely civil office (Just. Ed. 8) it is probable that the title also reverted to that of *consularis* (this is not confirmed in *Edict* 8 or attested in other sources, but it is perhaps implied in *Ed.* 8, cap. 3, 2 by the emphasis on the *spectabilis* rank of the new *vicarius*). Euphrantas was probably

therefore *consularis* of Galatia Prima. The date was probably in the reign of Maurice (whose overthrow is recorded in *V. Theod. Syc.* 120). Cf. also Eutyichianus 5.

EVPHRASIA wife of Namatius M VI

An epitaph on her was composed by Venantius Fortunatus; *Ven. Fort. Carm.* IV 27. She was of noble family (lines 11–12 *ardua nobilitas proavorum luce coruscans plus tamen es meritis glorificanda tuis*). Wife of bishop Namatius of Vienne, after whose death (in 558) she became a nun (lines 13–14 *vir cui Namatius datus inde Vienna sacerdos coniuge defuncto consociata deo*). Distinguished for her generosity towards widows, exiles and captives (lines 15–16). Cf. Stroheker, no. 126.

Euphrasius (*CIL* III 9534) ?V/VI: PLRE II.

Euphrasius priest (at Clermont) 571

Grandson of Hortensius (PLRE II), son of Evodius and brother of Salustius; relative of Beregisel; a priest at Clermont, he tried to become bishop there after the death of Cautinus in 571, but the choice fell on Avitus; *Greg. Tur. HF* IV 35. The family was of senatorial descent and lived in the Auvergne; see Kurth, *Ét. franqu.* I, p. 190. Cf. Stroheker, no. 129.

Euphratas 1 father of Menander Protector E/M VI

Native of Constantinople; father of Menander Protector and Herodotus; although himself uneducated, he gave both his sons a good education; *Men. Prot. fr.* I = *Suid.* M 591.

EVPHRATAS 2 ?primicerius sacri cubiculi M VI

An Abasgian by race, he was a eunuch and became one of the *cubicularii* under Justinian (τῶν τινα ἐκ Παλατίου εὐνούχων); sent to the Abasgi by Justinian when they adopted Christianity to order them to cease the practice of castration; *Proc. BG* IV 3.19 (= *Evagr. HE* IV 22). The date is unknown, but must have been earlier than 550; see below.

?PRIMICERIVS SACRI CVBICVLI: at his death he held a post as head of the palace eunuchs (ἄρχων γεγονώς τῶν ἐν Παλατίῳ εὐνούχων); *Proc. Anecd.* 29.13. The *praepositus sacri cubiculi* for much of Justinian's reign was Narses I (537–?558); Euphratas could have been PSC before 537 but was perhaps rather *primicerius sacri cubiculi*. In any event he held office and died before 550, when Procopius wrote the *Anecdota*.

He was survived by a nephew but failed to make a will and the emperor confiscated all of his considerable wealth; *Proc. Anecd.* 29.13.

Euphronius 1 bishop of Tours 555/556-573

Nephew of Gregorius Attalus (bishop of Langres; *PLRE* II, p. 179); Greg. Tur. *HF* IV 15. Of senatorial family (ex genere illo, quod superius senatores nuncupavimus); *HF* X 31. He was therefore related to Gregory of Tours; see stemma 12. He was born in c. 503 (see below). Perhaps father of Aventius.

He entered the church at an early age (ab ineunte aetate clericus; Greg. Tur. *HF* X 31. A priest in 555/556; *HF* IV 15, X 31.

Bishop of Tours a. 555/556-573; ordained bishop with Chlothar's approval in 555/556; Greg. Tur. *HF* IV 15, cf. 14 for the date. He was bishop for seventeen years, dying in 573 at the age of seventy; Greg. Tur. *HF* X 31. His successor was Gregory of Tours; Greg. Tur. *HF* X 31, *Mir. S. Mart.* II 1.

Also mentioned in Greg. Tur. *HF* IV 26, 49, IX 30, 39, 40. *Mir. S. Mart.* I 23, 30, 32, *V. Patr.* 15.1, *Glor. Conf.* 9, 18-20, *MGH, Conc.* I 135, 138, 145, *Ven. Fort. Carm.* III 6, line 20. Addressee of *Ven. Fort. Carm.* III 1-3.

Cf. Stroheker, no. 130.

Fl. Euphronius 2 v.d. (in Egypt) VI/VII

A debt of four *solidi* to him was acknowledged in a document from the Fayum; *BGU* III 751 verso (εἰς Φλαούιον Εὐφρόνιον τὸν καθοσιωμένον μ(ου) κύριον). He may have been simply a soldier.

Eupraxius ?PVC VI/VII

Named on glass weights; Monneret de Villard, *Catalogue D*, nos. 1a-c (three examples, 1a = Schlumberger, *Mél.*, p. 324, no. 12). All read: +ΕΥΠΡΑΞΙΟΥΝ in a circle round a monogram (372) of unknown meaning. Cf. Feissel, *Rev. Num.*⁶ 28 (1986), p. 123, n. 18.

Euprepus doctor (at Antinoe) E/M VI

Father of Fl. Phoebammon 5; a doctor, presumably at Antinoe; *P. Cairo Masp.* 67151, lines 5-6 Φλαύιος Φοιβάμμων ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ τῆς μακαρίας μνήμης Εὐπρεπίου τοῦ ἀπογενομένου ἀρχιιάτρου, cf. lines 21, 110. The document, from Antinoe, is dated 19th Hathyr of indiction 4, in year 5 of Justin, i.e. Nov. 15, 570.

Eusebia 1 nobilis (in Gaul) M VI

An epitaph on her was composed by Venantius Fortunatus; *Ven. Fort. Carm.* IV 28. Of noble birth (line 5 nobilis), she died aged ten (line 12) when already betrothed to Eusebius (line 11). Cf. Stroheker, no. 133.

Eusebia 2 patricia (East) 603

In letters to Rusticana 2 Gregory sent greetings to Apion 4 and Eusebia and their daughters; Greg. *Ep.* II 27 (a. 592 April; gloriosum domnum Appionem et domnam Eusebiam), IV 44 (a. 594 Aug.; domnum Appionem et domnam Eusebiam eorumque filias). In a third letter to Rusticana Gregory expressed his concern for the spiritual welfare of Rusticana and Eusebia; Greg. *Ep.* VIII 22 (a. 598 May; quantum etiam gloriosae filiae vestrae domnae Eusebiae in omnibus congruat).

In 603 Eusebia received a letter from Gregory exhorting her to turn her mind from the troubled state of affairs in Constantinople to spiritual matters and praying for peace and health for her, her husband and for Strategius 8; Greg. *Ep.* XIII 35 (a. 603 June; addressed 'Eusebiae patriciae'; styled 'vestra excellentia'; omnipotens autem Deus... vosque et hic cum nobilissimo coniuge tranquille vivere et de domni Strategii salute gaudere faciat).

She was presumably the wife of Apion, mother of Strategius and of several daughters, and probably daughter of Rusticana. Cf. also Greg. *Ep.* XI 26 (a. 601 Feb.; to Rusticana; dulcissimum filium meum domnum Strategium cum gloriosis parentibus suis filiis vestris mea peto vice salutari). See stemma 9.

Eusebius (*PSI* VI 686) ?VI: *PLRE* II.

Eusebius 1 orator, at Constantinople? ?M VI

A citizen of Byzantium; when granted permission by the city to set up a portrait as a reward for his oratory, he chose to set up an image of Hippocrates; the fact is recorded in verses by Synesius 2 *scholasticus*; *Anth. Gr.* XVI 267. He may therefore be contemporary with Synesius.

Fl. Eusebius 2 defensor of Oxyrhynchus ?VI

Addressee of a petition; *PSI* 686 Oxyrhynchus (line 2 Φλαούιω Εὐσεβίω τῷ λογιωτάτῳ ἐκδίκῳ τῆς Ὀξυρυ[γ]χιτῶν).

Eusebius 3 envoy to Persia 561

Colleague of Petrus 6 in 561, when they negotiated the fifty-year peace with Chosroes; *Men. Prot. fr.* 11. Menander does not record any title for him. See further Petrus.

Eusebius 4 honorary consul; comes foederatorum 562

HONORARY CONSVL and COMES FOEDERATORVM in late 562, when he and Ioannes 81 revealed a plot against Justinian after the conspirator Ablabius 1 had confided details to them; Joh. Mal. 493 (Εὐσεβίῳ τῷ κόμητι τῶν φοιδεράτων), fr. 49 (Εὐσεβίῳ τῷ ἀνθυπάτῳ καὶ κόμητι {τῶν} φοιδεράτων), Theoph. AM 6055 (Εὐσεβίῳ τῷ ἀπὸ ὑπάτων ὄντι κόμητι φοιδεράτων). The correct reading is preserved in Theophanes; the first of Eusebius' titles is honorific, and the status of the *comes foederatorum* (see Artabanes) indicates the honorary consulship rather than the pro-consulship; perhaps the reading ἀνθυπάτῳ was introduced when the *Excerpta* were compiled for Constantine Porphyrogenitus in the tenth century, by which time the order of ἀνθύπατοι had been formed (cf. Bury, *Imp. Adm. Sys.*, pp. 28–9, Oikonomides, *Listes*, p. 294 with n. 39).

Eusebius 5 banker and conspirator 562

Ὁ ἀργυροπράτης; one of the conspirators in a plot against Justinian in late 562; his testimony was read out before a special *silentium* convened by the emperor; Joh. Mal. 494, Joh. Mal. fr. 49.

Eusebius 6 patricius 565/578

Πατρίκιος; he built τὰ Εὐσεβίου (perhaps a palace) at Constantinople in the reign of Justin II and Sophia; *Patr. Const.* III 110, cf. Janin, *Const. Byz.* 327 (site unknown).

Eusebius 7 MVM (per Orientem) (573–)574

Ὁ στρατηγός; recalled from the east to Constantinople in spring 574 when a year's truce with Persia came into effect; Men. Prot. fr. 38. For the date, cf. Stein, *Stud.*, pp. 48 and 54, no. 14. Eusebius seems to have succeeded Theodorus 31 in the eastern command, perhaps after the fall of Dara (Nov. 573), and to have been succeeded by Iustinianus 3 in late 574/early 575.

Eusebius 8 notarius (of Childebert II); envoy 587/588

Notarius; member of an embassy to Maurice from Childebert II in late 587/early 588; his colleagues were Ennodius 3, Grippo and Radan; *Ep. Austras.* 25 (*MGH, Epp.* III, pp. 138–9). See further Grippo.

Eusebius 9 adiutor of the scrinium canonum (at Ravenna) L VI

One of the witnesses of a deed of sale at Ravenna in the late sixth century; Marini, *P. Dip.* 121 = *P. Ital.* 36, line 35 + Eusebius ad(iutor) in scrin(io) can(o)n(um), line 63 Eusebius adi(utor) scr(i)n(ii) can(o)n(um) qui manet ad sanctum Stefanum.

Eusebius 10 praefectus VI

Εὐσεβίου ἐπάρχου; Dumbarton Oaks seal 58.106.422 (seal; obv.: cruciform monogram of Θεοτόκε βοήθει; rev.: square monogram (86) of Εὐσεβίου ἐπάρχου).

Eusebius 11 supporter of Heraclius (in Egypt) 609

A leading supporter of Heraclius in the revolt against Phocas, he was sent through Egypt by Nicetas 7 to collect money and troops in the aftermath of the defeat of Bonosus 2; Joh. Nik. 108.13 (p. 548 Zotenberg). Cf. Ptolemaeus 6.

Eusebius 12 envoy to the Lombards 616/626

Envoy of the emperor Maurice (so Fredegarius, evidently in mistake for Heraclius) to Adaloald, king of the Lombards; his dominating influence on the young king, allegedly aided by magic ointments (*nescio quibus unguentis*), led Adaloald to pursue a strongly pro-Byzantine policy and to execute a number of Lombard nobles, which provoked a reaction and the king's overthrow; Fredegar. IV 49. The date was perhaps c. 623; cf. Brown, *Gentlemen*, p. 259.

EVSEBONAS v.c., palatinus (East) 550

Native of Mopsuestia, born c.a. 500; a v.c., *palatinus*, he was one of the elderly laymen living in Mopsuestia called to testify before the synod there on June 17, 550; *ACOec.* IV I, p. 118 (*clarissimus palatinus*), p. 120 (*Eusebonas dixit: Eusebonas dicor; palatinus sum in hac civitate natus*), p. 126 (*palatinus; aged about fifty in 550*). Cf. Eumolpius.

Eustathianus (*PSI XIII 1309*) V/VI: *PLRE II*.

Eustathius 1 ?PVC 530/531

An anonymous epigram records that Eustathius erected an equestrian statue of Justinian depicting the emperor as victorious over the Persians and Scythians; the emperor, who is named in line 5, is addressed in line 1 as ὦ βασιλεῦ Μηδοκτόνε; Eustathius is described in line 2 as σῆς Ῥώμης γενέτης καὶ παῖς Εὐστάθιος; *Anth. Gr.* XVI (= *Anth. Plan.*) 62. It seems most likely that Eustathius was the city prefect of Constantinople, the most probable interpretation of line 2. According to the lemmata, this poem was on a statue of Justinian in the hippodrome and the next poem (*Anth. Gr.* XVI 63) was on the same statue (εἰς τὸ αὐτό). The second poem records as donor one Iulianus, identifiable as the PPO Orientis in 530 and 531. It is an open question whether there was in fact only one statue, erected by both men, or two. However that may be, Eustathius

and Iulianus were probably both celebrating the victory at Dara in June 530 (the addition of Scythians in the verses about Eustathius need refer only to Persia's allies at Dara, the Huns; cf. Proc. *BP* I 15.1.6-17). On this whole problem, see Alan Cameron, *Some Prefects called Julian*, in *Bz.* 47 (1977), 44-7.

Possibly identical with Eustathius ἀπὸ ὑπάρχων, called the great (ὁ μέγας) (according to the lemma), whose son was wealthy and whose grandson, also called Eustathius 5, died aged fifteen; *Anth. Gr.* VII 602 (written by Agathias; the boy died young, notwithstanding his father's wealth and his grandfather's high office - οὐδὲ τεοῦ πάππου θρόνος ἤρκεσεν; - the office was therefore actual).

Eustathius 2 architect M VI

He accompanied the doctor Sergius 1 to Rome (in 535); Zach. *HE* IX 19 ('Eustathio puero quodam architectone (ἀρχιτέκτων) ex Amida eum comitante').

Eustathius 3 domesticus (?of Belisarius) ?542

Named in an acclamation inscribed at Cyrrhus; *IGLS* 147 (= *CIG* 8897) (+ Εὐσταθίου δο(μ)εστίκου πολ(λ)ᾶ ἔτη). It is contemporary with two other inscriptions, *IGLS* 145 and 146, the first honouring Belisarius, the second Justinian and Theodora. All three were built into the wall over the gate of the citadel of Cyrrhus; they may date from 542 when Belisarius was in that area. Eustathius was perhaps the *domesticus* of Belisarius and entrusted by him with carrying out building work at Cyrrhus. There was considerable building activity at Cyrrhus under Justinian; Proc. *Aed.* II 11.4-7.

Perhaps identical with Eustathius 4.

Eustathius 4 MVM (?vacans) 527/548 (?542/548)

Named in an acclamation inscribed at Hierapolis in Euphratensis; *AE* 1947, 195 (Εὐσταθίου στρα[τηλάτου] πολλὰ τ[ᾶ] ἔτη...). The inscription also records acclamations to Justinian and Theodora and is therefore datable between 527 and 548. Eustathius may be identical with Eustathius 3 (the *domesticus* of Belisarius) and if so the inscription would be datable between 542 and 548 and Eustathius will have been promoted to MVM, presumably after Belisarius had left the East; he was not MVM *per Orientem* (cf. Martinus 2) and was probably an MVM *vacans*. For another *domesticus* of Belisarius promoted to MVM, see Solomon 1.

Eustathius 5 M VI

Commemorated in verses by Agathias; *Anth. Gr.* VII 602. His

grandfather had held high office and his father was wealthy, but in spite of these advantages he died when only fifteen (*vv.* 7-8 οὐδὲ τεοῦ πάππου θρόνος ἤρκεσεν, οὐ γενετῆρος ὄλβος). According to a lemma he was the son of Eustathius ἀπὸ ὑπάρχων τοῦ μεγάλου, who was perhaps his grandfather, rather than his father, in view of his title, and should perhaps be identified with Eustathius 1 who was probably PVC in 530/531.

Eustathius 6 ?v.c. (Egypt); agent of the embolē 556-557

Two documents from the Apion accounts at Oxyrhynchus record the sale of *artabae* (of corn) to him - τῷ λαμπρο(τάτῳ) Εὐσταθίῳ ἐμβολάτορ(ι) (or similar); *P. Oxy.* 1914, lines 5-6 (a. 556), 1911, line 209 (a. 557). He was a public official charged with purchasing corn for delivery to Alexandria and Constantinople.

Fl. Eustathius 7 ?v.c., banker and ?comes (Egypt) 574/578

Received from Fl. Christodote a claim for payment - Φλ(αουίῳ) Εὐσταθίῳ τῷ λαμπρο(τάτῳ) κωμ(ήτῃ) καὶ ἀργυροπράτῃ - at Oxyrhynchus in 574/578; *PSI* I 76 Oxyrhynchus. Κωμ(ήτῃ) may mean fellow-citizen (of Oxyrhynchus) or perhaps a *comes*.

FL. EVSTATHIVS 8 ?provincial governor (Egypt) VI

Named in a document of unknown provenance in Egypt; a quantity of oil was to be paid to an individual διὰ Φ(λαουίου) Εὐσταθίου [ἄ]ρχ(οντος?); *BGU* III 967, 3. If ἄρχοντος is correct, he was a provincial governor.

Eustathius 9 numerarius (in Syria) VI

Εἰς Θεὸς κὲ ὁ Χριστὸς αὐτοῦ/ + Εὐσταθίου νομηραρί(ου); *IGLS* 485 = *Princ. Exp. Syr.* III 95 = *CIG* 9154 Serjiblé (North of the Jebel Halaqa, between Antioch and Beroea).

Eustathius (?) 10 praefectus VI

Εὐσταθίου ἐπάρχου; Zacos 1230 = Dumbarton Oaks seal 55.1.68 (seal; obv.: Virgin and child; rev.: square monogram (373) of a name and the title ἐπάρχου; the name could be Εὐσταθίου or Ἀθανασίου and other names are also possible.

Eustathius 11 a secretis M VI/M VII

Εὐσταθίου ἀδσηκρήτις; Zacos 2876 (seal; obv.: ΕΥCTA/ΘΙΟΥ; rev.: ΑΔCH/KPHTI/C).

EVSTATHIUS 12 vir magnificentissimus, tabularius 628

With Heraclius at Ganzac in 628, when he accompanied the Persian envoy Phaiak on April 8 to see Cavades, bearing gifts, and arranged an end to the war with Persia; *Chron. Pasch.* s.a. 628 (Εὐστάθιον τὸν μεγαλοπρεπέστατον ταβουλάριον), cf. Sebeos, xxvii, pp. 86-7 (Heraclius 'sent one of his principal nakharars whose name was Yustath' to Cavades with gifts).

The name *tabularius* formerly denoted a financial official who was becoming known already in the fourth century by the name *numerarius*; whether Eustathius was a *numerarius* or the holder of some new (?financial) position for which the name *tabularius* was revived is not clear. Cf. Jones *LRE* II, p. 594 with n. 72 and see Leontius 35.

Eustathius 13 citizen of Neapolis ?630

A wealthy citizen of Neapolis in Palestine, in 630(?) he entertained Heraclius and his court at his home in Neapolis; the Jew Benjamin was baptised there on this occasion; Theoph. AM 6120.

Eustathius 14 vir gloriosissimus, MVM 638-639

Εὐστάθιος ὁ ἐνδοξότατος στρατηλάτης; probably in 638 he delivered to the patriarch Cyrus 17 at Alexandria a copy of the Ecthesis which had been sent to the exarch of Italy, Isaac; Mansi x 1004-5 (a letter from Cyrus to the patriarch Sergius). Whether his dignity was actual or honorific is uncertain.

Ὁ μάλιστα Εὐστάθιος, he was one of the highest dignitaries in the imperial procession to Hagia Sophia on Jan. 1, 639; Const. Porph. *de cer.* II 28. See further Nicetas 8.

Eustathius 15 logothetes of the stratoticion VII

Εὐσταθίου strat(ioticu) logothetu; Zacos 805a (seal; obv.: ΕVC/ΤΑΘ/Ι8; rev.: ΣΤΡΑ/ΤΕΛΟΓΟ/ΤΗΕΤΥ). Probably the same man owned the following three closely similar seals; Zacos 805b = Fogg Art Museum seal 1536, Dumbarton Oaks seal 55.1.4422, Schlumberger, *Mé.* p. 242, no. 74 (obv.: +ΕVC/ΤΑΘΙ/ΟV; rev.: ΣΤΡΑ/ΤΕΛΟΓΟ/ΤΗΕΤΥ). On the office, cf. Bury, *Imp. Adm. Sys.*, p. 90, Oikonomides, *Listes*, p. 314 with nn. 154-5.

Eustathius 16 ex praefectis VII

Εὐσταθίω ἀπὸ ἐπαρχῶν; Dumbarton Oaks seal 58.106.3410 (seal; obv.: cruciform monogram of Θεοτόκε βοήθει with ΕV/C-T/A/ΘΙ-Ω in the quarters; rev.: ΑΠΟ/ΕΠΑΡ/ΧΩΝ).

Eusthenia niece of Gregory of Tours M/L VI

Niece of Gregory of Tours; Greg. Tur. *Mir. S. Mart.* iv 36. Wife of Nicetius 3; Greg. Tur. *HF* v 14. She was therefore daughter of Iustinus 3 and Anonyma 4 and (younger) sister of Iustina 2. See stemma 12. Cf. Stroheker, no. 134.

Eustochius 1 ancestor of Athanasius 3 ?E/M VI

Recorded with Cyrillus 1 and Cometas 1 as ancestors of Athanasius 3; *P. Cairo Masp.* 67097 = *REG* 24 (1911), p. 428, line 10 (cited under Athanasius).

Possibly to be identified with Eustochius 2.

FL. EVSTOCHIVS 2 vir magnificentissimus (Egypt) 533

Son of ὁ ἐνδοξότατος κόμης Cyrillus (= *PLRE* II, Cyrillus 4); styled ὁ μεγαλοπρεπέστατος; a landowner at Arsinoe; *Stud. Pal.* xx 140 Arsinoe (April 18, 533; dated in indiction 11, = 533, but in the postconsulate of Orestes and Lampadius, = 532; probably the scribe forgot to add τὸ β' to the postconsulate).

Eustorgius: comes (in Cyprus) IV/VI: PLRE II (p. xxxviii).

Eustorgius law student M VI

Native of Antioch and a student of law, he died aged seventeen and was lamented in verses by Agathias; *Anth. Gr.* vii 589.

Eustratius 1 ?censitor (in Africa) 534

He and Tryphon 2 were sent to Africa in 534 by Justinian in order to re-assess the taxes (ἐφ' ᾧ τοὺς φόρους αὐτοῖς τάξουσι κατὰ λόγον ἐκάστω), since the former registers had disappeared under the Vandals; their new assessments were considered excessive and intolerable by the people of Africa; Proc. *BV* II 8.25. Their task was evidently to produce new tax registers by holding a census rather than to revise existing ones and therefore they were probably *censitores*.

Eustratius 2 son of Soterichus 556

Son of Soterichus 1; younger brother of Philagrius 1 and Romulus 2; in 556, when his brothers accompanied their father to Lazica, he remained in Constantinople, partly because he was still rather young and partly because he was not physically robust; Agath. III 15.7.

Euthalius 1 ?largitionalis 537

Sent to Italy in summer 537 by Justinian with the money owed the

troops; he arrived at Tarracina in mid June (around the summer solstice) and from there proceeded to Rome with a special escort drawn from Belisarius' own bodyguard; they entered the city under cover of darkness with the money; Proc. *BG* II 2.1-6.24. Cf. Belisarius, p. 200.

Possibly an official from the department of the *largitiones*; cf. Jones, *LRE* II, p. 624 with n. 34.

Euthalius 2 chartularius M/L VI

Ε(ὐ)θαλίου. Euthalii chart(ularii); Zacos 326 (seal; obv.: cruciform monogram (84) of ΕΦΘΑΛΙΘ; rev.: ΕΥΤ/ΗΓΛΛΙ/ΧΗΓΥΤ/Ι).

Eutherius (*CIL* VI 31973) V/VI: *PLRE* II.

EVATHERIVS vir magnificus L VI

In 590 Clementina wrote to Gregory about the death of Eutherius and received a letter of consolation in reply (epistulam gloriae vestrae suscipiens, quae de transitu Eutherii quondam magnificae memoriae loquebatur); Greg. *Ep.* I 11 (a. 590 Dec.). Perhaps husband of Clementina.

Eutocius: mathematician (at Alexandria) E/M VI; *PLRE* II.

Eutocius ?provincial magistrate (East) ?L VI

The name is restored by Zotenberg.

Described as 'a magistrate named Eutocius who had been deputed to a barbarous country' ('un certain magistrat nommé Eutocius qui devait partir pour un pays habité par des peuplades barbares'; Zotenberg); according to the anecdote told by John of Nikiu, he had his steward cruelly put to death after rats ate his silken tunic, and later repented but when told by supposed holy men that there was no forgiveness he committed suicide; Joh. Nik. 102. 1-8 (pp. 536-7 Zotenberg).

Eutolmius 1 advocate of the PPO Orientis (530-) 533

Advocate (patronus causarum) at the court of the PPO Orientis and member of the commission which worked on the Digest (from Dec. 530 to Dec. 533); *CJ* I 17.2. 9 = Just. *Const.* 'Tanta' (a. 533 Dec. 16; completion of the project). See Leontius 1. Eutolmius is named fourth of the advocates.

Eutolmius 2 scholasticus and defensor (?ecclesiastical) (Egypt) ?VI

ΧΜΓ/+μνημ(ε)ῖον +/Εὐτολμίου πρεσβ(υτέρου)/, σχολ(αστικοῦ) ἐκδίκου; Lefebvre, no. 430 provenance uncertain, perhaps Hermonthis. He was perhaps an ecclesiastical official.

Eutolmius (vir illustris, scholasticus; author of *Anth. Gr.* VI 86, VII 608, 611, IX 587); probably fifth century, see *PLRE* II, pp. 439-40, but cf. Alan and Averil Cameron, *JHS* 87 (1967), 131.

Eutropius husband of Maria E VII

Second husband of Maria 12 and father of Stephanus 60; Nic. *Brev.* 14, 17. See stemma 6.

Fl. Soterius Marianus Michaelius Gabriellus Ioannes Theodorus Nicetas Theodorus Bonus Eutropius Olympius Ioannes.

Eutyches (*IGC* 310) V/VI: *PLRE* II.

Eutyches: grammaticus, E/M VI; *PLRE* II.

Eutyches scholasticus and pater civitatis (Mopsuestiae) M VI

Acclamations honouring Justinian, Marthanes 1 and bishop Antoninus at Mopsuestia in 559/560 were dated ἐπι Εὐτυχοῦς σχ(ολαστικοῦ) κ(αί) πατρός; *Türk Tarih Kurumu, Belleten* (Ankara) 42 (1978), p. 410, no. 35 (in the museum at Adana, transported from Mopsuestia).

EUTYCHIANVS 1 ?primicerius notariorum M VI

Possibly a relation and contemporary of Paul the Silentiary (Paulus 21), he was well-educated and received praise for his intelligence from Agathias whom he encouraged to write his history; at the time, while still a young man, he held a senior position among the imperial notaries; Agath. I prooem. 11 (ἐν τοῖς Εὐτυχιανός ὁ νέος ἀρχηγός γε ἦν τῆς παραινέσεως, ἀνῆρ τὰ πρῶτα τελῶν ἐν τοῖς τῶν βασιλέων ὑπογραφεῦσι καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ἀγαθὸς καὶ ἀγχινοῦστατος παιδείας τε ἀποχρώντως ἔχων καὶ τοῦ τῶν Φλωριδῶν γένους ἀριστον ἐγκαλλώπισμα γεγενημένος). The allusion to him as one of the descendants of Florus suggests a family connection with Paul the Silentiary.

Eutychanus 2 illustrius VI

Eutychanu illustrii; Zacos 806 (seal; obv.: ΕΥΤ/ΥΧΗ/ΑΠΥ; rev.: ILL/ΥΖΤ/ΡΙΥ).

Eutychanus 3 silentarius VI

Εὐτυχιανοῦ silentiarii; Zacos 328 (seal; obv.: square monogram (87) of Εὐτυχιανοῦ; rev.: ΖΙΛ/ΕΝΤ/ΙΑΡΙΙ).

Eutythianus 4 scholasticus (in Egypt) VI

Addressee of a letter from a *notarius* of the *dux Thebaïdis*; *P. Cairo Masp.* 67289, verso 1 + δεσ[πό(τη) μο(υ) τῶ] σοφ(ω)τ(άτω) καὶ φιλοχρ(ίστω) μεγαθ(ύ)μ(ω) προστά(τη) Εὐτυχιανῶ [σ]χολ(αστικῶ). The provenance is unknown.

Eutythianus 5 ?vir gloriosissimus; ?vicarius Ponticae 610/611

Εὐτυχιανὸς δὲ ὁ ἐνδοξότατος ἀνὴρ ἐπάρχων τοῦ στρατοῦ; with other ἄρχοντες he sent a letter from Ancyra to Theodore of Syceon in late 610/early 611 for his prayers to stop the execution of Philippicus by Comentiolus 2; *V. Theod. Syc.* 152. For the date, see Comentiolus. He was possibly *vir gloriosissimus*, though the insertion of the word ἀνὴρ makes it less likely that ἐνδοξότατος is technically correct (cf. also *V. Theod. Syc.* 154, cited under Nicetas 7). His office is uncertain, but as an army commander he may have been MVM or, perhaps more probably at Ancyra, the *vicarius Ponticae*; for this post, revived in 548 and with its own troops, see *Just. Ed.* 8, and cf. also Euphrantas.

EVTYCHIVS (Euthicius) 1 (v.c.) (at Rome) E/M VI

One of the 'Romanae urbis nobiles et religiosi' who sent their sons to St Benedict for training; his son was Maurus 1; *Greg. Dial.* II 3.

Eutythius 2 envoy to the Turks 571/576

Envoy to the Turks some time between 571 and 576 (between the embassy of Zemarchus 3 in 569–571 and the second embassy of Valentinus 3); in 576 some Turks who had accompanied him back to Constantinople set off to return home with Valentinus; *Men. Prot. fr.* 43. Cf. Anancastes, Herodianus 2 and Paulus 19.

Eutythus ex praefectis 599

Eutythum virum magnificum, qui se inlustrem praefecturium esse memorat; he visited Rome from Sicily with a letter to Gregory from Cyridanus and returned in Feb./April 599 with Gregory's reply, *Greg. Ep.* IX 115 (a. 599 Feb./April). The title which he claimed was probably that of ἀπὸ ἐπάρχων, i.e. the honorary prefecture; although the correspondence concerned the corn supply, there is no reason to suppose that Eutythus was involved in an official capacity; cf. however, Brown, *Gentlemen*, p. 259.

Exsuperius envoy (of Leovigild) 582

Envoy of Leovigild to Chilperic in 582; his colleague on the embassy was Florentius 6; *Greg. Tur. Mir. S. Mart.* III 8. See further Florentius.

Eudocia quae et Fabia

Fabius son of Heraclius E/M VII

First son of the emperor Heraclius and Martina, born with a paralysed neck; *Nic. Brev.* 14 (in the MS of Nicephorus, his name is given as Flavius). The absence of any reference to him at *Nic. Brev.* 22–3 (Heraclius proclaims his son by Eudocia, Constantinus, consul and his son by Martina, Heraclius (= Heraclonas), Caesar) suggests that he had died by the 630s.

Rosemu(n)d qui et Faffo

Failleuba queen of Childebert II L VI

Wife of Childebertus II; *Greg. Tur. HF* IX 20, 38, cf. IX 10 (his unnamed 'coniunx'). Styled 'regina'; *Greg. Tur. HF* IX 11, 20, 38. Presumably mother of Theodebertus and Theodericus; cf. *Greg. Tur. HF* VIII 37, IX 4. She seems to have born daughters to Childebert, as well as another child who died soon after birth; *Greg. Tur. HF* IX 20, 38. Mentioned in 587 (in the treaty of Andelot, Nov. 28) and in 589 when she learnt of a plot against herself and Brunichildis and told Childebert; *Greg. Tur. HF* IX 10–11, 20 (in 587), IX 38 (in 589).

Fara son of Chrodoald E/M VII

Son of Chrodoaldus 2; an ally of the *dux* of Thuringia, Radulfus, he lived east of the Rhine; in 639 he was killed by Sigibert and his people were enslaved (omnem populum huius Farae qui gladium evasit captivitate deputant); *Fredegar. iv* 87.

Faramodus referendarius (in Gaul) M VI

Addressee of verses by Venantius Fortunatus, asking him to commend Venantius to the kings (lines 5–6 commendesque libens domnis me regibus, oro, et referas grates pro pietatis ope); *Ven. Fort. Carm.* IX 12 (ad Faramodum referendarium).

Possibly identical with the priest Faramod, brother of bishop Ragnemod of Paris, who tried unsuccessfully to become bishop of Paris in succession to his brother in 591; *Greg. Tur. HF* X 26. If so, he presumably became a cleric after Venantius Fortunatus wrote the verses to him. Perhaps significantly, verses by Venantius addressed to bishop Ragnemod stand close to those to Faramod in the collection of Venantius' poems (IX 10 ad Ragnemodum episcopum).

Faraulfus cubicularius (of Chilperic) 584

At Paris in 584 he was accused of seeking to assassinate Guntram; he

denied it, but Guntram took precautions; Faraulfus died soon afterwards; Greg. Tur. *HF* vii 18 (Faraulfus cubicularius quondam fratris tui, i.e. 'cubicularius of your late brother').

Faroaldus Lombard dux of Spoletium ?c. 571—before 591

Father of Teudelapius and another son; Paul. Diac. *Hist. Lang.* iv 16.

dux of Spoletium ?c.a. 571—before 591: the first *dux* of Spoletium, he captured and plundered Classis during the reign of Tiberius; Paul. Diac. *Hist. Lang.* iii 13 (hac etiam tempestate Faroald primus Spolitanorum dux cum Langobardorum exercitu Classem invadens opulentam urbem spoliata cunctis divitiis nudam reliquit). The first *dux* of Beneventum (Zotto) apparently took office in 571; it is unlikely that the first *dux* of Spoletium was appointed later than this. The occupation of Classis and its recovery by the Romans is alluded to in the epitaph of Droctulf; Paul. Diac. *Hist. Lang.* iii 19, lines 15–16 (inde etiam, retinet dum Classem fraude Faroaldus, Vindicet ut Classem, classibus arma parat, sc. Droctulphus). For the date, 584 or 585, see Droctulfus 1.

He was succeeded by Ariulfus (in office by 591); Paul. Diac. *Hist. Lang.* iv 16, cf. Greg. *Ep.* ii 7 (a. 591 Sept.).

Also mentioned as *dux* at Spoletium; *ASS*, Jun. ii, 689E (*Vita Cethei*).

Fastita ?bodyguard of Ioannes 36 Troglita 548

He fought in the battle of the Plains of Cato in summer 548; Coripp. *Ioh.* viii 624. He is recorded in a passage apparently devoted to the exploits of some of Ioannes' closest followers and bodyguards (Recinarius, Bulmitzis, Solumuth, Dorotis, then Fastita, and then Ioannes 38; *Ioh.* viii 586ff.), but the text is very defective and full of lacunae at vv. 620–6 and the precise context is uncertain.

Fausta (= *PLRE* II, Fausta) illustris femina (West) ?VI

Fausta inlustris fem(ina) cum suis fecerunt pedes LX; *CIL* v 365 = *ILCV* 219a Parentium (in the mosaic floor of an old church). Similar texts record similar work by 'Claudia religiosa fem(ina) cum nepte sua Honoria' and 'Basilia religiosa femena cum suis'; *CIL* v 366–7 = *ILCV* 219b–c. Probably all three were wealthy ladies of noble birth devoted to religion.

Faustinus I vir illustris;

?curator domus divinae (in Palestine and Phoenicia) M VI

A native of Palestine; of Samaritan origin, he adopted Christianity as a consequence of anti-Samaritan laws; he became a member of the senate (i.e. *vir illustris*) and held the post of governor of Palestine (ἕς τε

βουλῆς ἀξίωμα ἦλθε καὶ τῆς χώρας τὴν ἀρχὴν ἔσχεν); shortly afterwards he was removed from office and went to Constantinople, where charges were laid against him by certain clergy that he was still a Samaritan and had abused his authority in Palestine to injure Christians; tried by members of the senate and sentenced to exile, he bribed the emperor and the sentence was quashed; he recovered his former status, became a close associate of the emperor and was appointed overseer of imperial estates in Palestine and Phoenicia, where he had a free hand, allegedly, to do as he wished (Φαυστίνος δὲ αὖθις τὸ πρότερον ἀξίωμα ἔχων, βασιλεῖ τε ὠμίλει ἐπίτροπός τε καταστάς τῶν ἐν Παλαιστίνῃ τε καὶ Φοινίκῃ βασιλικῶν χωρίων ἀδεέστερον ἅπαντα κατειργάζετο ὅσα οἱ αὐτῷ βουλομένῳ εἶη); Proc. *Anecd.* 27.26–31. For Justinian's anti-Samaritan legislation, cf. Jones, *LRE* I 286 with n. 40. Faustinus was a *vir illustris* when he became governor of Palestine and was perhaps *proconsul* rather than the lower ranking *consularis*; if so the date was after 536 (cf. Stephanus 7). His later post is uncertain; the *curatores domus divinae* were *illustres*, but the allusion to imperial estates implies that he was an official of the *res privata*. Cf. also Eudaemon 2.

FAVSTINVS 2 v.c., numerarius scrinii (in Italy) M VI

Faustinus v.c. nu[m(erarius)?] scrin(ii); died aged about fifty-three, buried at Ravenna in the reign of Justin II; *CIL* xi 313 = *ILCV* 123 Ravenna. The date was April 30 in an indiction whose number is lost; editors propose XV, giving April 30, 567. As there is no reference to Tiberius, the date was perhaps a. 565/574. Faustinus was probably *numerarius* at the head of the (financial) *scrinium* of the PPO Italiae. The restoration proposed in *CIL*, 'v.c., nu[m(eri)] scrin(ii)', is meaningless.

Faustinus 3 vir eloquentissimus; ?ecclesiastical notarius 597

Filius noster Faustinus vir eloquentissimus; son of Peltradius; he visited Rome to complain to Gregory that the church of Messana was illegally detaining property (mancipia) belonging to him; Greg. *Ep.* viii 3 (a. 597 Sept.). The epithet *eloquentissimus* indicates that Faustinus was a man of learning, possibly an advocate or a notary.

Also in 597 a sum of money, viz. fifteen pounds of silver, belonging to the church of Myria in Bruttium and lodged at Messana, was paid to him to ransom his daughters from the Lombards; Greg. *Ep.* vii 35.

In *Ep.* vii 35 he is alluded to as a *miles* of the church of Myria; this implies that he was an official of the church and so he may have been an ecclesiastical *notarius*.

Tarpeius Anceius Faustus (*CIL* vi 1765) V/VI: *PLRE* II.

Fl. Faustus: PPO (?of Italy) 521/522 or 529: *PLRE* II.

Faustus 1 cancellarius of the praetor Siciliae before 591

In 591 pope Gregory instructed Petrus the *rector patrimonii* in Sicily to consult Faustus concerning the secular affairs of the monastery of St Lucia in Syracuse; Greg. *Ep.* 167 (a. 591 Aug.; cum Fausto, qui Romani viri magnifici expraetore cancellarius fuerat). Cf. Romanus 6. Faustus is not mentioned in later correspondence about this monastery; cf. Greg. *Ep.* III 3, VII 36.

FAVSTVS 2 vir magnificus (at Naples) 598

Bishop Fortunatus of Naples informed Gregory in 598 that Faustus and Domitius 1 had been sent to Rome not by him but by some of his people (magnificos viros Faustum atque Domitium non a te, sed a quibusdam filiis tuis indicasti esse transmissos); Greg. *Ep.* IX 76 (a. 598 Nov./Dec.; to Fortunatus). The matter concerned Fortunatus' decision to award possession of the gates and aqueduct of Naples to Faustus and Domitius and not to Theodorus 48 and Rusticus 5; cf. Richards, *Consul of God*, pp. 166-7. Possibly one of the *seniores* of Naples.

FAVSTVS 3 vir gloriosus (in Italy) 599

Son and heir of Consentius; ordered by Gregory in 599 to return to the *rector* of the papal patrimony in Campania, Anthemius, the *ministeria* of the church of Cubulterna, formerly entrusted for safe keeping to Consentius and now in the possession of his heir Faustus; Greg. *Ep.* IX 93 (a. 599 Jan.; to Faustus; he is styled 'gloria vestra'), 94 (same date; to Anthemius; 'gloriosum virum Faustum').

Faustus 4 gloriosissimus vir (in Sicily) 599

Gloriosissimus filius noster Faustus; he complained to pope Gregory in 599 that agents of the church of Syracuse had seized an estate of his in Sicily; Gregory ordered the *defensor* Romanus and bishop John of Syracuse to restore it to him; Greg. *Ep.* IX 145 (a. 599 May; to Romanus), 146 (same date; to John).

(Fl.) Anicius Faustus Albinus Basilius

Felithanc vir sublimis (in Italy) 553

Vir subli(mis); husband of Ranilo; he and his wife were both illiterate; Marini, *P. Dip.* 86 = *P. Ital.* 13, lines 52-3, 63, 65-6, 68-9, 72-3, 76-7, 79. The document was dated April 4, 553, at Ravenna.

Felix (*CIL* XIII 2414) IV/VI: *PLRE* II.

Felix 1 consiliarius of the PPO Italiae ?533-537

Learned in the law (*scientia iuris eximius*), he served under Cassiodorus (*PLRE* II, Cassiodorus 4) as *consiliarius* (*viru prudentissimi Felicis... cuius participatus sum in omni causa consilium*); highly praised by Cassiodorus for lightening the burdens of office for him; Cass. *Var.* XI praefatio chartarum praefecturae (a. 537/538). Cassiodorus was PPO Italiae from 533 to 537.

SECVRVVS MEMOR FELIX 2 v.sp., comes consistorianus 534

Full name; MSS of Martianus Capella. Felix; MSS of Horace. v.sp., COM(ES) CONSIST(ORIANVS), RHETOR VRB(IS), ex mendosissimis exemplaribus emendabam contra legente Deuterio scolastico discipulo meo Romae ad Portam Capenam cons(ulatu) Paulini v.c. sub V non. Martiarum Christo adiuvante; *Subscript* to Book 1 of Martianus Capella. Magister Felix orator urbis Romae; he helped the former consul Vettius Agorius Basilius Mavortius (cos. 527) to edit Horace; *Subscript* to the epodes of Horace.

The consulship in which he edited Martianus Capella was presumably 534 rather than 498 since it was after 527 that he was working on Horace.

Felix 3 Gallo-Roman, of senatorial origin M VI

Father of Marcellus 6; Greg. Tur. *HF* VI 7 (Felicis senatoris filius). He was owner of the slave Andarchius; Greg. Tur. *HF* IV 46 (Felicis senatoris servus). He apparently lived at Marseilles; cf. Andarchius and Marcellus.

Possibly identical with Felix at Marseilles to whom Venantius Fortunatus sent greetings via Dynamius 1; Ven. Fort. *Carm.* VI 10, line 68.

Cf. Stroheker, no. 147.

Felix 4 nobilis (of Nursia) M VI

Quidam vero Felix nomine Nursinae provinciae nobilis; father of Castorius; acquainted with the monk and holy man Acquitius in Valeria; Greg. *Dial.* I 4.

Felix 5 bishop of Nantes c. 550-582

Addressee of a letter and verses by Venantius Fortunatus; Ven. Fort. *Carm.* III 4-10.

Of noble ancestry, from Aquitania; Ven. Fort. *Carm.* III 8, lines 11-25. Of his relatives, only a nephew, Burgundio, and an unnamed niece who married Pappolenus are recorded; Greg. Tur. *HF* VI 15-16. Born in 512 (see below).

Bishop of Nantes c.a. 550-582; he died of plague in 582 aged seventy and in his thirty-third year as bishop; Greg. Tur. *HF* VI 15. Mentioned as bishop of Nantes in Greg. Tur. *HF* IV 4 (saves Maclivus), 37 (cf. *V. Patr.* X 4), V 5 (accuses Gregory's brother Petrus of murder), 31, 49, VI 15, 16, IX 39, *Glor. Conf.* 78, and see *Conc. Gall.* 511-695, pp. 194-5, 199 (a. 567), p. 210 (a. 556/573), pp. 212-16 (a. 573).

Cf. Stroheker, no. 148.

Felix 6 ?patricius M/L VI

Husband and heir of Rustica (died c. 578); in 599 he had still not carried out the terms of her will respecting the foundation of a monastery in Sicily; Greg. *Ep.* IX 164 (a. 599 June; Felicem iugalem suam). Rustica was a *patricia*, and, as wives seem normally to have taken their rank from their husbands, so probably was Felix.

Felix 7 envoy of Guntram 585

Envoy of Guntram to Childebert in 585 at Confluentes (Coblenz); Greg. Tur. *HF* VIII 13.

In early 588 a certain Felix accompanied Gregory of Tours on an embassy from Childebert to Guntram (shortly after the treaty of Andelot); Greg. Tur. *HF* IX 20. This man, possibly a bishop (since he was sent with Gregory), is to be distinguished from the envoy of Guntram.

FELIX 8 (?v.c.) (in Italy) L VI

Husband of Viviana; dead by 591; Greg. *Ep.* I 37 (a. 591 March). See further Viviana.

FELIX 9 v.c., chartularius (in Sicily) 592

While visiting Rome in 592 he recommended to Gregory a certain priest in Syracuse as worthy of a bishopric; he returned to Syracuse with a letter for bishop Maximian on the matter; Greg. *Ep.* II 24 (a. 592 March; to Maximian; Felix vir clarissimus praesentium lator, (later) praesentium vero latorem Felicem virum clarissimum cartularium).

Felix 10 scholasticus (in Italy) L VI

Owner of a *domus* in Naples; dead before 598, when an abbey was housed in it; Greg. *Ep.* IX 54 (a. 598 Nov.; Neapolim in domo quondam Felicis scolastici constitutum est).

Felix 11 vir gloriosus (in Sicily) 598-599

Involved in a dispute with bishop John of Syracuse over the ownership of estates which he claimed had been wrongly seized by agents of the church; in Oct. 598 Gregory wrote urging them to take the matter to arbitration; Greg. *Ep.* IX 41 (addressed 'Felici Siciliae'; styled 'magnitudo vestra' and 'gloria vestra'), 42 (to bishop John; Felix vir magnificus). In Jan. 599 the pope again wrote urging them to settle the matter; Greg. *Ep.* IX 90 (addressed 'Felici Siciliae'; styled 'gloria vestra'), 91 (to bishop John; filius noster Felix vir gloriosus; the letter mentions 'possessionem eam quae Asinaria dicitur').

FELIX 12 vir magnificus (in Campania) 599

Probably in Naples in Feb. 599; he had loaned money to Maurus; Gregory asked the subdeacon Anthemius to persuade him not to charge interest on the loan; Greg. *Ep.* IX 108 (to Anthemius; Maurus borrowed money 'a Felice viro magnifico'). Anthemius was *rector* of Campania, and bishop Fortunatus of Naples was also involved; Felix was probably therefore also in Campania.

Felix 13 nobilis; priest (in Gaul) E VII

Of noble family (ingenie virtute cluins et nuvelis ortum) (perhaps, to judge by his name, Gallo-Roman), he became a priest and died in 630 aged fifty-five; his epitaph, composed by bishop Amatus of Veseroncia, survives; *CIL* XIII 2477 Ambarri (Briord, in Le Bugey, dept. Ain). Amatus died in 633/4 (his epitaph, XIII 2478, is dated in year five of Dagobert); Felix died on August 18 of a third indiction, i.e. Aug. 630.

Ferrocيناتus owner of estates in Samnium L VI

Ferrocيناتum quendam; under the terms of his will the church of Rome was his heir but certain estates (duos casales fundi, campos Etausimanos) were left as a legacy to the church of St John at Ortona (in Samnium); allegations were made in 599 that the church of Rome was illegally keeping those estates; Greg. *Ep.* IX 194 (a. 599 July). Evidently a man of property, presumably at Ortona.

Fidelis: quaestor palatii (in Italy) 527-528; PPO (Italiae) 537-538; *PLRE* II.

Fidelis bishop of Emerita M/L VI

Nephew of Paulus 22, he accompanied eastern merchants to Emerita, where he remained, received training for the church, and eventually

succeeded his uncle as bishop; he was himself succeeded by Massona (before 573; Joh. Bicl. s.a.); *V. Patr. Emer.* v-viii. Cf. Thompson, *Goths in Spain*, pp. 43-4.

Fidelius domesticus E/M VI

Ὁ τοῦ Θεοῦ δοῦλος Φιδήλιος δομ(έστικος); died at Smyrna on Feb. 8, 534; *IK* 23, n. 560 = *IGC* 69 = *CIG* 9276 Smyrna. Father of Timostratē; *IK* 23, n. 562 = *IGC* 70 = *CIG* 9277 Smyrna. Possibly one of the *domestici et protectores*.

See also Strategius 1, perhaps a relative.

Fl. Fidentius (*CIL* III 1987) V/VI: *PLRE* II.

Fidentius ?Gallo-Roman VI/VII

Son of Magnus 3, brother of Gallus 3; his tombstone survives near Briord (dept. Ain); *CIL* XIII 2483. Cf. Stroheker, no. 153.

Fingon vir magnificus (in Gaul) L VI

His blind daughter Iolita was miraculously cured at the tomb of Eparchius the hermit of Angoulême; *Vita et Virtutes Eparchii* II 6 (*MGH, Scr. Rer. Mer.* III, p. 561) (Iolita femina, viri magnifici Fingonis filia).

Firmina granddaughter of Justin II M/L VI

Daughter of Arabia; A. Déthier, *Nouvelles découvertes archéologiques faites à Constantinople*, 3ff., cf. Mango, *AJA* 55 (1951), 63ff. The inscription is datable to 564.

Fl. Firminus (*CIL* V 1680) V/VI: *PLRE* II.

FIRMINVS I comes Arvernorum 555, ?560-571

Son-in-law of Caesaria (and of Britianus) and brother-in-law of Palladius 3; Greg. Tur. *HF* IV 13, 39. A native of the Auvergne; Greg. Tur. *HF* IV 40.

COMES CIVITATIS ARVERNORVM a. 555, a. 561/575 (?a. 560-571): he was rudely dismissed from office by Chramnus (Firminum a comitatu urbis graviter iniuriatum abegit; his successor was Salustius) when the latter was living in Clermont, apparently in 555; he and Caesaria, removed from sanctuary in a church at Clermont, were exiled but escaped to safety in the church of St Julian; their property was confiscated; Greg. Tur. *HF* IV 13, cf. *HF* IV 9, 11, 14, 16 for the date.

Firminus was subsequently restored to office (perhaps after the death of Chramnus in 560), holding it under Sigibert (a. 561/575); cf. Greg. Tur. *HF* IV 30 (comes urbis illius, sc. Arvernorum), 35 (in hac civitate

comes positus fuerat). At Sigibert's orders he led an army from the Auvergne against Arles, occupied it with Audovarius and exacted oaths of loyalty to Sigibert but was then defeated and routed by Guntram's general Celsus 2; Greg. Tur. *HF* IV 30 (c. 567/569; cf. Celsus). He was still in office when bishop Cautinus of Clermont died at Easter 571 (cf. *HF* IV 31 and Mar. Avent. s.a. 571) and opposed in vain the choice of Avitus to succeed to the see; Greg. Tur. *HF* IV 35.

Sent as envoy with Warinarius by Sigibert to make peace with the emperor Justin, they travelled by sea and returned in the following year; Greg. Tur. *HF* IV 40 (not described here as in office). The date is uncertain, perhaps c. 570/572; cf. Stein, *Stud.*, p. 16 with p. 34, n. 18.

He failed to prevent the death of Palladius, perhaps in 572/573; Greg. Tur. *HF* IV 39. Cf. Stroheker, no. 158.

(Firmi)nus (?) 2 cubicularius or chartularius (Italy) 571/586

(Firmi?)nus (cubicu or chartu)lari(us cum) suis votum solvit; *AE* 1975, 416j Grado, in the mosaic pavement in the cathedral, from the time of bishop Elias (a. 571/586).

Fiscula ?bodyguard of Ioannes Troglita 546/547

He fought in the defeat of Antalas in winter 546/547; Coripp. *Ioh.* v 348. Possibly a member of the bodyguard of Ioannes 36 Troglita; see Germanus 2.

Flaochadus maior domus (in Burgundy) 642

A Frank (genere Francus); Fredegar. IV 89. Brother of Amalbertus; Fredegar. IV 90. On the occasion of his appointment as *maior domus* (see below) he was given Ragnoberta, niece of queen Nantechildis, in marriage; Fredegar. IV 89.

MAIOR DOMVS a. 642 (in Burgundy under Clovis II): elected by the bishops and *duces* of Burgundy assembled at Orléans (perhaps in 641), he was installed by Nantechildis and married to Ragnoberta; Fredegar. IV 89 (Flaochatus, genere Francus, maior domus in regnum Burgundiae, electione pontificum et cunctorum ducum, a Nantechilde regina in hunc gradum honoris nobiliter stabilitur, neptemque suam nomine Ragnobertam Flaochato desponsavit, sc. Nantechildis). The *maior domus* of Clovis in Neustria was Erchinoald. Flaochad sent letters to the bishops and *duces* throughout Burgundy undertaking to preserve their titles and privileges, and himself went on a circuit in Burgundy; Fredegar. IV 89.

He summoned an assembly of bishops and *duces* at Chalon in May 642, to discuss public business; at this assembly he tried to assassinate Willibadus, an old enemy, but was foiled by his brother Amalbert; later,

in September 642, he accompanied Clovis, with Erchinoald and Neustrian magnates, from Paris to Autun; there he plotted with Amalbert, Amalgarius and Chramnelenus to lure Willibad into a trap; with their men they joined battle with him outside Autun and killed him, watched by the other *duces* and the Neustrians; immediately afterwards Flaochad went to Chalon where he was struck down by a fever and died en route by boat to St-Jean-de-Losne, eleven days after the death of Willibad; he was buried on the outskirts of Dijon, in the church of St Benignus; he and Willibad are said to have frequently in the past exchanged sacred oaths of mutual friendship and to have both been guilty of oppressing and robbing their subjects; Fredegar. iv 90, cf. *V. Eligii* ii 28 (*MGH, Scr. Rer. Mer.* iv, pp. 715-16) ('Flavadas' killed Willibadus).

Flavia wife of Waldelenus L VI/E VII

Of noble family (nomine et genere et prudentia nobilem) from Besançon (probably a Gallo-Roman, cf. Chramnelenus); wife of Waldelenus; they were childless until she visited St Columbanus (at Luxeuil) for his prayers, after which she bore her husband two sons, Donatus (later bishop of Besançon) and Chramnelenus, and also two daughters; she outlived her husband and founded a convent of nuns at Besançon; Ionas, *V. Columb.* i 14 (*MGH, Scr. Rer. Mer.* iv, pp. 79-80).

Aelia Flavia (wife of Heraclius Augustus): see Eudocia quae et Fabia.

FLAVIANVS I v.c., iudex pedaneus 539

He was v.c., *advocatus fisci* (presumably in the court of the PPO Orientis) on April 8, 539, when he was appointed one of the twelve new *iudices pedanei* (δικασταί or διατηταί) at Constantinople by Justinian; *Just. Nov.* 82.1 (Φλαβιανός τε ὁ λαμπρότατος, ὃς συνήγορος τοῦ δημοσίου καθέστηκε νῦν). Cf. also Menas 2, and see Anatolius 4.

Flavianus 2 domesticus (under Childebert II) 590

DOMESTICVS under Childebert II a. 590: appointed shortly before Easter 590; *Greg. Tur. HF* x 15 (nuper domesticus ordinatus). Domesticus; *Greg. Tur. HF* ix 19, x 5 (in 590). He secured the release from captivity of the abbess Leubovera while in Poitiers around Easter 590; *Greg. Tur. HF* x 15. He took bribes to secure the acquittal of Animodus and Cuppa, when they were taken to Childebert's court to answer charges; *Greg. Tur. HF* x 5.

He received from Brunichildis property confiscated from Chramnesind in 587 but restored it later, apparently after becoming *domesticus*; *Greg. Tur. HF* ix 19.

Flavianus 3 scholasticus (in Egypt) VI
Φλαβιανός σχολ(αστικός); sent orders to the village of Coba to entertain Ioannes 152; *P. Princ.* ii 105 Oxyrhynchus.

Flavianus 4 scholasticus (Egypt) VI
Σχολαστικός; acknowledged instructions sent to him through one Heraclides βοηθός Σώβθεως Μεγάλης; *Stud. Pal.* xx 254 provenance unknown, dated sixth century.

Flavius bishop of Chalon-sur-Saône 580-591
Referendarius of king Guntram; in 580 he succeeded Agricola as bishop of Chalon-sur-Saône; *Greg. Tur. HF* v 45. Mentioned as bishop in 591; *Greg. Tur. HF* x 28. Present at church councils in 581 (Mâcon), 583 (Lyon) and 585 (Valence and Mâcon); *Conc. Gall.* a. 511-695, pp. 229-30 (a. 581/583), p. 233 (a. 583), p. 236 (a. 583/85), p. 248 (a. 585).

Reported, probably wrongly, to have been a supporter of Gundovald 2 and Mummolus 2 against Guntram; *Fredegar.* iii 89.

Possibly identical with Flavius *vir illustris*, a wealthy landowner in Provence in the time of bishop Nicetius of Lyon (a. 552-573); *V. Nicetii* 7 (*MGH, Scr. Rer. Mer.* iii, p. 522). Cf. Stroheker, no. 159.

FLORA (c.f.) (in Italy) L VI

Wife of Cethegus; *Greg. Ep.* ix 72 (a. 598 Nov./Dec.). See further Cethegus.

Florentianus (*Cass. Var.* viii 27) c. 527; *PLRE* ii.

Florentianus maior domus (of Brunichildis) 589
Envoy to king Miro in Galicia; *Greg. Tur. Mir. S. Mart.* iv 7. For the date, perhaps c. 581, and occasion (uncertain), cf. Miro.

MAIOR DOMVS of Brunichildis a. 589: maior domus reginae, *Greg. Tur. HF* ix 30; maior, *Greg. Tur. Mir. S. Mart.* iv 6, 7. In 589 he and Romulfus 1 were sent by Childebert as tax-assessors (*descriptores*) to Poitiers and then to Tours; *Greg. Tur. HF* ix 30. On July 4 they were present at the festival of St Martin at Tours and witnessed healing; *Greg. Tur. Mir. S. Mart.* iv 6. Florentianus described to Gregory a miraculous occurrence in Galicia which Miro had narrated to him; *Greg. Tur. Mir. S. Mart.* iv 7.

He and Romulfus are probably the *descriptores* mentioned in a poem of Venantius Fortunatus, *Carm.* x 11 (see Romulfus; if so the poem was

written in 589). Another poem of Venantius, one of four written 'pro puella a iudicibus capta', is addressed 'ad Florentinum'; *Carm.* x 12 d. One of the others was addressed to Gregory of Tours and another to Romulfus, and so it is possible that this one should be addressed 'ad Florentianum'; if so, these poems were probably also written in 589. He is described by Venantius as 'amice fidelis'.

Florentinus 1 husband of Artemia E VI

Of senatorial family, husband of Artemia, father of Gundulfus, Nicetius 1 (future bishop of Lyon) and a daughter (grandmother of Gregory of Tours); in c. 513 he was chosen to become bishop of Geneva but refused at his wife's insistence; he died before 543; *Greg. Tur. V. Patr.* 8.1. He was brother of Sacerdos; see stemma 12. Cf. Stroheker, no. 161.

Florentinus 2 vir inluster (Gaul); bishop of Mâcon M/L VI

Florentinus inluster, miraculously cured of an eye injury by bishop Germanus of Paris; *Ven. Fort. V. S. Germ.* LXIII 170-2 (the date was c. 560, when Syagrius was ordained bishop of Autun).

He subsequently became bishop of Mâcon; *Ven. Fort. V. S. Germ.* LXIII 173. His dates are unknown. In 567/570 the bishop of Mâcon was Caelodonus (*Conc. Gall.* 511-695, p. 202), and in 581/583 and 585 the bishop was Eusebius (*Conc. Gall.* 511-695, pp. 229, 230, 233, 236, 248).

FLORENTINVS 3

v.c.; former praepositus pistorum (at Ravenna) 575/591

Witness of the deed of sale to Holdigernus; *Marini, P. Dip.* 121 = *P. Ital.* 36, line 40... Florentinus v.c. ex p.p. pistor., line 64 Florentinus ex p.p.o./pistor. qui manet ad S(an)c(t)a(m) Agnite(m).

Florentius (*P. Cairo Masp.* 67009) E/M VI: PLRE II.

Florentius 1 ?tribunus numeri equitum (East) 530

A native of Thrace, in 530 he commanded a cavalry unit under Sittas 1 and Dorotheus 2 in Armenia (καταλόγου ἰππικοῦ ἄρχων); killed in the victory of Satala after seizing the Persian standard; *Proc. BP* I 15.15-16.

Florentius 2 father of Gregory of Tours E/M VI

Of senatorial family, son of Georgius 1 (and Leocadia), father of Gregory of Tours; *Greg. Tur. V. Patr.* 14.3. Father also of Petrus 12 (the elder son); *Greg. Tur. Mir. S. Iul.* 24. His wife was Armentaria, and they had also one other child, a daughter (Anonyma 4). See stemma 12.

He perhaps married c. 534; cf. *Greg. Tur. Glor. Mart.* 84 (tempore quo Theudebertus Arvernorum filios in obsidatum tolli praecepit, pater meus nuper iunctus coniugio). He suffered badly from gout; *Greg. Tur. Glor. Conf.* 40. Cf. Stroheker, no. 163.

Florentius 3 father of Apollinaris 3 E/M VI

Husband of Dominica 1 r(everendissima) f(emina); father of Apollinaris 3; formerly *pater pistorum regis Theoderici*, he died aged c. 72 and was buried at Ravenna on Oct. 3, 548; *CIL* XI 317 = *ILCV* 622 Ravenna.

Florentius 4 scriniarius (at Odessus) ?VI

Σκρινιάριος; husband of Byzantia whose grave was at Odessus; Beshevliev, *Spätgr. u. spätlat. Inschr. Bulg.*, no. 95 (Odessus, in Moesia Secunda).

FLORENTIVS 5 praeses (Arcadiae) VI

A document at Oxyrhynchus mentioned expenses for, among others, those who came to the district μετὰ τοῦ μεγαλοπρ(επειστάτου) ἄρχοντος Φλωρεντί[ο]υ; *PSI* 953, line 22 Oxyrhynchus. He was provincial governor, i.e. *praeses Arcadiae*.

Florentius 6 envoy (of Leovigild) 582

In 582, 'legati de Hispaniis, id est Florentius et Exsuperius, ad Chilpericum regem veniebant'; Florentius was the older man; they were Catholics and en route dined with Gregory at Tours, where Florentius told Gregory of a miraculous cure by St Martin; *Greg. Tur. Mir. S. Mart.* III 8, cf. *HF* VI 18 (where the embassy is mentioned). For the date, cf. Ansoaldus. The two envoys were both, to judge by their names, of Roman descent.

Georgius Florentius Gregorius

FL. FLORIANVS v.c. (in Italy) 540

Flavius Florianus v.c.; he subscribed documents confirming the purchase of land near Faventia by Montanus; *Marini, P. Dip.* 115 = *P. Ital.* 31, col. III, line 11. The document was drawn up in Ravenna in Jan. 540, during the siege by Belisarius; see Reparatus. Florianus was possibly one of the *principales* of Faventia; the other signatories included a magistrate of Faventia (Pompulius Plautus) and two other *principales* (Firmilianus and Flavius Severus, both *viri laudabiles*), with another *vir laudabilis* (Quiriacus) and an *exceptor* from Ravenna (Deusdedit).

Florus 1

CRP 531-536

Perhaps identical with Florus, father of Cyrus 4 and grandfather of the poet Paul the Silentiary (= Paulus 21); the poet's family was famous and rich; Agath. v 9.7. Cf. *JHS* 86 (1966), pp. 17-19. Possibly also father of Eutychianus 1.

CVRATOR DOMINICAE DOMVS a. 531 Nov. 27: *CJ* vii 37.3 (cited below). He combined this post, probably newly created (cf. Stein, *Bas-Emp.* ii 423 and see Petrus 1 and Macedonius 2), with that of CRP.

CRP a. 531 Nov. 27-536 March 18: in office a. 531 Nov. 27, *CJ* vii 37.3 (addressed 'Floro comiti rerum privatarum et curatori dominicae domus', jointly with Petrus and Macedonius); before 534 Nov. 16, *CJ* xii 33.8 (date lost; addressed Φ[λώρω κόμητι] τῶν [θε]ί[ω]ν [δικῶν] - much restored); a. 535 May 16, Just. *Nov.* 12 (Φλώρω τῷ ἐνδοξοτάτῳ κόμητι τῶν ἀπανταχοῦ θείων πριβάτων; the Latin version is dated 535 Oct. 10 and addressed 'Floro gloriosissimo comiti ubicunque positae divinae rei privatae'); a. 536 March 18, Just. *Nov.* 22, epil. (ἐγράφη τὸ ἰσότυπον Φλώρω τῷ ἐνδοξοτάτῳ κόμητι τῶν θείων πριβάτων καὶ ἀπὸ ὑπάτων); undated, Just. *Nov.* 139 (addressed Φλώρω), 154 (Φλώρω κόμητι τῶν θείων πριβάτων).

HONORARY CONSVL a. 536 March 18, Just. *Nov.* 22, epil. (cited above). Cf. also below.

In late 541 he was one of four notables (perhaps *iudices pedanei*) sent to Cyzicus to question Ioannes 11 the Cappadocian about the murder of the bishop of Cyzicus, Eusebius; Joh. Mal. fr. 47 (*Exc. de ins.*, p. 173). His colleagues were Paulus 11, Phocas (*PLRE* ii, p. 882) and Thomas 9. They are described as ἐκ βουλῆς ἄνδρες, Proc. *BP* i 25.40; and as τινος τῶν πατρικίων καὶ ὑπατικῶν, Joh. Mal. fr. 47. For the result of the enquiry, see Ioannes 11.

FLORVS 2

v.c. (in Italy) 540

In Jan. 540 he witnessed the purchase of land by Montanus; Marini, *P. Dip.* 115 = *P. Ital.* 31, col. i, line 13, col. ii, line 12 (both 'Florus v.c.'). The transaction took place at Ravenna, during the siege by Belisarius; cf. *Reparatus*.

FLORVS 3

vir magnificus M/L VI

Owner of a house at Rome which he bequeathed to the church at Palermo; dead before 603 Sept.; Greg. *Ep.* xiv 3 (a. 603 Sept.; to bishop John of Palermo, concerning 'domum cum horto et balneo suo atque omnibus ad eam pertinentibus in hac urbe Roma positam, quae ad ius Panormitanae ecclesiae ex hereditate quondam Flori viri magnifici

pervenisse dinoscitur'). Possibly an aristocrat and a native of Palermo, with a large town house at Rome.

Fonsa vir inluster (in Spain) 589

Vir inluster; one of the *seniores Gothorum* who subscribed the catholic faith at the Third Council of Toledo, in 589; Mansi ix 989 = Vives, *Concilios*, p. 123.

Fortunata (*CIL* x 664) V/VI: *PLRE* ii.

FORTVNATVS 1 (?v.c.) (in Italy) M VI

Vir nobilis Fortunatus nomine; lived at Ferentum in Etruria when Bonifatius was bishop there; at his request the bishop visited his house to give the blessing; Greg. *Dial.* 19. On the place and date, see Moricca, p. 50, n. 1. The priest Gaudentius, Gregory's informant, grew up under Bonifatius and was still alive in 594.

Venantius Honorius Clementianus Fortunatus 2 author; bishop of Poitiers L VI

In the inscriptions and subscriptions in the manuscripts of his works he is styled: Venantius Honorius Clementianus Fortunatus presbyter Italicus.

He was born at a small place called Duplabilis, apparently between Ceneta and Tarvisium (Treviso); Paul. Diac. *Hist. Lang.* ii 13 (Fortunatus natus quidem in loco qui Duplabilis dicitur fuit; qui locus haut longe a Cenitense castro vel Tarvisiana distat civitate), Ven. Fort. *V. S. Mart.* iv 665 (qua mea Tarvisus residet), 668-9 (per Cenetam gradiens et amicos Duplavenenses, qua natale solum est mihi sanguine, sede parentum). He had a brother, a sister and nephews; Ven. Fort. *V. S. Mart.* iv 670 (frater, soror, ordo nepotum). His sister was called Titiana; Ven. Fort. *Carm.* xi 6, line 8.

He grew up and received his formal secular education in Ravenna; Paul. Diac. *Hist. Lang.* ii 13 (sed tamen Ravennae nutritus et doctus, in arte gramatica sive rethorica seu etiam metrica clarissimus extitit). He was acquainted with bishop Felix of Treviso; they both suffered from painful eye afflictions and went together to the church of SS Paul and John at Ravenna where they were both miraculously cured at an altar dedicated to St Martin of Tours; in consequence of this Fortunatus set out on a pilgrimage to the tomb of St Martin at Tours; the date was shortly before the invasion of Italy by the Lombards (in 568); Paul. Diac. *Hist. Lang.* ii 13, Ven. Fort. *V. S. Mart.* iv 680, 686-701. His route took him through Venetia and over the Alpes Iuliae to Aguontum in

Noricum and then through Augusta Vindelicorum and across the Danube and the Rhine into Gaul; his travels in Gaul took him south of the Loire and the Garonne as far as the Pyrenees; Ven. Fort., praef. 4 (he lists the rivers he crossed, from the Po to the Garonne), and cf. *V. S. Mart.* iv 630-680 (listing the journey in reverse, from Poitiers and Tours via Paris and across the Rhine and Danube back to Ravenna). In Gaul he was welcomed at the court of king Sigibert who appointed Sigoaldus (Sigivaldus 3) to escort him safely on his journey; Ven. Fort. *Carm.* x 16. The date is not certain. It was after 561 but before the deaths of king Charibert in 567 (Ven. Fort. *Carm.* vi 2) and of bishop Domitianus of Angers (who died before the Council of Tours in 567 and was the dedicatee of the *Vita Sancta Albini* of Fortunatus, *MGH, AA* iv ii, p. 27).

After his pilgrimage to Tours, he settled down to live in Poitiers; Paul. Diac. *Hist. Lang.* ii 13, Ven. Fort. *Carm.* viii 1, lines 11-13 (Fortunatus ego hinc humili prece voce saluto (Italiae genitum Gallica rura tenent) Pictavis residens). Possibly the Lombard invasion of north Italy caused him to settle in Gaul, but he was in Poitiers already by 567/568 since he witnessed the passage of the Visigothic princess Galsuintha on her way to marry Chilperic; Ven. Fort. *Carm.* vi 5, lines 223-4.

In Poitiers he became a priest and subsequently bishop; Paul. Diac. *Hist. Lang.* ii 13, Baudonivia, *V. S. Radeg.*, prol. He had remained in Poitiers at the request of Radegundis and continued thereafter to be closely associated with her; Ven. Fort. *Carm.* viii 1, line 21 (voto Radegundis adhaesi). The dates of his episcopate are unknown. He is not referred to as bishop in the works of Gregory of Tours but the nun Baudonivia alludes to him as bishop not long afterwards in her Life of St Radegundis. He probably succeeded Plato in the see. He was certainly still alive in 589 (cf. Ven. Fort. *Carm.* x 11, 12). He perhaps died about the turn of the century; he was buried at Poitiers; Paul. Diac. *Hist. Lang.* ii 13.

He wrote a number of *Saints' Lives* in prose and verse and a considerable number of *poetria*, many on religious themes or in celebration of church dignitaries, but many also addressed to a wide variety of highly placed dignitaries of the state, some of whom he had clearly encountered at the court of Sigibert on his first arrival in Gaul. His works are edited by F. Leo in *MGH, AA* iv. See further Meyer and Koebner.

Fortunatus 3

in Italy LVI

He lived for some years at *Genoa* as a man of rank who had once served in the imperial administration, but in 594 his right to this status

was challenged and Gregory wrote twice to bishop Constantius of Milan (in exile in Genoa) asking for him to be given a fair hearing; *Greg. Ep.* iv 37 (a. 594 July; nam audio eum (sc. Fortunatum) cum decessore vestro Laurentio ad mensam ecclesiae per annos plurimos nunc usque comedisse, inter nobiles consedissee et subscripsisse eoque quondam fratre nostro sciente in numeris militasse. Et post tot annos modo videtur fraternitati vestrae ut de status sui conditione pulsetur), v 18 (a. 594 Nov.; dum illic se praedictus Fortunatus violentiam sustinere nec defensoris auxilium invenire potuisse commemorat).

He had held some position in the public service, a fact of which bishop Laurentius of Milan (573-592) was aware; 'in numeris militasse' is not easy to interpret, but suggests a military career, perhaps, in view of the later questions on his status, as some form of NCO; he seems subsequently to have consorted with high-ranking society at Genoa and taken his place as one of their number, enjoying the society of the bishop and signing documents with the other *nobiles*. In the disturbed times following the Lombard invasions it was doubtless easy for individuals to claim a rank to which they were not entitled, but it is by no means certain from Gregory that Fortunatus was not fully entitled to his status.

Framidaneus (Framidancus?)

in Spain c. 571

In c. 571 Leovigild recovered Asidona (Medina Sidonia) from the Romans through the treachery of Framidaneus (proditiōne cuiusdam Framidanei), killing the Roman troops there; *Joh. Bicl.* s.a. 571. Nothing is known of his nationality, rank or office.

Francilio: bishop of Tours c. 530; *PLRE* ii.

Francio 1

MVM (in Italy) c. 568-c. 588

He served in Italy under Narses 1, probably as *magister militum*, and then held the island of Comacina (?) (in lake Como) for twenty years, guarding the riches of many neighbouring cities from the Lombards until, under Authari, the Lombards overcame his resistance after a six-month siege; he was allowed to retire to Ravenna with his wife and his own belongings; Paul. Diac. *Hist. Lang.* iii 27 (alii quoque Langobardi in insula Amacina (sic) Francionem magistrum militum, qui adhuc de Narsetis parte fuerat et iam se per viginti annos continuerat, obsidebant. Qui Francio post sex menses obsidionis suae Langobardis eandem insulam tradidit, ipse vero, ut optaverat, dimissus a rege, cum sua uxore et suppellectili Ravennam properavit).

The dates are uncertain; the twenty years is probably a round number but is perhaps to be reckoned from the dismissal of Narses (in 568) or the

Lombard invasion (569) to the period after the accession of Authari (in 584). Cf. also Goubert, II ii, p. 80.

Francio 2 dux (in Cantabria) E VII

In 612/613 king Sisebut restored to the Visigothic kingdom 'provinciam Cantabriam...quam aliquando Franci possederant. Dux Francio nomen, qui Cantabriam in tempore Francorum egerat, tributa Francorum regibus multo tempore impleverat'; Fredegar. iv 33. On the date and circumstances, see Garcia Moreno, p. 70, no. 123, n. 1, p. 71, no. 123, n. 3, and cf. Thompson, *Goths in Spain*, pp. 161-2. Cf. also Richila. The Franks are not known ever to have possessed Cantabria; possibly a local revolt there, perhaps led by Francio, tried to assert its independence from the Visigoths by seeking Frankish support, and if so Francio may have been a local Basque leader, but this is highly uncertain. It does not seem likely that this Francio can be identical with the Roman *magister militum*.

Fredegundis wife of Chilperic M/L VI

Wife of the Frankish king Chilperic; Ven. Fort. *Carm.* ix 1, lines 117-30, ix 2-4, Fredegar. iv 3. Already Chilperic's wife when he married Galsuintha, after whose death he returned to her; Greg. Tur. *HF* iv 28. She bore him a daughter, Rigunthis, and several sons, Chlodobert (born in 565), Samson (575-577), Dagobert (died in infancy in 580), Theoderic (582-584) and Chlotharius (584-629). Styled *regina*; Ven. Fort. *Carm.* ix 2, Greg. Tur. *HF* v 3, 49, viii 9.

Alleged to have been responsible for the assassination of Sigibert in 575 and of her last surviving stepson Chlodovechus in 580; Greg. Tur. *HF* iv 51, v 39. Her other victims included another stepson, Merovechus, and several highly placed notables, Beppolenus, Eberulfus, Leudastes and Mummolus. In order to protect the interests of her son Chlotharius she allegedly plotted to kill Childebert and his mother Brunichildis at various times; Greg. Tur. *HF* vii 20 (late 584), viii 29 (in 585), x 18 (in 590). After Chilperic's death she received protection from Guntram against Childebert; Greg. Tur. *HF* vi 46, vii 4, 5, 7, 14. She was suspected of secret contacts with the Visigoths in 585 and 587, and of plotting Guntram's murder in 587; Greg. Tur. *HF* viii 28, 43, 44. In 591 she had her son baptised by Guntram; Greg. Tur. *HF* x 28.

In 596 she seized Paris and made war on Theodebert and Theoderic in her son's name, but in the following year she died; Fredegar. iv 17.

Fredigerus father of Theia E/M VI

On the name, see Schönfeld, p. 96.

Father of the Ostrogothic king Theia and of Aligernus; Agath. 1, prooem. 31, 18.6, 20.1.

Fredulfus domesticus (?of Sigibert) 639

Fredulfus domesticus, qui et amicus Radulfo fuisse dicebatur; killed with many others of Sigibert's army in the attack on the camp of Radulfus in 639, in Thuringia; Fredegar. iv 87. Cf. Bobo 2 and Innowales. Probably *domesticus* of Sigibert.

Frigia wife of Brumachius M VI

Ven. Fort. *Carm.* iv 20. See Brumachius.

Froga ?comes civitatis Toletanae E VII

Addressee of a letter from bishop Aurasius of Toledo (c. 603-615) strongly objecting to his sympathetic attitude towards the Jews of Toledo; *Ep. Wisig.* 20 (*MGH, Epp.* iii, pp. 689-90). He clearly held high office in Toledo, possibly *comes civitatis* (cf. Valdericus *comes Toletanus* in 683, *Conc. Tol.* xiii, Subscript.). An early edition (Antwerp, 1640) of the letter, based on an unknown *codex*, has the following superscription: Epistula Aurasii episcopi Toletani ad Froganem palatinum Toleti comitem; cf. *MGH, Epp.* iii, pp. 660 and 689.

Frogerius Frank; dux (at Paris) E/M VI

Vir comes duxque nomine Frogerius; at Paris in the reign of Childebert (a. 511/58); a rich man whose wife quarrelled with St Samson; *V. Samsonis* II 13 (*Anal. Boll.* 6 (1887), p. 134). Probably fictitious.

FRONIMVTH ?v.sp.; military commander (in Africa) 546-548

On the name, see Schönfeld, p. 96.

In the manuscript of Corippus the name is spelt differently each time; Frominieth, *Ioh.* iv 525; Frommut, *Ioh.* v 446; Fronimith, *Ioh.* vi 518; Fronimich, *Ioh.* viii 377.

One of the army officers who served under Ioannes 36 Troglita in Africa from 546 to 548; Coripp. *Ioh.* iv 525, v 446, vi 518, viii 377. In winter 546/547 he fought in the battle where the Romans defeated Antalas; he was posted on the left wing next to Ioannes 37 (the elder); Coripp. *Ioh.* iv 525-31, v 446-7. In summer 547 at the Roman defeat at Marta he was on the right wing with Ioannes 37 and the Moor Cutzinas; Coripp. *Ioh.* vi 518. In summer 548 in the battle of the Plains of Cato he and Sinduit were posted with the Moor Ifisdaias; Coripp. *Ioh.* viii 376-77.

For his rank and post, cf. Putzintulus.

Fronto 1 advocate ?VI

Commemorated in anonymous verses inscribed in a church (or ?temple) at Cyzicus; *Anth. Gr.* vii 334 (date uncertain, possibly sixth-century, but he could be earlier). Son of Politta, he died young and unmarried but had practised as an advocate (lines 9-10 ἡ μὲν ἐμοὶ φίλον ἦεν ἐφ' ὄγων ἡγεμονῶν ἐμπρεπέμεν μύθοις ἀμφὶ δικασπολίαις).

FRONTO 2

comes; proconsul (?Asiae); pater civitatis (at Side) ?VI

Building work in the theatre at Side was carried out διὰ Φρόντωνος κόμητος ἀπὸ ἀνθυπά(των) κ(αὶ) πατρ(ός); *AE* 1966, 467, cf. 468 (+ ἔργον ἀπειρέσιον τὸ βοώμενον ἐς χθόνα πᾶσαν Φρόντων ἀνηέξησε μετ' ἀνθυπάτου κλέος ἀρχῆς). Both inscriptions are from Side. The second inscription proves that his proconsulate was an actual office, not an honorific title. After being proconsul, presumably of Asia, he became *pater civitatis* of Side in Pamphylia, where he no doubt lived. He also had the dignity of *comes*.

Fulcaris commander of Herul federates and MVM (in Italy) 553

On the name, see Schönfeld, p. 96.

A Herul, nephew of Phanitheus; *Agath.* i 11.3.

Commander of the Herul federates in Italy and MVM (*vacans*) a. 553: appointed ἡγεμὼν of the Heruli by Narses i after the death of Philemuth (perhaps early 553); *Agath.* i 11.3 (Φούλκαριν αὐτοῖς τὸν ὁμόφυλον ἐπιστήσας; for the Herul federates, cf. Philemuth). Fulcaris probably combined the command of the Heruli with the title of *magister militum* (*vacans*): ὁ τῶν Ἐρούλων στρατηγός, *Agath.* i 14.3; ὁ στρατηγός, *Agath.* i 15.1, 15.5, 16.6; and cf. *Agath.* i 15.5 Φούλκαρις μὲν οὖν στρατηγός αἰρεθεὶς οὐ λίαν ἀπώνατο τῆς τιμῆς, ἀλλὰ βραχὺ τι εὐημερήσας ὥσπερ ἐν ὀνειράτος εὐφροσύνη ταχεῖαν ἔσχε καταστροφὴν τῆς τε ἀρχῆς καὶ τοῦ βίου, and i 14.3 στρατηγοῦ τε καὶ ἡγεμόνος... γνώρισμα. The language of Agathias implies that he combined the post (ἀρχή) of commander with the dignity (τιμή) of MVM *vacans*. See also Philemuth and Sindual.

In 553, not long after his appointment, he and other commanders (see Narses, p. 920) were sent to north Italy against the Franks; *Agath.* i 11.3. He led his Heruli and a number of Roman soldiers from other units who followed him in a disorderly attack on the Franks in Parma; *Agath.* i 14.4. They were ambushed by Butilinus and many of his men ran away,

but he and his bodyguard (ἄμα τοῖς ἀμφ' αὐτὸν δορυφόροις) made a stand; Fulcaris and all those with him were killed; *Agath.* i 14.6-15.4.

He had held office for only a short while; *Agath.* i 15.5 (cited above). His death was lamented by Narses; *Agath.* i 15.10. His successor was Sindual.

He is described by Agathias as very brave and an outstandingly successful (νίκας τε πολλὰς ἀναδησάμενον) soldier but too headstrong to be a good general, lacking in judgement and with no interest in the details of military strategy; *Agath.* i 14.3, 15.10, 16.6.

Fulgentius: bishop of Ruspe 507-532; *PLRE* ii.

Fabius Claudius Gordianus Planciades Fulgentius: author, ?E VI; *PLRE* ii.

Fuscus doctor (at Venafrum) 591

Fuscus archiater; in 591 he informed Gregory that clergy at Venafrum had sold church vessels to a Jew; *Greg. Ep.* i 66 (a. 591 Aug.; instructing the *rector* Anthemius to punish them).

Gabalas (Jabalalah) son of Arethas M VI

Son of Arethas; killed in June 554 in the same battle as Alamundarus (*PLRE* ii, p. 42) and buried near Qennesrin in a martyrrium of St John by his father; *Mich. Syr.* ix 33, *Chron.* 1234, lxii, Bar Hebr., *Chron.*, p. 76.

(Gabala) = Jabalah ibn al-Ayham ruler of the Ghassānids 636

He was 'the king of the Ghassān and the successor of al-Ḥārith ibn-abi-Shimr'; *Balādhurī*, p. 136 = *Hitti*, pp. 208-9.

In 636 he commanded Roman Arabs in the army of Heraclius which was defeated at Yarmuk (Aug. 20, 636); *Balādhurī*, p. 135 = *Hitti*, p. 135 (Heraclius 'sent as a vanguard Jabalah ibn-al-Aiham al-Ghassānī at the head of the "naturalised" Arabs of Syria of the tribes of Lakhm, Judhām and others').

Following the Roman defeat he joined the victorious Arabs and examined the teachings of Islam but subsequently (in year 17, = 638) he deserted back to the Romans with thirty thousand followers and settled with them at Kharsana, near Melitene; *Balādhurī*, p. 136 = *Hitti*, pp. 208-10.

See also Noeldeke, *Die Ghassānischen Fürsten*, pp. 45-6, with p. 46, n. 1.

Fl. **Gabrielia**

patricia (Egypt) MVI

A *patricia* holding municipal offices at Oxyrhynchus in 553; addressee of a receipt through her agent Christopher (διὰ σοῦ τοῦ αἰδεσίμου Χριστοφόρου τοῦ αὐτῆς διαδόχου); *P. Oxy.* 2780, lines 6-9 ΦΛ Γαβριηλία τῆ ἐνδοξατάτῃ καὶ ὑπερφ(εστατάτῃ) πατρικίᾳ λαχούσῃ τὴν λογιστείαν καὶ προεδρίαν καὶ πατερίαν ταύτης τῆς λαμπρᾶς Ὁξυρυγχιτῶν πόλεως (dated a. 553 July 16). She held the three local offices of λογιστής, πρόεδρος and *pater civitatis* combined and was evidently a very wealthy lady at Oxyrhynchus, presumably the wife (or ?widow) of a *patricius*.

In *P. Oxy.* 2020 appears a Gabrielia, mother of Patricia.

Gabrielius 1

PVC 543

Of noble birth (γένους λαμπρότητα); Joh. Lyd. *de mag.* III 38. PVC a. 543: in office a. 543 Dec. 18, Just. *Nov.* 125 (addressed 'Gabriello p.u.'). Under him the urban prefecture temporarily regained responsibility for the provisioning of Constantinople, transferred by Ioannes 11 (the Cappadocian) to the praetorian prefecture; after Gabriel left office it reverted to the praetorian prefecture; according to John Lydus this was a recognition by the emperor of Gabriel's qualities of uprightness and honesty; Joh. Lyd. *de mag.* III 38 (πολιάρχων). A statue was erected to honour him with verses by Leontius 6 *scholasticus*; *Anth. Gr.* XVI 32 lemma: Εἰς εἰκόνα Γαβριηλίου ὑπάρχου ἐν Βυζαντίῳ, cf. vv. 3-4 καὶ σέ, σοφέ πτολιάρχε, γράφει, Γαβριήλιε, τέχνη/ἐκτός σῶν ἀρετῶν, ἐκτός ὄλων καμάτων. Possibly identical with the unnamed city prefect who appointed John Lydus to one of the official professorial chairs at Constantinople; Joh. Lyd. *de mag.* III 29.

John Lydus dedicated to him his works *de mensis* and *de ostentis*; Suid. I 465 (προσομιλεῖ δὲ ταῦτα Γαβριηλίῳ τινὶ ὑπάρχῳ).

He himself composed a couplet on a picture of Eros asleep; *Anth. Gr.* XVI 208 (Γαβριηλίου ὑπάρχου).

Gabriel 2

MVM VI

Γαβριήλ στρατηλάτου; Zacos 809 (dated M VI/M VII) = Dumbar-ton Oaks seal 55.1.1973 (dated sixth century by Oikonomides) (seal; obv.: ΓΑΒ/ΠΙΗ/Λ; rev.: CTP/ATH/Λ).

Gabrielius 3

vir gloriosissimus; dux Thebaidis M VI/VII

An inscription from Ombi recording the construction of new quarters for visiting troops is dated ἐπὶ τῶν αἰσίω(ν) χρόνων τοῦ ἐνδοξ(ιστάτου) Γαβριηλίου δουκὸς τῆς Θηβαίων χώρας (and under other officials, viz.

Pas, Phoebammon 16, Dorotheus 14 and Ioannes 179) as well as on Payni 19 (June 13) of a fourteenth indiction; *SB* IV 7475 = *SEG* VIII 780 Ombi. The year cannot be determined and neither Gabrielius nor any of the others is recorded elsewhere. To judge by the men's titles (Gabrielius was *gloriosissimus* and two *cancellarii* and one *singularius* were λαμπρότατοι) and by references to the clergy (τὸ κληρικόν) and to Christ, the date is probably not before the mid sixth century. Gabrielius was presumably the *dux et augustalis Thebaidis*, a post created by Justinian in 538/539 (on the date, cf. Rhodon). The epithet *gloriosissimus* implies that he held some other dignity, not recorded on this inscription, which entitled him to that rank; it was doubtless honorific (e.g. ἀπὸ ὑπάτων). Cf. also *Fasti*, p. 1506.

Gabriel 4 drungarius VII

Γαβρι(ή)λ δρουγγαρί(ου); Zacos 808 (seal; obv.: +ΘΕ/ΟΤΟΚ/ΕΒΟΙ/ΘΙ; rev.: +ΓΑ/ΒΡΙΑ/ΔΡΥΜΓΑΡΙ).

On the *drungarius*, see Bury, *Imp. Adm. Syst.*, pp. 41-2.

Fl. Triadius Marianus Michaelius Gabrielius Constantinus Theodorus Martyrius Iulianus Athanasius

(Fl. Marianus) Michael Gabriel Ioannes Theodorus Iulianus Theodorus Marinus Athanasius

Fl. Marianus Micahelius Gabrihelius Petrus Iohannis Narses Aurelianus Limenius Stefanus Aurelianus

Fl. Marianus Michaelius Gabrielius Sergius Bacchus Narses Conon Anastasius Domninus Theodorus Callinicus

Fl. Soterius Marianus Michaelius Gabrielius Ioannes Theodorus Nicetas Theodorus Bonus Eutropius Olympius Ioannes

Fl. Marianus Michaelius Gabrielius Ioannes Theodorus Georgius Marcellus Iulianus Theodorus Iulianus

Gagik Mamikonian Armenian noble L VI

Son of Manuel; one of the pro-Persian Armenians honoured by king Chosroes in c. 596 (the sixth year of Chosroes); he subsequently died a natural death in the royal palace; Sebeos, XI, pp. 39-41. The other Armenian nobles with him were Pap Bagratid, Chosroes lord of the Vahewuni, Vardan Areruni, Mamak Mamikonian, Stephanos Siwni and Kotit lord of the Amatuni. Cf. Justi, p. 107, s.n. Gagik, no. 1.

Gaianus chartularius M VI/M VII

Γαϊανοῦ χαρτουλαρίου; Zacos 809A (seal; obv.: GAIA/NOV; rev.: XAP/T[O]V/ΛAP,).

Gaidoaldus Lombard dux of Tridentum c. 595?–602/603

A Catholic, he succeeded Eoin as *dux* of Tridentum, perhaps in c. 595; Paul. Diac. *Hist. Lang.* iv 10 (Eoin quoque duce in Tridentu mortuo, datus est eidem loco dux Gaidoaldus, vir bonus ac fide catholicus). His accession is narrated by Paul with the succession of Mar(in)ianus to the see of Ravenna; this was in 595, cf. Agnellus, *Lib. Pont. Eccl. Rav.* 99. He seems subsequently to have revolted against king Agilulf, together with the *dux* of Friuli, Gisulfus 2, but they made their peace with him in 602/603; Paul. Diac. *Hist. Lang.* iv 27 (cited under Gisulfus).

Gaidulfus Lombard dux of Bergomum 591–?596

dux of Bergomum a. 591–?596: Pergamensis dux; Paul. Diac. *Hist. Lang.* iv 3, 13, cf. *Origo Gent. Lang.* 6, *Hist. Lang. cod. Goth.* 6 (Gaidulfus de Bergamo, sc. dux). He twice rebelled against Agilulf in the early years of his reign and was twice pardoned; Paul. Diac. *Hist. Lang.* iv 3. When he again rebelled (perhaps in 595), he was executed; *Origo Gent. Lang.* 6, *Hist. Lang. cod. Goth.* 6, Paul. Diac. *Hist. Lang.* iv 13. The date is inferred from its place in Paul's narrative, following the death of Childebert II (595) and contemporary with the death of Romanus 7 and peace with Theoderic.

Gaila daughter of Gisulfus E/M VII

One of the four daughters of Gisulfus 2 and Romilda; sister of Appa; Paul. Diac. *Hist. Lang.* iv 37. See further Appa.

Gaiso Frank; comes (of Tours) 561/567

Comes eiusdem temporis, i.e. *comes* at Tours in the reign of Charibert; he began to tax Tours but was stopped by the king; Greg. Tur. *HF* ix 30.

Gaissefredus comes (under Theoderic II, in Burgundy) 607

A *comes* under Theoderic II, at Vienne in 607; *Passio S. Desiderii* 8. See further Betto.

Gaius: scholasticus ?V/VI or ?X; *PLRE* II.

Galactorius comes (civitatis Burdigalensis) 585/592

Addressee of two poems by Venantius Fortunatus; Ven. Fort. *Carm.* vii 25, x 19. Both are addressed 'Ad Galactorium comitem'; x 19 was probably written soon after his appointment, vii 25 somewhat later.

Possibly a native of Bordeaux; *Carm.* x 19, lines 3 and 9 (both cited below).

?DEFENSOR (CIVITATIS, at Bordeaux): *Carm.* x 19, line 3 (cited below).

COMES (CIVITATIS, at Bordeaux) a. 585/592: he was a *comes* at Bordeaux in the time of king Guntram (561–592) and bishop Gundegiselus (585–590–?); Ven. Fort. *Carm.* vii 25 title (cited above), lines 7 (Gundegisel). 9 (comes). 11 (Guntram). 21–2 (cumque domo sociis antistite coniuge natis vive comes, cui sint iura regenda ducis), x 19 title (above), lines 1–6 (venisti tandem ad quod debebaris, amice, ante comes merito quam datus esset honor. Burdegalensis eras et, cum defensor, amator: dignus habebaris haec duo digna regens. iudicio regis valuisti crescere iudex, famaue quod meruit regia lingua dedit). 30 (comes).

Venantius expresses the hope that he will be promoted to be *dux* of south-west Gaul; *Carm.* x 19, lines 7–12 (debet et ipse potens, ut adhuc bene crescere possis, praestet ut arma ducis, qui tibi restat apex, ut patriae fines sapiens tuearis et urbes, adquiras ut ei qui dat opima tibi, Cantaber ut timeat, Vasco vagus arma pavescat atque Pyrenaeac deserat Alpīs opem), cf. *Carm.* vii 25 (cited above), x 19, line 24 (maiora sperans). There is no evidence whether or not Galactorius did become *dux*.

Galla gloriosa filia (in Africa) 601

Joint addressee of Greg. *Ep.* xii 2 (a. 601 Sept.). See Columba.

Gallienus comes (civitatis Turonensis?) 589

One of four poems written by Venantius Fortunatus on the same subject, 'pro puella a iudicibus capta', was addressed to Gallienus; Ven. Fort. *Carm.* x 12c (Item pro eadem re ad Gallienum). In line 2 he is styled 'comes'. The poem asks for his help; the other three whose help is sought were bishop Gregory of Tours and Romulfus 1 and Florenti(a)nus, who were royal agents at Tours in 589. Gallienus was therefore probably a *comes* at Tours in 589.

Gallomagnus I bishop of Troyes LVI

Bishop of Troyes in 573 and 581/583; *Conc. Gall.* 511–689, pp. 212–16 (a. 573), pp. 229–30 (a. 581/583).

Father of Palatina 1 and father-in-law of Bodegiselus 1; Ven. Fort. *Carm.* vii 6 title (de Palatina filia Galli Magni episcopi) and line 23.

Gallomagnus 2 referendarius (of Childebert II) 589

Referendarius of Childebert II, against whom he conspired with Sunnegisel in 589; Greg. Tur. *HF* ix 38. See further Sunnegiselus.

Gallus 1 comes civitatis Cabillonensis M VI

Huius urbis (i.e. Cabillonensis; = Chalon-sur-Saône) comes; miraculously cured after vowing to furnish a beam for the roof of the basilica of St Valerian at Tournus near Chalon-sur-Saône, on the advice of the priest Epirechius (whom Gregory had met); Greg. Tur. *Glor. Mart.* 54.

Gallus 2 bishop of Clermont 525-551

Native of Clermont; Greg. Tur. *V. Patr.* 6 praef. Eldest son (primogenitus) of Georgius 1 and Leocadia; *V. Patr.* 6.1. Nephew of Impetratus; *V. Patr.* 6.3. Brother of Florentius 2. Paternal uncle of Gregory of Tours; *Mir. S. Iul.* 23, *V. Patr.* 2.2. See stemma 12. He came of wealthy senatorial family; *V. Patr.* 6 praef. (it was senatorial and rich), 6.1 (cited under Georgius 1), cf. Ven. Fort. *Carm.* iv 4, line 6 (nobilis in terris). He was apparently born in 486/487 (see below).

His father sought to marry him to a girl of senatorial family but he ran away to a monastery at Cournon (near Clermont) and his father reluctantly granted his wish to become a monk; Greg. Tur. *V. Patr.* 6.1, cf. Ven. Fort. *Carm.* iv 4, lines 9-12. He possessed a remarkable singing voice and was taken back to Clermont to the church there by bishop Quintianus; after his father died he attracted the attention of Theoderic I and his queen (Suavegotha) and went to the court at Trier (there were many clergy there from Clermont, possibly in the aftermath of Theoderic's attack on the Auvergne; cf. e.g. Sigivaldus 1); Greg. Tur. *V. Patr.* 6.2, Ven. Fort. *Carm.* iv 4, lines 13-16. At the time of Theoderic's attack (?525) Gallus was an orphan (pupillus) and lost all his property, looted by Theoderic's army; Greg. Tur. *Mir. S. Iul.* 23.

Bishop of Clermont a. 525-551: successor of Quintianus in 525, Ven. Fort. *Carm.* iv 4, lines 17-18, Greg. Tur. *HF* iv 5, *V. Patr.* 6.3 (now a deacon, he was sought by the clergy of Trier to succeed Aprunculus, but was chosen instead at his own request by Theoderic for Clermont). He died in his sixty-fifth year and the twenty-seventh of his bishopric; Greg. Tur. *V. Patr.* 6.7, cf. Ven. Fort. *Carm.* iv 4, lines 29-30 (sic pater ecclesiam regit in quinquennia quinque, bis terdena tamen lustra superstes agens (sic)). The year of his death was apparently 551, eight years after the plague first struck Gaul; Greg. Tur. *V. Patr.* 6.6, *HF* iv 5, *Glor. Mart.* 50. He was buried in the church of St Laurence in Clermont; *V. Patr.* 6.7. An epitaph was later composed on him by

Venantius Fortunatus (*Carm.* iv 4). Cf. also Krusch, *MGH, Scr. Rer. Mer.* 1, pp. 684, n. 5, 685, n. 2. See Stroheker, no. 171.

Gallus 3 ?Gallo-Roman VI/VII

Son of Magnus 3, brother of Fidentius; his tombstone survives near Briord (dept. Ain); *CIL* xiii 2483. Cf. Stroheker, no. 172.

Galsuintha wife of Chilperic M VI

Galsuintha; Greg. Tur. *HF* iv 28. Galesunda; Greg. Tur. *HF* ix 20. Gelesuinda; Ven. Fort. *Carm.* vi 5.

Daughter of Athanagildus 1 and Goisuintha, elder sister of Brunichildis; she married the Frankish king Chilperic and became a Catholic; soon afterwards she was found dead in suspicious circumstances and Chilperic was suspected of arranging her murder; Greg. Tur. *HF* iv 28, ix 20, Ven. Fort. *Carm.* vi 5 (title: de Gelesuintha; a poem describing and lamenting her sad fate).

Gantal Moorish chief 546/547

One of the Moorish 'duces' with Antalas and Carcasan in winter 546/547; Coripp. *Ioh.* iv 642.

Garacharius comes (civitatis Burdegalensis) 585

Garacharius comes Burdigalensis; in 585 he and Bladastes took refuge in the church of St Martin at Tours after the overthrow of the pretender Gundovald; they were taken by bishop Gregory to Guntram for pardon (on July 6, 585); the king rebuked them severely for their disloyalty but then pardoned them and restored their confiscated property; Greg. Tur. *HF* viii 6.

The similarity of the names suggests that Garacharius may possibly be identical with Galactorius, but apart from this and the identity of office there is no other reason for identifying them.

Gararicus dux (in Gaul) 584

Dux; in 584 after Chilperic's death he went to Limoges to exact oaths of allegiance to Childebert II and from there went to Poitiers where he was welcomed and took up residence; he then wrote to the people of Tours urging them not to desert Childebert and submit to Guntram and when they refused he set out from Poitiers as if intending to bring an army; Greg. Tur. *HF* vii 13. Perhaps at this time he robbed Marileifus of his possessions; Greg. Tur. *HF* vii 25 (dux). He is not mentioned in connection with the attack on Poitiers by Sicharius and Willacharius which immediately followed.

Garibaldus 1 king (or dux) of the Bavarii M/L VI

Husband of Vuldetrada (Walderada) (a Lombard princess); Greg. Tur. *HF* iv 9 (given to her by Chlotharius shortly after her first husband Theodebald's death in 555), Paul. Diac. *Hist. Lang.* i 21 (she was supposedly given to him by Theodebald himself). He had a daughter who married the Lombard dux of Tridentum, Eoin; Paul. Diac. *Hist. Lang.* iii 10. He was father also of Theodelinda (wife of Authari and then Agilulf, kings of the Lombards), Gundoaldus and Grimoaldus 1; *Origo Gent. Lang.* 6, *Hist. Lang. cod. Goth.* 6, Paul. Diac. *Hist. Lang.* iii 30, iv 40, 48, Fredegar. iv 34.

In 555 (see above) he is alluded to as dux; Greg. Tur. *HF* iv 9 (dans ei Garivaldum ducem). Paul the Deacon describes him as one of Theodebald's men; Paul. Diac. *Hist. Lang.* i 21 (uni ex suis, qui dicebatur Garipald).

REX BAIORIORVM, ?M VI-?593: Baioariorum rex, Paul. Diac. *Hist. Lang.* iii 10, 30 (during the reign of Authari, until at least c. 589), cf. *Origo Gent. Lang.* 6 (Theudelinda, filia Garipald et Walderade de Baiuaria), *Hist. Lang. cod. Goth.* 6 (a similar text). He was apparently attacked by the Franks in c. 589; Paul. Diac. *Hist. Lang.* iii 30 (cum propter Francorum adventum perturbatio Garibaldo regi advenisset, ... Theodelinda and Gundoald left for Italy). In c. 593 a new king (Tassilo) was appointed over the Baiuarii by Childebert, suggesting that Garibaldus was now dead; cf. Paul. Diac. *Hist. Lang.* iv 7.

Garibaldus 2 dux of the Bavarii E VII

Son of Tassilo, whom he succeeded as dux of the Baiuarii; he was defeated at Aguntum (in Noricum) by the Slavs but recovered to expel them and recapture the booty which they had seized; Paul. Diac. *Hist. Lang.* iv 39. For the date, perhaps c. 610/620, cf. Tassilo.

Garmules Moorish king c. 570-578

Gennadius magister militum in Africa Mauros vastat, Garmulem fortissimum regem, qui iam tres duces superius nominatos Romani exercitus interfecerat, bello superat et ipsum regem gladio interficit; Joh. Bicl. s.a. 578. The three Roman *duces* were the PPO Theodorus 30 (in 570), the MVM Theoctistus 2 (in 570) and Theoctistus' successor Amabilis (in 571).

GATTVLVS (vir magnificus) (in Italy) 603

Magnitudo vestra; ordered by pope Gregory, with Romanus 12 and Wintarit, to help the *defensor (ecclesiae)* Optatus to investigate reports that priests at Nursia were cohabiting with foreign (presumably

Lombard) women; Greg. *Ep.* xiii 38 (a. 603 June; addressed 'Gattulo, Romano et Wintarit'). Probably they were military commanders in the area.

GAVDIOSVS (?v.c.), cancellarius of Liguria 533/537

Instructed by the PPO Cassiodorus Senator (in 533/537; *PLRE* ii, p. 267) to relieve the *possessores* of Comum of the obligation to furnish *paraveredi* (cf. Jones, *LRE* ii 833 with n. 22); Cass. *Var.* xi 14 (addressed 'Gaudioso cancellario provinciae Liguriaie'). For his status as *vir clarissimus*, cf. Cass. *Var.* xii 3.2 and see Anatolicus.

Gauto Lombard noble 617

Lombard envoy to Chlothar II in 617, with Agiulfus and Pompegius; they were 'nobiles'; Fredegar. iv 45. See further Agiulfus.

Gebamundus Vandal noble 533

Inscr.) *CIL* viii 25362 = D 8960 Tunis.

Gebamundus; *Inscr.* Gebamundus; Vict. Tonn. Γιβραμοῦνδος; Proc. A member of the Vandal royal family, he was a cousin (or possibly nephew) of Gelimer; Proc. *BV* i 18.1 (τὸν ἀνέψιον), Vict. Tonn. s.a. 534 (Gunthimer et Gebamundum Asdingos regis fratres, sic) (= Isid. *Hist. Vand.* 83), cf. *Inscr.*, line 5 *regalis origo*.

The inscription records the construction of baths by him on the site of Tunis.

In late 533 he was sent with two thousand men by Gelimer in a move to trap the army of Belisarius near Ad Decimum; they encountered Belisarius' Huns near the salt plain to the south and were all killed; Proc. *BV* i 18.12-19, 19.19, 25.15, Vict. Tonn. s.a. 534 (= Isid. *Hist. Vand.* 83). For the date, Sept. 13, see Belisarius, p. 189.

Geila Visigothic prince; brother of Suintila E/M VII

Brother of Suintila (Geilanem memorati Suintilani et sanguine et scelere fratrem); disloyal to his brother (in 631) and to Sisenand, he was exiled with his wife by the Fourth Council of Toledo (in Dec. 633) and his property confiscated; *Conc. Tol.* iv, cap. 75 (= Vives, *Concilios*, p. 37 = Mansi x 640).

GEISIRITH ?v.sp.; military commander (in Africa) 546-548

For the name, which is Germanic, cf. Schönfeld, pp. 99-101.

He was one of the army officers who served under Ioannes 36 Troglita in Africa from 546 to 548. Shortly before the battle in which Antalas was defeated in winter 546/547, Geisirith and Amantius 1 were sent out by Ioannes to spy out the enemy positions; while returning they were

attacked and had to be relieved by Ioannes; Coripp. *Ioh.* II 188-91, 204-6, 245-6. He was one of the Roman commanders during the battle; Coripp. *Ioh.* IV 489-501, V 326-7. In summer 547 he was on the left wing of the Roman army with Putzintulus and Sinduit when the Romans were routed at Marta; Coripp. *Ioh.* VI 521-2. In summer 548 he fought beside Putzintulus and Cutzinas at the Roman victory on the Plains of Cato; Coripp. *Ioh.* VIII 372-3, 474-5.

He is once described as 'dux'; *Ioh.* II 188. For his rank and post, cf. Putzintulus.

Gelimer king of the Vandals 530-534

On the name, see Schönfeld, p. 104.

He was son of Geilaris, grandson of Genton and great-grandson of Geiseric (all in *PLRE* II); Proc. *BV* I 9.6. Brother of Ammatas, Proc. *BV* I 17.11; and of Tzazon, Proc. *BV* I 11.23, 24.1, 25.10, II 2.23, 3.8, 3.14. Uncle of Gebamundus; Proc. *BV* I 18.1. As the oldest descendant of Geiseric apart from Hildericus, he was expected to succeed him on the throne; he had a reputation as an outstanding soldier but was regarded as clever and unscrupulous and too ready to seize other people's wealth and to contemplate revolt; Proc. *BV* I 9.6-7.

He campaigned against the Moors and defeated them; Joh. Mal. 459. Later, he revolted against Hildericus and allied himself to the Moors; he persuaded the Vandal nobility to support him, claiming that Hildericus was too weak and unwarlike, had suffered defeat by the Moors and was too subservient to the emperor; in 530 he overthrew him and seized the throne for himself; Proc. *BV* I 9.8-9, Joh. Mal. 459, cf. Coripp. *Ioh.* III 262-4 (installed by the defeated Vandal army). The overthrow of Hildericus was on May 19, 530; *Lat. reg. Vand.* 15. He rebelled and overthrew Hildericus; Vict. Tonn. s.a. 531, Jord. *Get.* 170, Isid. *Hist. Vand.* 82, Greg. Tur. *HF* II 3, Zon. XIV 7.

KING of the Vandals and Alans a. 530-534: his full title is recorded on a silver bowl found in Italy; *CIL* VIII 17412 = D 860 = *ILCV* 43 (+ Geilamir rex Vandalorum et Alanorum), and cf. also Proc. *BV* I 24.3 (addressed in a letter from Tzazon which fell into the hands of Belisarius, in Greek translation, as: ὁ Βανδίων τε καὶ Ἀλανῶν βασιλεῦς). Styled king of the Vandals; Marcell. com. s.a. 534, Vict. Tonn. s.a. 531, s.a. 533, s.a. 534, Mar. Avent. s.a. 534, Paul. Diac. *Hist. Lang.* I 25. He was the sixth king of the Vandals; Jord. *Get.* 170. His reign lasted for three years and eight months (until early 534, see below); Isid. *Hist. Vand.* 83, *Lat. reg. Vand.* 16. He is alleged to have executed many of the Vandal nobility and to have confiscated many people's property; Vict. Tonn. s.a. 533, Isid. *Hist. Vand.* 83, Joh. Mal. 439.

He sent gifts to Justinian, who rejected them and refused to recognise Gelimer and who also wrote to the Ostrogothic king Athalaric (*PLRE* II) advising him not to recognise Gelimer either; Joh. Mal. 459. He received two embassies from the emperor, criticising his revolt and then threatening war if he did not send Hildericus to Constantinople with Hoamer and Euagees, and rejected both of them; Proc. *BV* I 9.10-24. According to Procopius, Justinian then recalled Belisarius from the east and prepared to end the war with Persia in order to make war on the Vandals; Proc. *BV* I 9.25-6, *BP* I 21.2, but see Belisarius, p. 186.

In 533 Gelimer was harassed by simultaneous revolts in Sardinia, where Godas, whom he had sent to govern there, rebelled, and in Tripolitania, which Pudentius, with some military help from the emperor, had seized and made subject to the emperor; Gelimer sent troops (under Tzazon) to recover Sardinia before Roman help arrived there but had none to spare for Tripolitania; Proc. *BV* I 10.24-7, 11.22-4, 14.9.

In autumn 533, when Belisarius with the imperial forces had already reached Sicily, Gelimer had no suspicions and was off his guard, having left Carthage for Hermione in Byzacena; Proc. *BV* I 14.10, 17.4.11. He had recently sent envoys to Theudis (*PLRE* II, p. 1112) in Spain seeking an alliance between the Vandals and the Visigoths; Proc. *BV* I 24.7. On learning that Belisarius had landed, he wrote to Ammatas in Carthage to execute Hildericus and the other captives and to prepare the Vandal troops with the aim of trapping the Roman forces at Ad Decimum; Proc. *BV* I 17.11, cf. Vict. Tonn. s.a. 534, Isid. *Hist. Vand.* 84 (murder of the captives). Perhaps at this time also he had his treasures placed on board ship and entrusted to Bonifatius I; Proc. *BV* II 4.33-4. He ordered many eastern merchants who were in Carthage to be imprisoned on suspicion of urging the emperor to attack the Vandals; Proc. *BV* I 20.4-6.

As Belisarius advanced towards Carthage, Gelimer pursued closely; Proc. *BV* I 17.14. His plan was to trap the Romans at Ad Decimum with Ammatas in front, himself in the rear and Gebamundus on their flank; Proc. *BV* I 18.1. For the events at Ad Decimum, on Sept. 13, 533, see Belisarius, p. 189. After the deaths of Ammatas and Gebamundus, Gelimer was himself routed by Belisarius and fled towards Bulla Regia and Numidia; Proc. *BV* I 19.18.24.29-33. In the plain of Bulla he began reassembling his Vandal forces and his Moorish allies, though few Moors joined him; Proc. *BV* I 25.1.16. He also recalled Tzazon and his followers from Sardinia; they rejoined him, perhaps in mid October; Proc. *BV* I 25.10-22. He then led his army against Carthage, where he destroyed part of the aqueduct but achieved little except possession of the countryside since the Romans refused to come out against him; he tried

to exploit discontent in the Roman army but was foiled by Belisarius; Proc. *BV* II 1.1-11. Perhaps at this time Gelimer offered payments to peasants and farmers to kill Roman soldiers; Proc. *BV* I 23.1-4.

He and his army were defeated at the battle of Tricamarum, in mid December 533; Proc. *BV* II 3.1-28, and see Belisarius, p. 191. Before the battle was even over, Gelimer took to his horse and fled towards Numidia; Proc. *BV* II 3.20-2. He was pursued by Ioannes 14 but escaped and made his way up the mountain in Numidia called Papua, beyond the reach of the Romans; Proc. *BV* II 4.9, 4.26-8. There he was besieged by Pharas for three months during the winter, suffering intense hardships; with him were surviving relations of his, nephews and cousins; Proc. *BV* II 4.28-31, 6.4.14, 7.1ff.

In late March 534 Gelimer gave in, overcome by the hardships, and was taken captive by Belisarius, first to Carthage and then to Constantinople; Proc. *BV* I 23.20-1, II 7.6-17, 9.1, *BP* II 21.28, Marcell. com. s.a. 534, Vict. Tonn. s.a. 534, Mar. Avent. s.a. 534, Jord. *Get.* 171, Cyr. Scyth. *V. Sabae* 74, Isid. *Hist. Vand.* 84. In Constantinople he was led in Belisarius' triumph; Proc. *BV* II 9.10-12, Zach. *HE* IX 17, Jord. *Get.* 171. His defeat and capture and overthrow by Belisarius are also noticed in Proc. *BG* I 5. 1, *Anecd.* 4.32, *Marcell. com. Addit.* ad a. 535, Jord. *Rom.* 366, Zach. *HE* IX 17, Isid. *Hist. Vand.* 83, Joh. Lyd. *de mag.* III 55, Agath. I prooem. 24, Greg. Tur. *HF* II 3 *ad fin.*, Paul. Diac. *Hist. Lang.* I 25, Cedr. I 649, Zon. XIV 7.

Justinian gave him extensive estates in Galatia and allowed him to live there with his kinsmen; he refused however to abjure his Arian faith and for this reason was not made a *patricius*; Proc. *BV* II 9.13-14. He lived on as a private citizen until his death; Jord. *Get.* 171.

He is also alluded to in Coripp. *Ioh.* I 380-1 (cum scepra tyrannus Geilamir in Libycis tenuisset perfidus oris) and III 17-18 (Geilamir infandus quamvis vexaverat Afros perdideratque nocens).

Gemellus law teacher M VI

Husband of Rhode; he taught law, perhaps at Constantinople (ὁ παρὸς εὐνομίας ἴδμονα θῆκε πόλιν); *Anth. Gr.* VII 575. The verses, by Leontius 6 *scholasticus*, commemorate Rhode, whom the lemma asserts to have died ἐν Βυζαντίῳ; Gemellus perhaps therefore taught in Constantinople, but the information is not in the poem and the lemma may be guesswork, in which case Berytus would also be possible.

A. Lurius Geminius teacher of rhetoric and a doctor (Africa) IV/VI

A. Lurius Geminius hic situs est fandi quondam vitaeque magister

semper fide adque salutiferas curas humanis debebat corporibus; a Christian, he died aged eighty and was buried at Mactar; *AE* 1953, 49 Mactar. Cf. W. Schmid, *Philologus* 106 (1962), pp. 277ff. (suggesting a fourth-century date).

Genesius: v.sp. (in Italy) c. 527; *PLRE* II.

Genethlius I honorary consul and patricius VI

Genethlio ex cons(u)le; Zacos 810a = Dumbarton Oaks seal 58.106.738, Zacos 810b (two lead seals, dated M VI/M VII Zacos, VI Oikonomides; obv.: +ϚΕ/ΝΕΤΗΛΙ/Ο+; rev.: +ΕΧ/CONSO/ΛΕ+; or similar).

Genethlium ex consul(e) et patric(ium); Zacos 811a, 811b = Fogg Art Museum seal 901, Dumbarton Oaks seal 58.106.741 (three identical seals, dated M VI/M VII Zacos, VI Oikonomides; obv.: ϚΕΝ/ΕΤΗΛ/ΙΥΜ; rev.: ΕΧCON/ΣΥΛΕΤΡ/ΑΤΥΙC).

The two sets of seals may have been owned by the same individual.

Genethlius (?) 2 PVC M VI/VII

His monogram (46) possibly occurs on two glass weights; Monneret de Villard, Catalogue E, no. 4a (with fig. 2, n. 5, and p. 107, photo; the monogram is beneath two busts), and Jungfleisch, p. 242, no. 25. For the reading and his office, cf. Feissel, *Rev. Num.*⁶ 28 (1986), p. 128 (and p. 129, fig. 1, no. 5).

Genialis dux (over the Gascons) 602

Appointed *dux* over the Gascons after Theodebert and Theoderic brought them under their sway in 602, he is said to have ruled them well; Fredegar. IV 21 (ducem super ipsos nomine Genialem instituunt, qui eos feliciter dominavit).

Gennadius I patricius; honorary consul; exarchus Africae 591-598

Inscr. 1) *CIL* VIII 2245 = 17671 = *AE* 1895, 115 = D 9350 = *ILCV* 795 = Durliat, no. 28 = Pringle, no. 33 Mascula (Khenchela, in Numidia); 2) (*CIL* VIII 4354 = 18540 = *ILCV* 28) = Durliat, no. 29 = Pringle, no. 31 Ain Ksar, near Casae (Numidia); 3) *CIL* VIII 12035 = *AE* 1889, 1 = *ILCV* 793 = *ILT* 605 = Durliat, no. 30 = Pringle, no. 36 Ksar Lemsa, near Furnos Maius; 4) *AE* 1937, 148 (+ *AE* 1946, 241) = *Byz.* 49 (1979), pp. 156-74, no. 47 = Pringle, no. 49 Sila.

MAGISTER MILITVM AFRICAE c.a. 578-583: in c. 578 he defeated the Moors and killed their king Garmules; Joh. Bicl. s.a. 578 (Gennadius magister militum in Africa Mauros vastat, Garmulem, fortissimum

regem, qui iam tres duces superius nominatos Romani exercitus interfecerat, bello superat et ipsum regem gladio interficit). In office under Tiberius; *Inscr.* 1 (Gennadio m(a)g(istro) m(i)l(itum) aq̄ patr̄ici(o); see Durliat, pp. 69–70), 2 (temp(oribus) Genn(a)d(ii) m(agistri) m(i)l(itum) Afr(i)ca(e); see Durliat, pp. 72–4). He is the first person recorded as *magister militum Africae*. Still in office on May 6, 585; *Inscr.* 4 (te(m)p(o)r(i)b(us) gl(o)r(io)si Gennadi m(a)g(istri) m(i)l(itum) Affric(a)e et exc(onsu)l(e); dated 'die pridie n(o)n(as) Maiias, ind. III', in the reign of Maurice). By 591 he had been appointed *exarchus Africae* (see below). He presumably remained *magister militum* until promotion to the (newly created) *exarchate*, of which he is the first recorded holder. For Theoph. Sim. vii 6.6, see below.

HONORARY CONSVL: he had received this dignity, which was for life, by 585; *Inscr.* 4 (cited above). It is not recorded elsewhere.

PATRICIUS: he already had this title in the reign of Tiberius; *Inscr.* 1 (cited above). Also attested on *Inscr.* 3 (sub patr(i)c(i)o Gennazio (sic), in the reign of Maurice; there is nothing to show whether he was *magister militum Africae* or *exarchus*), and in Greg. *Ep.* 1 59, 72, 73, iv 7, vi 59, vii 2, 3 (from 591 to 596, all cited below).

EXARCHVS AFRICAE a. 591 July–598 Sept./Oct.: the first known holder of this office, he was appointed on its creation some time between 585 and 591 (cf. above). In office he received several letters from pope Gregory; Greg. *Ep.* 1 59 (a. 591 July), 72 (a. 591 Aug.) (both addressed 'Gennadio patricio et exarcho Africae'), 73 (a. 591 Aug.; 'Gennadio patricio et exarcho per Africam'), iv 7 (a. 593 Sept.; 'Gennadio patricio et exarcho Africae'), vi 59 (a. 596 Aug.; 'Gennadio patricio Africae'), vii 3 (a. 596 Oct.; 'Gennadio patricio de Africa'), ix 9 (a. 598 Sept./Oct.; 'Gennadio exarcho Africae'). Also mentioned in Greg. *Ep.* vi 61 (a. 596 Aug.; to the emperor Maurice; 'gloriosus vir Gennadius'), vii 2 (a. 596 Oct.; to bishop Columbus from Numidia; 'vir excellentissimus filius noster Gennadius patricius') and *Ep.* ix 11 (a. 598 Oct.; to bishop Ianuarius of Cagliari; 'excellentissimus filius noster Gennadius'). Styled 'gloria vestra', Greg. *Ep.* 1 59, 73; 'excellencia vestra', *Ep.* 1 59, 72, 73, iv 7, vi 59, vii 3, ix 9; 'eminentia vestra', *Ep.* 1 59, 72, 73; and 'dignitas vestra', *Ep.* vi 59.

In 591 he received congratulations on his military successes; Greg. *Ep.* 1 72 (sicut excellentiam vestram hostilibus bellis in hac vita Dominus victoriarum fecit luce fulgere, ita oportet eam inimicis ecclesiae... obviare), 73 (tanta... bellicorum actuum prosperitas). The letters probably refer back to his triumphs under Tiberius and perhaps also to otherwise unrecorded events in c. 589 when there is evidence of Moorish uprisings (Theoph. Sim. iii 4.8, Theoph. AM 6080). Gennadius is

thanked by Gregory for settling captured barbarians on abandoned church lands; *Ep.* 1 73. In c. 595 he had a further success in suppressing a Moorish revolt; Theoph. Sim. vii 6.6–7 (he is here styled 'στρατηγὸς τῆς Λιβύης' a non-technical allusion to his position as army commander in Africa and not evidence that he was still holder of the title *magister militum Africae*).

He was involved with matters in Sardinia, Greg. *Ep.* 1 59 (asked to restrain the *dux* Theodorus 42), ix 11; and in Corsica, *Ep.* vii 3 (see Anastasius 17 and Ruferius). In Africa he was urged by Gregory, with little success, to act with vigour against the Donatists, *Ep.* 1 72, 73; and to help investigate irregular actions by the Numidian Council of bishops, *Ep.* iv 7. Gregory also wrote to him several times in connection with an excommunicated Numidian bishop Paul whose appeals went to the pope in Rome and to the emperor in Constantinople; Greg. *Ep.* vi 59, 61, vii 2 (Gennadius sent his *cancellarius* to Gregory in 596 in connection with this affair).

In 598 Gregory wrote to him commending Droctulfus; *Ep.* ix 9.

He probably retired or died some time between Sept./Oct. 598 and July 600; see Innocentius 3 and cf. Goubert, ii ii, pp. 212–13.

Gennadius 2 scholasticus (in Egypt) VI

Named in a sixth-century document of unknown provenance; *Stud. Pal.* viii 1270 (line 1: +Γενναδίω με(γαλο)πρεπεστάτῳ) (καὶ λογιω(τάτῳ) σχ[ολαστικῶ]).

Gennadius 3 CSL VI

Γενναδίου comitis sacrarum; Zacos 813 (seal; obv.: ΓΕΝ/ΝΑΔΙ/ΟV; rev.: COM/SACR/).

Gennadius 4 honorary consul VI/VII

Γενναδίω ἀπὸ ὑπάτων; Zacos 611a and b (seals; obv.: eagle with open wings, between which a cruciform monogram of Θεοτόκε βοήθει; rev.: +ΓΕΝ/ΝΑΔΙΩΑ/ΠΟΝΠΑ/ΤΩΝ, or similar). Three similar seals occur in Zacos' series (one = Dumbarton Oaks seal 58.106.724) and another, almost identical, is in Schlumberger, *Sigill.*, p. 480, no. 24.

Gennadius 5 MVM VI/VII

Γενναδίου στρατηλάτου; Zacos 330 = Dumbarton Oaks seal 55.1.94 (seal; obv.: cruciform monogram (47) of Γενναδίου; rev.: cruciform monogram (327) of στρατηλάτου).

Gennadius 6 chartularius VII

Γενναδίου δούλου τοῦ Θεοῦ, χαρτουλαρίου; Zacos 1380a and b (seals;

obv.: ΓΕΝΝΑ/ΔΙΔΔΔ/ΛΔΤΔ/ΘV, or similar; rev.: cruciform monogram (365) of χαρτουλαρίου). Another specimen occurs in Zacos' series, and in Laurent, *Orghidan*, no. 281.

Gennadius 7 honorary consul VII

Γενναδίω ὑπάτω; Zacos 814 (seal; obv.: ΘΕΟΤ/ΟΚΕΒΟ/ΗΘΙ; rev.: [Γ]ΕΝΝ/[Α]ΔΙΩV/[Π]ΑΤΩ). Two further specimens occur in Zacos' series and a fourth one is Dumbarton Oaks seal 55.1.1975.

Gennadius (?) 8 ?PVC c. 610/620

His monogram (48) possibly occurs on several pieces of silverware dating from early in the reign of Heraclius; Dodd, *BSS*, Table III, nos. 37-40 (also = Feissel, below, p. 135, fig. 2). He was probably PVC; see Feissel, *Rev. Num.* 28 (1986), p. 139, with n. 105-6 (for the date, and reservations on the interpretation of the monogram).

Aelius Gentilis (*CIL* xi 2835) V/VI: *PLRE* II.

Gentio scribo (in Sicily) 598

Vir magnificus scribo, to whom pope Gregory ordered an annual payment in kind to be made by the *defensor* Romanus in recognition of his goodness; Gentio had hoped to acquire rights over an ecclesiastical estate but the actions of wicked *scribonēs* had already led Gregory to rule that this was not allowable (voluerat enim possessionem iuris ecclesiastici sub libellorum speciem tenere. Sed propter malos scribonēs iudicavimus in hac nos causa nec bono committere); Greg. *Ep.* ix 78 (a. 598 Nov./Dec.). Romanus was *defensor* in Sicily.

Gentius MVM (vacans) 546/547

MVM (VACANS) a. 546/547: magister; Coripp. *Ioh.* III 42, IV 474. He was in Africa with the expedition under Ioannes 36 Troglita in winter 546/547 and fought in the battle in which the Moors under Antalas were defeated; Coripp. *Ioh.* III 41-51, IV 472-7, V 439-41.

Apparently not a native of Africa himself; cf. Coripp. *Ioh.* III 50.

Since he took no part in the campaigns of 547 and 548 he had perhaps left Africa.

Gentzon ?MVM (in Thrace) 593-594

On the name, see Schönfeld, p. 106.

In 593 he was appointed by the emperor to command the infantry forces when Priscus 6 was sent to stop the Slavs crossing the Danube;

Theoph. Sim. vi 6.3 (cited under Priscus), Theoph. AM 6085. During this campaign his timely arrival with the infantry averted a disaster when Priscus' men grew careless after the defeat of Musocius; Theoph. Sim. vi 9.15, Theoph. AM 6085. He continued to serve under Petrus 55 in 594, when he was sent to force the local militia of Asemus to join Petrus' army; Theoph. Sim. vii 3.6 (Γέντζωνα τὸν ταξίαρχον). He returned empty handed after refusing to employ force against them and was removed by Petrus from his command; Theoph. Sim. vii 3.7-8 (ἀποχειροτονεῖ τῆς στρατηγίας τὸν Γέντζωνα ἦν δὲ ὁ Γέντζων τῆς πεζικῆς δυνάμεως ἡγεμών).

He was evidently subordinate to both Priscus and Petrus, probably the ὑποστράτηγος of both; his command of infantry suggests that he was *magister peditum*, but evidence that this title still existed is lacking and Gentzon was most probably an MVM *vacans* sent to Thrace to command the infantry forces under the overall command of Priscus and Petrus. On the other hand, he could possibly have been one of the (new style) *duces* (ταξίαρχοι), on which cf. Theodorus 21. Cf. also Georgius 45.

Genulus (Γένολον) numerarius of the MVM per Illyricum ?VI/VII

He died in old age and was buried in October of a second indiction, πλήροσας εὐσέμνος στρατιᾶν νομεραρίου τῆς στρατοπεδαρχικῆς τάξεως τοῦ Ἥλλυρίου (sic); Beshevliev, *Spätgr. u. spätlat. Inschr. Bulg.*, no. 240 Zapara (modern Sandanski, S.-W. Bulgaria).

Georgia: patricia (East) E/M VI; *PLRE* II.

Georgia consularis (East) M/L VI

Daughter of Antipatra and wife of Ioannes 90, she was a *consularis* (ὑπάτισσα; her husband was honorary consul) and a zealous mono-physite (probably persecuted by Justin II); Joh. Eph. *HE* III 2.12.

Georgius (*SEG* xx 35) V/VI: *PLRE* II.

Georgius I grandfather of Gregory of Tours L V/E VI

Of senatorial family, husband of Leocadia, father of Gallus 2 (bishop of Clermont) and of Florentius 2; Greg. Tur. *V. Patr.* 6.1 (he and his wife 'ita de primoribus senatoribus fuerunt, ut in Galliis nihil inveniatur esse generosius atque nobilius'), 14.3 (Florentius Georgii quondam filius senatoris). To judge by the age of his son Gallus (born in 486/487) he was born no later than c. 460/465. He apparently died before his other son Florentius (who married in 534) reached the age of eleven; cf. *V. Patr.* 14.3. Probably he was dead by 525; cf. *Mir. S. Iul.* 23 (before Theoderic sacked the Auvergne).

He was the grandfather of Gregory of Tours, Petrus 12 and Anonyma 4; see stemma 12.

Cf. Stroheker, no. 175.

Georgius 2 comes Arvernorum ?533/555

A native of Velay, he was *comes* of Clermont (eo quoque tempore quo Georgius Vellavorum civis Arvernae urbis comitatu potiebatur); his wife (Anonyma 3) lived in Clermont after his death; Greg. Tur. *Glor. Conf.* 34. His name suggests that he may have been related to Gregory of Tours. His date is unknown but may have been after 533 (the death of Theoderic I) and before 555 (from then until the death of Gregory the list of known *comites* of Clermont appears complete); cf. Kurth, *Ét. franq.* I, p. 191, Stroheker, no. 176.

Georgius 3 officer of Martinus' bodyguard 537

A native of Cappadocia and a δορυφόρος of Martinus 2, at Rome in c. April/May 537; Proc. *BG* I 29.20-1. See Theodoriscus.

Georgius 4 confidant of Belisarius 541; at Dara 547/548

A man of intelligence and in Belisarius' confidence (ἄνδρα συνετάτατόν τε καὶ τῶν ἀπορρήτων αὐτῷ κοινωνοῦντα); sent by him in 541 to persuade the occupants of Sisauranon to surrender, which they did; Proc. *BP* II 19.22-3, 28.33.

In 547/548 he was in Dara and saved the city from capture by refusing the Persian envoy Isdigousnas entry with more than twenty men; Proc. *BP* II 28.33-7.

He probably left Belisarius' service in 542, cf. Belisarius, p. 211. His actions at Dara suggest that he had some official status but what it was is not clear; Procopius (*BP* II 28.33) simply describes him as ἐνταῦθα τότε διατριβὴν ἔχοντι and says that it was to him that the Persian plans were revealed by a Roman deserter. He may have commanded the garrison at Dara, but this is only supposition.

GEORGIUS 5 v.c., argentarius (at Ravenna) 552

V.c., argentarius; attested at Ravenna in Jan. 552; Marini, *P. Dip.* 74 = *P. Ital.* 4-5B.

GEORGIUS 6 v.c., comes; agens vices vicarii (?urbis Romae) 559

Clarissimo viro Georgio comiti et agenti vices illustris viri clarissimi Marcellini vicarii; as deputy for Marcellinus 2, he heard the allegations of desertion brought by Tucsā against her husband Maximinus and then had Maximinus arrested 'per publicum officium'; when told by

Maximinus that the matter had already been tried by the bishops of Reate and Amiternum, he (apparently) informed Pelagius who ordered the bishops to retry the case together with a representative appointed by Georgius; Pelag. I, *Ep.* 63 (a. 559 March/April).

Georgius 7 curator domus Marinae 560-562

He was related to the empress Theodora; Theoph. AM 6054 (συγγενής; cf. Ioannes 90).

CURATOR DIVINAE DOMVS MARINAE a. 560 late-562 May: ὁ κουράτωρ τῶν Μαρίνης, Theoph. AM 6053, 6054. In late 560 he and Aetherius 2 were accused falsely of a conspiracy to secure the throne for Theodorus 34; Theoph. AM 6053 (cf. Eugenius 1). In May 562 he and Ioannes 90 accused Zemarchus 2 of slandering the emperor; Theoph. AM 6054, cf. Joh. Mal. 490 (Zemarchus was dismissed).

Possibly identical with Georgius, husband of Proba 2; Nic. *Brev.* 104.

Georgius 8 envoy to the Turks 569-571

He accompanied Zemarchus 3 on the embassy of 569 to 571 to the Turks; on the return journey he was sent ahead on a shorter but more difficult route, accompanied by twelve Turks, to report on the mission; Men. Prot. fr. 21.

GEORGIUS 9 v.c., argentarius (at Ravenna) 581

V.c., argentarius; younger son of Petrus 18; he died aged about 17 in 581 and was buried near Ravenna in the church of St Zacharias; *CIL* XI 350 (originally in the floor of the church, which was ten miles from Ravenna).

Fl. Georgius 10 honorary consul 586/587

Landowner at Oxyrhynchus and joint addressee with Fl. Praeicta 2 and Fl. Apion 4 of accounts from the Apion estates; *P. Oxy.* 2196, line 2 (?a. 586) (Φλαουίω) Γεωργίω τῷ ὑπερφουεστάτῳ ὑπάτῳ τῷ γεουχοῦντι at Oxyrhynchus). He, Praeicta and Apion were the surviving heirs of Apion 3; Praeicta was probably his mother and Apion his brother; another brother was perhaps Strategius 3. Cf. Gascou, *Travaux et Mémoires* 9 (1985), pp. 68-9.

He is not recorded with Praeicta and Apion in *P. Oxy.* 1989 (a. 590), 2243a (a. 590), and 1900 (a. 591) and was presumably dead by 590.

Georgius 11 PPO Italiae 591-593

Addressee of two letters from pope Gregory, in 591 and 593; Greg. *Ep.* I 22 (a. 591 Feb.; addressed 'Georgio praefecto praetorio Italiae'; he is styled 'excellētia vestra'), III 28 (a. 593 April; addressed 'Georgio

praefecto praetorio per Italiam'; he is styled 'excellencia vestra', 'eminentia vestra' and also 'christianitas vestra'; the letter appeals to him to help Armenius). Mentioned in two further letters, in March 591; *Greg. Ep.* I 35 (viri excellentissimi domini Georgii praefecti; cf. Maurilio), 36 (mentions Ioannes 104, consiliarius viri excellentissimi domni Georgii praefecti per Italiam).

According to *Ep.* I 35 he came to office already possessing a favourable reputation (et ante dignitatis huius amministrationem in bonis omnibus expertum).

GEORGIUS 12 vir magnificentissimus 596

'Ο μεγαλοπρεπέστατος; father of 'Ιοαννάλιος (sic, ? = 'Ιο[υβεν]α-λι[ος]); *BCH* 1877, p. 328 Sis (Cilicia). The inscription, dated 596 (indiction 14, and year 15 of Maurice and Theodosius), records the fulfilment of a vow, to build a church of St John the Evangelist.

Georgius 13 ?man of wealth (in Italy) 598

In April 598 pope Gregory asked bishop Marinianus of Ravenna to protect a woman whom Georgius was apparently claiming as his slave; *Greg. Ep.* VIII 20 (she was 'molestias Georgii cuiusdam refugientem' and her husband 'de condicione esse controversiam asserit'). Gregory gives no indication of Georgius' rank, but he was presumably a man of some wealth.

Georgius 14 PPO Orientis ?598

PPO Orientis, sent as envoy to Chosroes by Maurice after a raid on Persian territory by Arabs allied to Rome; *Theoph. Sim.* VIII 1.3 (Γεώργιον, ὃς τῆς τῶν ἐφῶν πόλεων φορολογίας τὴν ἐπιστάσιαν ἐκέκτητο τοῦτον πραιτωρίων ἐπαρχὸν ἀποκαλοῦσι 'Ρωμαῖοι). He was kept waiting by Chosroes but eventually persuaded him not to break the peace and returned to report to Maurice, only to anger the emperor and put himself out of favour by quoting remarks of Chosroes attributing his decision to keep the peace to the high qualities of Georgius himself; *Theoph. Sim.* VIII 1.4-8, *Nic. Call. HE* XVIII 37. The date was during the peace with Persia under Maurice, i.e. 591/602, possibly in 598 from its place in *Theophylact's* narrative; see *Theoph. Sim.* VII 15.14 (summer 598) and VIII 1.9-10 (summer/autumn 598) and cf. *Comentiolus* I (p. 325).

Georgius 15 doctor (?at Antinoe) VI

Τοῦ ἀπογενομένου ἱ[ά]τρ[ου]; father of Aur. Sarapion; *P. Cairo Masp.* 67155, lines 1-2 Antinoe. Probably doctor at Antinoe.

GEORGIUS 16 vir magnificus, domesticus (East) ?VI

Γεώργιος ὁ μ[εγαλ(οπρεπέστατος)] δομέσ[τικός]; buried at Sungurlu; *BCH* 1901, p. 335, no. 29 Sungurlu (in Galatia Prima, north-west of Tavium). The inscription, dated July 31 of a fourth indiction, also records the burials of Maria and Stephanus, without further detail. Perhaps they were wife and son of Georgius.

Georgius 17 illustris L VI

+ Hic requiescet Ioannes filius Georgi inlustris + ; Beshevliev, *Spätgr. u. spälat. Inschr. Bulg.*, no. 5 Serdica.

Georgi(u)s 18 mag(ister) or mag(istrius)(?) ?VI

Γεώργις μάγ(ιστρος)(?), son of Ioannes; *IGLS* v 2143 Krád ad-Dāsiniya, a village in Syria between Epiphaneia and Emesa.

Georgius 19 magister militum (in Italy) L VI

He was already dead when his *spatharius* Ioannes 228 made a donation to the church of Ravenna in c. 600; *Marini, P. Dip.* 90 = *P. Ital.* 16, line 31 (Ioannes was 'spatar(ius) q(uon)d(am) Georgii magistri mil(itum)'), also lines 43, 53, 64, 74-5, 84.

Georgius 20 adsabanis VI

Γεωργίω adsabanis; *Zacos* 2796 = Fogg Art Museum seal 1522 (seal; obv.: cruciform monogram (52) of Γεωργίω; rev. + Ad/SAbA/NIS). The *adsabanis* was an official in charge of the palace baths. Cf. *Theopemptus* 8.

Georgius 21 a secretis VI

Georgi a secretis; *BCTH* 1925, p. xlv, n. 5 (seal, from Carthage; obv.: Ge/org/i; rev.: ase/cre/tis).

Georgius 22 magister (?militum) M/L VI

Γεωργίου magistrū; *Zacos* 335 (seal; obv.: cruciform monogram (54) of Γεωργίου; rev.: ΜΑΓΙ/ΜΤΡΥ, i.e. MAGISTRV).

Georgius 23 MVM (in Africa) VI

Γεωργίου στρατηλάτου; *BCTH* 1917, p. 9, n. 33 (seal, from Carthage; obv.: + Θεοτόκε βοήθει; rev.: + Γεωργίου στρατηλάτου).

Georgius 24 MVM VI

Γεωργίου strat(e)l(atu); Fogg Art Museum seal 3358 (seal; obv.: cruciform monogram (55) of Γεωργίου; rev.: ΣΤ/ΡΑΤ/ΙΛΣ).

- Georgius (?) 25** praefectus VI
 Georgiu(?) ἐπάρχο[υ]; Dumbarton Oaks seal 55.1.28 (seal; obv.: monogram (50), possibly of 'Georgiu'; rev.: square monogram (77) of ἐπάρχο[υ]).
- Georgius 26** scriniarius M/L VI
 Γεωργίου scriniarius (sic); Zacos 339 (seal; obv.: cruciform monogram (55) of Γεωργίου; rev.: CΦRI/NIARI/4C+).
- Georgius 27** office unknown M/L VI
 Named on Zacos 342 (seal; obv.: monogram (51) of Γεωργίου; rev.: cruciform monogram (374), interpretation unknown, apparently with the letters α, β, η, κ, ν, ο, ρ, τ, υ, and either another ο or θ or φ).
- Georgius 28** ?v.sp. (Egypt) VI
 Ὁ περίβλεπτος; mentioned in a sixth-century document from Arsinoe; *Stud. Pal.* III 56, line 2.
- Georgius 29** vir magnificus; scriba (Egypt) L VI/E VII
 Τὸν μεγαλοπρ(επέστατον) Γεώργιον σκρ(εἰβαν); named in a list of minor officials at Oxyrhynchus; *P. Oxy.* 1108, line 4.
- Georgius 30** candidatus VI/VII
 Γεωργίου κανδιδάτου; Dumbarton Oaks seal 58.106.2193 (seal; obv.: bust of the Virgin with medallion, between two crosses; rev.: cruciform monogram (61) of Γεωργίου κανδιδάτου).
- Georgius 31** honorary consul VI/VII
 Γεωργίου ὑπάτου; Zacos 824 = Fogg Art Museum seal 993 (seal; obv.: ΓΕΩ/ΡΓΙΟ/Υ; rev.: ΝΠΑ/ΤΟΝ).
- Georgius 32** decanus VI/VII
 Γεωργίου δεκανοῦ; Zacos 2797 = Fogg Art Museum seal 1198 (seal; obv.: cruciform monogram (53) of Γεωργίου; rev.: ΔΕ/ΚΑΝ/ΟΝ).
- Georgius 33** domesticus VI/VII
 Γεωργίου [δ]ομεισ[τ]ί[κ]ου; Zacos 619 = Dumbarton Oaks seal 55.1.337 (seal, dated VII Zacos, VI/VII Oikonomides; obv.: eagle with cruciform monogram of Θεοτόκε βοήθει; rev.: ΓΕΩΡ/ΓΙΟΝ./ΟΜΕΣΤ.ΚΟΝ).

- Georgius 34** MVM VI/VII
 Γεωργίου στρατηλάτου; Zacos 340 (seal; obv.: cruciform monogram (56) of Γεωργίου; rev.: cruciform monogram (324) of στρατηλάτου).
- Georgius 35** MVM VI/VII
 Γεωργίου. Γεωργίου στρατηλάτου; Zacos 341 (seal; obv.: cruciform monogram (57) of Γεωργίου; rev.: ΓΕΩΡΓΙ/CTPATH/Λ with δ of Γεωργίου above. Monogram and decoration differ from Zacos 340).
- Georgius 36** patricius VI/VII
 Γεωργίου πατρικίου; Fogg Art Museum seal 2800 (seal; obv.: cruciform monogram (55) of Γεωργίου; rev.: cruciform monogram (251) of πατρικίου).
- Georgius 37** ex praefectis M VI/M VII
 Γεωργίου ἀπὸ ἐπάρχων; Zacos 1355 (seal; obv.: the letters of Γεωργίου arranged in a cross; rev.: [Α]ΠΟ/ΕΠΑΡ/ΧΩΝ). A second specimen occurs in Zacos' series and a similar seal is in Schlumberger, *Sigill.*, p. 508.
- Georgius 38** scribo M VI/M VII
 Γεωργίου σκριβονος; Zacos 336 (seal; obv.: cruciform monogram (58) of Γεωργίου; rev.: cruciform monogram (306) of σκριβονος).
- Georgius 39** scribo M VI/M VII
 Γεωργίου σκριβονος; Zacos 337 (seal; obv.: cruciform monogram (57) of Γεωργίου; rev.: +CK/PIBO/NOC).
- Georgius 40** scribo M VI/VII
 Γεωργίου σκριβονος; Zacos 338 = Dumbarton Oaks seal 58.106.2485 (seal; obv.: cruciform monogram (59) of Γεωργίου; rev.: +/CKPI/BΩN/OC). The three seals, Zacos 336, 337 and 338, have different monograms and decoration.
- Georgius 41** vestiarius VI/VII
 Γεωργίου βεστιαρίου; Dumbarton Oaks seal 58.106.3309 (seal; obv.: cruciform monogram (60) of Γεωργίου; rev.: cruciform monogram (41) of βεστιαρίου).
- Georgius 42** ?v.c. (in Egypt); meizoterus VI/VII
 Addressee of a private letter (τῷ τὰ πά(ντα) λαμπτρο(τάτῳ) τιμ(ῆς)

ἀξίω ἀδελφῶ Γεωργίω μειζοτέρῳ [...]; *SB* 7036, 6 provenance unknown. The letter also mentions ἡ θεοφύλακτος κύρια Γεωργία.

GEORGIUS 43 v.sp., chartularius (in Egypt) VI/VII

Recorded in two documents from Oxyrhynchus; *P. Oxy.* 1843 (a letter concerning tax payments παρά τῆς ὑμετέρας μεγαλο(πρεποῦς) καὶ πανσόφου φιλίας was delivered διὰ Γεωργίου τοῦ περιβλέπτου αὐτῆς χαρτουλαρίου; both the writer and the addressee are unknown), 1864 (Marinus 13 is asked to pay fifteen *solidi* to Γεωργίῳ τῷ περιβλ(έπτῳ) χαρτουλ(αρίῳ) by Thomas the *symmachus* for performing commissions at Oxyrhynchus).

This appears to be a different person from Georgius 55. The handwriting of the documents differs from that of the Georgius/Victor series and the other names do not recur in that series.

Georgius 44 PPO Africae L VI/E VII

A native of Syria Secunda, from an estate (κτῆμα) called Thorax in the vicinity of Apamea, he was an acquaintance of John Moschus who describes him as very devout and cites an anecdote narrated by him; he became PPO of Africa; Joh. Mosch. *Pratum* 277 (196) (Γεώργιος ὁ τῆς Ἄφρων χώρας ἐπαρχος γεγωνῶς, ὁ φιλόχριστος καὶ φιλομόναχος καὶ φιλόπτωχος).

Georgius 45 ?MVM (East) c.a. 601/602

Among the victims of Phocas in 602 was Georgius, ὁ τοῦ Φιλιππικοῦ ὑποστράτηγος; Theoph. Sim. viii 13.1, cf. Nic. Call. *HE* xviii 41 (wrongly called the son of Philippicus).

In the military command structure of this time the ὑποστράτηγος ranked second to the overall commander on campaigns but was superior to *duces*; cf. Maur. *Strat.* 13-4. Probably he was a *magister militum* serving under a στρατηγὸς αὐτοκράτωρ. Georgius perhaps served under Philippicus in 601 on the campaign in Thrace against the Avars. Cf. also Gentzon.

Georgius 46 ?lampadarius et scriniarius (in Caria) c. 602

Γεωργίου τοῦ λα(μπαδαρίου?) καὶ σκρινιαρίου; named on an inscription at Didyma in Caria; *IGC* 225 Hieronda, i.e. Didyma (Miletus). Possibly an ecclesiastic (the inscription records an oratory of the archangel Michael built under the patriarch Cyriacus of Constantinople (595-606), a priest Romanus and Georgius), though λα might represent λαμπροτάτου, in spite of the καί; cf. e.g. Thomas 24. On the date 602, cf. the note in *IGC* by Grégoire.

Georgius 47 ?primicerius notariorum (East) 602

Among the *proceres* at Constantinople in late 602 who supported Maurice and were killed by Phocas was 'Georgius notarius principis'; Greg. *Ep.* xiii 1. Possibly *primicerius notariorum*, though the phrase may simply mean *imperialis notarius* (?βασιλικὸς νοτάριος, but presumably not one of the βασιλικοὶ νοταριοὶ later found attached to financial bureaux; cf. Bury, *Imp. Adm. Sys.*, p. 98).

Georgius 48 patricius; envoy to the Avars 626

Ὁ ἐνδοξότατος πατρίκιος; one of the ἄρχοντες at Constantinople during the Avar siege; on the fifth day, Aug. 2, he, with Theodorus 160, Theodosius 40, Theodorus 159 Syncellus and Athanasius 10, went at the request of the khan to see him; there they met the khan's new Persian allies and Georgius accused them of lying about the state of the Romans; *Chron. Pasch.* s.a. 626.

Georgius 49 turmarch 627-628

Ὁ τουρμάρχης τῶν Ἀρμενιάκων; present with Heraclius in Persia on the advance towards Ctesiphon in 627 Dec. and 628 Jan.; Theoph. AM 6118 (pp. 320, 325). He was evidently commander of a *turma* of the Armeniaci; it does not follow that at this date there were already turmarchs subject to the στρατηγός of a theme, a development which may have happened by this date but could well be later.

Georgius 50 PPO Africae (?633/634-) 641-642

Possibly in office as early as 633/634; Max. Conf. *Ep.* 17 (*PG* 91.584C) (Maximus had forwarded to an unnamed ἐπαρχος (in Africa) a petition, probably concerning refugees from Alexandria; cf. Sherwood, *Stud. Anselm.*, pp. 36, 47).

In Nov. 641 Georgius received a letter brought to Carthage by Theodorus 165 and purporting to come from the empress Martina instructing him to release certain nuns, refugees from Alexandria, who had lapsed back into monophysitism; he refused to accept the letter as genuine and proceeded against the heretics; Max. Conf. *Ep.* 12 (*PG* 91.460-509) (the letter to Carthage came πρὸς τὸν εὐλογημένον δοῦλον τοῦ Θεοῦ, τὸν ἐνταῦθα πανεύφημον ἐπαρχον; for the date, see col. 460). Shortly afterwards Maximus wrote a letter in Georgius' name (ἐκ προσώπου Γεωργίου τοῦ πανευφήμου ἐπάρχου Ἀφρικῆς) to the Alexandrian nuns regretting their lapse and ordering the return to Theopemptus of the property given to them; Max. Conf. *Ep.* 18 (*PG*

91.584-8) (dated Dec. 641/Jan. 642 by Sherwood, *op. cit.*, p. 48). In *Ep.* 16 (early 642) Maximus alludes to Georgius' problems and refers to false allegations against him (συκοφαντία); *PG* 91.576, cf. Sherwood, *op. cit.*, p. 49. Georgius was recalled from his post in early 642 and Maximus wrote to him on his departure expressing regret and praying for his welfare and for his return to Africa; Max. Conf. *Ep.* 1 (*PG* 91.363-92, esp. 365B and 392AB) (addressed πρὸς τὸν δοῦλον τοῦ Θεοῦ κύριον Γεώργιον, τὸν πανεύφημον ἑπαρχὸν Ἀφρικῆς; he is styled δέσποτα μου εὐλογημένε), and cf. Sherwood, *op. cit.*, p. 49. Maximus wrote two further letters on his behalf in early 642, both addressed to the *cubicularius* Ioannes 261; Max. Conf. *Ep.* 44 (*PG* 91.641-8) (regretting the departure from Africa of Georgius τὸν τῆς χώρας ταύτης πανεύφημον ἑπαρχὸν (645c) and enumerating his virtues and charitable acts), 45 (*PG* 91.648-9) (alluding to false accusations against Georgius and again enumerating his virtues - ἡμῖν δὲ κατὰ καιρὸν λαμπτήρ τις καὶ κανὼν ἀρετῆς ἀναδέδεικται Γεώργιος ὁ φιλόχριστος ἑπαρχος), and cf. Sherwood, *op. cit.*, pp. 49-51. See also Sherwood, pp. 8-9.

Georgius 51

PPO Africae c. 640

According to one version of the *Doctrina Iacobi*, the Old Slavonic, Georgius was the PPO of Africa who had the leaders of the Jewish community in Carthage forcibly baptised, in accordance with orders from Heraclius; *Doctrina Iacobi*, intro. (Jacob was baptised ἐπὶ Ἡρακλείου τοῦ εὐσεβεστάτου βασιλέως καὶ Γεωργίου ἑπαρχοῦ τῆς Καρθαγεννησίων πόλεως), 12 ('and when George, who was eparch, came to Africa'), and see Nau, *PO* 8 (1912), pp. 722-3. The date was supposedly c. 640 (640 years after the Crucifixion, *PO* 8 (1912), p. 760, line 23 of the Greek version); if so, this man could, if historical, be identical with Georgius 50 (PPO 641-642). However, other versions of the *Doctrina Iacobi* call the PPO Sergius (cf. Sergius 44), and it is possible that the name Georgius was introduced as a recollection of Georgius 57 (under Phocas); cf. *PO* 8, p. 733.

Georgius 52

'prefect' (Egypt) 640

'The prefect George'; in autumn 640 (after the battle of Heliopolis) he received orders from Amr to build a bridge over the river at Qaljūb (= Abū Munayjah) to facilitate the Arab conquest; Joh. Nik. 113.2 (p. 559 Zotenberg). Cf. Butler, *Conquest of Egypt*, pp. 235-6.

Georgius 53

commander in Babylon 640-641

According to Butler, *Conquest of Egypt*, Appendix C, p. 513, the commander of the Byzantine fort at Babylon in 640 and 641, who is

named in Arabic sources as al-'Araj, al-'Urayrij, al-'Ughayrij, was called Georgius; his name was written as Jurij or Jurij and then was misspelt through much copying.

Georgius Pisides 54

deacon; poet E/M VII

A contemporary of Heraclius, he was the author of religious and secular poems, including poems on the emperor and on events in his reign. He is known almost solely through his writings and their manuscripts. A native of Pisidia, he was a deacon and held the post of either χαρτοφύλαξ or σκευοφύλαξ (if not both) at Hagia Sophia (according to the MSS of his poems). According to one late source he was deacon and *referendarius*; Nic. Call. *HE* xviii 48. His work was known to and used by Theophanes (who used him extensively for Heraclius' Persian wars; cf. also Theoph. AM 6102, on the fleet of Heraclius with which he overthrew Phocas in 610), Cedrenus (1 719) and Nicephorus Callistus (cf. above), as well as later authors.

The panegyrics are edited by A. Pertusi (*Studia Patristica et Byzantina* 7, 1959). For other works, see *PG* 92 and (Carmina inedita, ed. Sternbach) *Wien. Stud.* 13 (1891), 14 (1892). Cf. also Hunger, *Prof. Lit.* II, pp. 112-13, 116, 159, 167, 232, 269.

George of Pisidia is perhaps alluded to in an anonymous couplet preserved in the Greek Anthology; *Anth. Gr.* xvi 312 (cf. ix 454) Καλλιόπη βασιλεια Γεώργιον εἶπεν ἰδοῦσα 'οὔτος ἐμὸς γενέτης γνήσιος, οὐ Κρονίδης'. He was possibly author of two poems also preserved in Book One of the Anthology; *Anth. Gr.* I 120-1.

GEORGIUS 55

v.sp., comes, chartularius and diocetes (in Egypt) E VII

Addressee of a number of letters on business matters concerning the Apion estates, mainly from Victor 15 (*P. Oxy.* 943, 1844-8, 1853-5, 1937), but also from Christophorus (*P. Oxy.* 1856), Menas 42 (*P. Oxy.* 1860) and Philippus and Menas (*P. Oxy.* 1936). He also received a letter of congratulations on his wedding from a Sebastianus (*SB* 9107). All these documents are undated.

His fullest titles occur in the address of *P. Oxy.* 1860; δεσπότη ἐμῷ τὰ πάντα περιβλέπτῳ πάσης τιμῆς καὶ προσκυνησέως ἀξίῳ φίλῳ καὶ ἀδελφῷ Γεωργίῳ κόμητι χαρτουλαρί(ῳ) καὶ διοικητῇ. The epithet περίβλεπτος occurs in no other document; he is styled μεγαλοπρέπεστατος in *P. Oxy.* 1855 and 1856 and λαμπρότατος in all the others. His titles are given as κόμης, *P. Oxy.* 1845; διοικητής, *P. Oxy.* 1844, 1846, 1854; χαρτουλάριος, *P. Oxy.* 943; κόμης (καὶ) διοικητής, *P. Oxy.* 1848,

1855, 1856, 1937, *SB* vi 9107; χαρτουλάριος καὶ διοικητής, *P. Oxy.* 1847, 1853; and note also κόμης ἀντιγεοῦχος in *P. Oxy.* 1936.

He was a *comes* and was employed as *chartularius* and *dioecetes* on the Apion estates; cf. also Victor 15.

He is to be identified with the Georgius recorded in two documents from 618 as authorising payments; *P. Oxy.* 152 = *Stud. Pal.* iii 285 (to staff of the hippodrome), *P. Oxy.* 1904 (to messengers going to Alexandria) – δ(ιὰ) τοῦ λαμπρο(τάτου) Γεωργίου χαρτουλαρίου, and cf. *P. Oxy.* 153, 2010, 2011 (see Victor 15).

Cf. Hardy, *Large Estates*, pp. 85–6.

Georgius 56 nephew of John the Almsgiver E VII

Nephew of the patriarch of Alexandria, John the Almsgiver, and subject of an anecdote about John; Leontius, *V. Ioh. El.* 16. Presumably of noble descent, from Cyprus, like his uncle.

There seems no good reason to identify him with a certain Georgius, from Cyprus, inhabited by a demon and cured, at Alexandria, by Saints Cyrus and John; Sophronius, *Mir. SS. Cyr. et Ioh.*, 67 (*PG* 87.3, cols. 3652–6).

Georgius 57 'prefect' (?PPO) E VII

According to a Syriac fragment of Pseudo-Dionysius of Tell-Mahrē, the emperor Phocas sent 'the prefect George to Jerusalem and all Palestine to force the Jews to receive baptism'; Ps.-Dion., Vatican ms. syr. 162, fol. 123 (cited by Nau, in *PO* 8 (1912), pp. 720–1). The Seleucid date of this is given as 928, = 616/617 A.D., but since the accession of Phocas is registered under the Seleucid date 923, this may indicate that the event was in the fifth year of Phocas, i.e. 607; see Nau, *op. cit.*, p. 720, n. 3. Cf. also Georgius 51.

Georgius 58 chartularius sacri logothēsii ?E VII

Χαρτουλάριος τοῦ θείου λογοθεσίου; aged twenty, he had a fall and was lame for a long time until cured by the martyr Artemius; *Mir. Artem.* 23. Later, he was again miraculously cured of an ailment by Artemius; *Mir. Artem.* 24.

Georgius 59 argentarius VII

Γεωργίου καὶ Ἰωάννου ἀργυροπρατῶν; Zacos 828 (seal; obv.: ΘΕΟΤΟ/ΚΕΒΟΗ[Θ]/ΙΓΕΩΡΓ/ΙΟΝ; rev.: ΣΙΩΑ/ΝΝΟΝΑ/ΡΓΥΡΟΠ/ΡΑΤΩΝ).

Georgius 60 chartularius VII

Γεωργίω χα(ρ)τουλαρίω; Dumbarton Oaks seal 58.106.4436 (seal;

obv.: cruciform monogram of Θεοτόκε βοήθει; rev.: +ΓΕ/ΩΡΓΙΩ/ΧΑΤΔΛ/ΑΡΙΩ).

Georgius 61 honorary consul VII

Γεωργίω ἀπὸ ὑπάτων; Zacos 818a and b (two seals; obv.: +ΘΕ/ΟΤΟΚΕ/ΒΟΗΘ/Η; rev.: ΓΕΩΡ/ΓΙΩΑΠΟ/ΥΠΑΤΩ/Ν). A third specimen occurs in Zacos' series and a similar seal is in Constantopoulos, *Molybdoboulla*, no. 585.

Georgius 62 honorary consul VII

Γεωργίω ἀπὸ ὑπάτων; Zacos 819 = Fogg Art Museum seal 984 (seal; obv.: +/ΘΕΟΤ/ΟΚΕΒΟ/ΗΘΙ; rev.: +/ΓΕΩΡ/ΓΙΩΑΠ/ΟΝΠΑ/ΤΩΝ). Another specimen which occurs in Zacos' series is Dumbarton Oaks seal 58.106.3487.

Georgius 63 honorary consul VII

Γεωργίου ὑπάτου; Zacos 825 = Dumbarton Oaks seal 58.106.3712 (seal; obv.: +ΓΕ/ΩΡΓΙΔ/ΥΠΑΤΔ; rev.: +ΔΔ/ΛΟΝΤΗC/ΘΕΟΤΟ/ΚΟΝ).

Georgius 64 honorary consul VII

Γεωργίου ὑπάτου; Zacos 826 (seal; obv.: +ΘΕΩ/ΤΩΚΕ/ΒΟΗ/ΘΙ; rev.: +ΓΕΩ/ΡΓΙΔ/ΥΠΑΤ/Δ). Described by Zacos as provincial in style.

Georgius 65 cubicularius VII

Γεωργίω κουβικουλαρίω; Zacos 618 (seal; obv.: eagle, with cruciform monogram of Θεοτόκε βοήθει; rev.: ΓΕΩΡ/ΓΙΩ[Κ]ΟΝ/[Β]ΙΚΟΝΛ/ΑΡΙΩ).

Georgius 66 curator VII

Γεωργίω κουράτωρι; Zacos 1474 = Dumbarton Oaks seal 58.106.4196 (seal; obv.: cruciform monogram of Θεοτόκε βοήθει; rev.: +ΓΕ/ΩΡΓΙΩ/ΚΟΝΡΑ/ΤΩΡΙ).

Georgius 67 MVM VII

Γεωργίω στρατ(η)λάτη; Zacos 621 (seal; obv.: eagle, with cruciform monogram of Θεοτόκε βοήθει; rev.: ΓΕΩΡΓ/ΙΩCΤΡΑ/ΤΙΛΑΤ/Η+).

Georgius 68 MVM VII

Γεωργίω στρατηλάτη; Zacos 835 = Dumbarton Oaks seal 58.106.4171 (seal; obv.: +/ΘΕΟ/ΤΟΚΕΒΟ/ΗΘΕΙ; rev.: ΓΕΩΡ/Γ-ΙΩCΤ/ΡΑΤΗΛΑ/ΤΗ*). A similar seal, with slightly different alignment, occurs in Laurent, *Médaillier*, no. 77.

Georgius 69 MVM et discursor (?discussor) VII

Γεω[ργ]ίω στρατηλάτ(η) (καί) δισκούρσορ(ι) (sic); Zacos 836 = Dumbarton Oaks seal 55.1.1988 (seal; obv.: +ΘΕΟ/ΤΟΚΕΒΟ/ΗΘΙΓΕΩ/[ΡΓ]ΙΩ; rev.: CTPA/ΤΗΛΑΤΙ/ΣΔΙΚΟΝ/PCOPH). Δισκούρσορι is perhaps for δισκούσσορι. Cf. Theodorus 168 and Theodosius 27 and 48.

Georgius 70 patricius VII

Γεωργίω πατρικίω; Zacos 830 = Dumbarton Oaks seal 58.106.3073 (seal; obv.: +/ΘΕΟΤ/ΟΚΕΒ/ΟΗΘ./+; rev.: +ΓΕ/ΩΡΓΙΩ/ΠΑΤΡ/ΙΚΙΩ).

Georgius 71 ex praefectis ?VII

Γε[ω]ργίω από ἐπάρ[χ]ω[ν]; Monceaux, *Rev. Arch.* 1903, II, p. 72, n. 7 (seal, from Carthage; obv.: imperial bust; rev.: ΓΕΟ/ΡΓΙΩΑ/ΠΟΕΠΑΡ/[Χ]Ω[Ν]).

Georgius 72 ex praefectis VII

Γεωργίου από ἐπάρχων; Zacos 817 (seal; obv.: +ΓΕ/ΩΡΓ/ΙΟΥ; rev.: ΑΠΟ/[Ε]ΠΑΡ/ΧΩΝ).

Georgius 73 ex praefectis VII

Γεωργίου από ἐπάρχων; Zacos 1140 (seal; obv.: Virgin Hodeghetria and child; rev.: ΓΕΩΡ/ΓΙΟΝΑ/ΠΟΕΠ/ΑΡΧ/[Ω]Ν). A second specimen occurs in Zacos' series.

Georgius 74 (or ?Sergius) ex praefectis VII

Γεωργίω από ἐπάρχων; Zacos 1471 = Dumbarton Oaks seal 55.1.464 (seal, dated E/M VII Zacos, VII Oikonomides; obv.: cruciform monogram of Θεοτόκε βοήθει; rev.: cruciform monogram (62) of Γεωργίω (or possibly Σεργίω) από ἐπάρχων).

Georgius 75 scholarius et excubitor VII

Γεωργίου σχολαρίου καί ἐξκουβί(τ)ορος; Zacos 832 = Dumbarton Oaks seal 55.1.1985 (seal; obv.: +ΘΕΟ/ΤΟΚΕΒΟ/ΗΘΙΓΕΩ/ΡΓΙΟΥ; rev.: CΧΟΛ/ΑΡΙΔΚΑ[Ι]/ΕΞΚΒΙ[Τ]/ΟΡΟΣ).

Georgius 76 scribo VII

Γεωργίου σκρίβουνος; Zacos 833 = Dumbarton Oaks seal 55.1.1986 (seal; obv.: +ΓΕ/ΩΡΓΙΩ/CKPIBΩ (Zacos read Ω)/NOC; rev.: ΔΟΒ/

ΛΟΝΤΗC/ΘΕΟΤΟ/ΚΟV). A similar specimen is in Schlumberger, *Sceaux inédits*, in *Rev. Num.* IX (1905), p. 345, no. 268.

Georgius 77 scribo VII

Γεωργίω σκρίβονι; Zacos 1481 = Dumbarton Oaks seal 58.106.4037, Dumbarton Oaks seal 55.1.501 (two seals; obv.: cruciform monogram of Θεοτόκε βοήθει; rev.: +ΓΕ/ΩΡΓΙΩ/CKPIB/ΟΝΙ). For a similar seal, see Constantopoulos, *Molybdoboulla*, no. 208b.

Georgius 78 vestitor VII

Γεωργίω βεστίτορι; Zacos 1482 (seal; obv.: cruciform monogram of Θεοτόκε βοήθει; rev.: +ΓΕ/ΟΡΓΙΩ/ΒΕCΤΙΤ/ΟΡΙ+).

Georgius Florentius Gregorius

Fl. Marianus Michaelius Gabriellus Ioannes Theodorus Georgius Marcellus Iulianus Theodorus Iulianus

GERMANA c.f. (in Italy) 564

Cl(arissima) f(emina); widow of Collictus; mentioned in a document from Italy dated 564; Marini, *P. Dip.* 80 = *P. Ital.* 8, col. III, line 14 secundum petitionem Germanae cl. f. relictæ q(uon)d(am) Collicti, cf. also col. I, lines 8.11, col. II, line 1, col. III, line 15.

Germanus: nephew of Justin I, cousin of Justinian; MVM *per Thracias* 518/527; MVM *praesentalis*, honorary consul and *patricius* 536; commander in Africa 536-539, in the east 540; appointed to take command in Italy 550; husband of Matasuentha; died 550; *PLRE* II.

Germanus I cavalry commander 530

One of the cavalry commanders in the army of Belisarius at the battle of Dara in June 530; he was stationed on the right wing with Cyrillus 2, Dorotheus I, Ioannes 32 and Marcellus 2; Proc. *BP* I 13.21.

He could be identical with Germanus, the cousin of Justinian, but Procopius provides no such indication; cf. Stein, *Bas-Emp.* II 324, n. 3 (perhaps grandfather of Germanus 5).

Germanus 2 ?bodyguard of Ioannes Troglita 546/547

He fought in the battle in which Antalas was defeated in winter 546/547; Coripp. *Ioh.* v 345. He is named with Fiscula, Ioannes 38, Salusis, Tanala and Vitalis 3 at the end of a passage (v 279ff.) describing the exploits in this battle of Ioannes 36 Troglita and members of his bodyguard; they may all have been therefore his bodyguards.

GERMANVS 3

son of Germanus M VI

Son of Germanus (*PLRE II*; Germanus 4) and the Ostrogothic princess Matasuentha; he was born after his father died, therefore in late 550/early 551; *Jord. Get.* 81, 251, 314, *Rom.* 383. His birth, regarded by Jordanes as uniting the aristocratic Anicii with the Ostrogothic royal family of the Amali, aroused high hopes for the future; *Jord. Get.* 314 (in quo coniuncta Aniciorum gens cum Amala stirpe spem adhuc utriusque generi domino praestante promittit).

Nothing further is known of him, though he could be identical with Germanus 11.

GERMANVS 4

?comes rei militaris (East) 559

Son of Dorotheus 5; a native of Bederiana, later Iustiniana Prima, in Illyricum, the birthplace of the emperor Justinian who for that reason displayed great interest in him, summoning him to Constantinople at the age of eight and giving him a good education, including a grounding in Latin; Germanus was still a young man in 559; *Agath.* v 21.2-3.5 (νεανίας).

?COMES REI MILITARIS a. 559: in 559 he was in command of the Roman forces stationed on the wall defending the Thracian Chersonese; *Agath.* v 21.1-2 (ἠγεῖτο δὲ τούτων). He was sent to take up the command by Justinian as soon as he reached manhood, partly to accustom him early to the rigours of public service, partly to remove him from the temptations of the hippodrome; *Agath.* v 21.4 (ἐπεὶ δὲ εἰς ἡβῆς μέτρον ἀφίκετο, ἔστειλέ γε αὐτὸν αὐτίκα ἐν Χερρονήσῳ, ἀρχοντα τοῦ τῆδε στρατοῦ καταστησάμενος). He was already an able soldier with a growing reputation, but ready to listen to advice from experienced subordinates; *Agath.* v 21.2.5. His rank and office are unknown; he was hardly a *magister militum* at this stage, but in view of his command may have been a middle-ranking officer, either a *dux* or, perhaps more probably, a *comes rei militaris*; cf. Theodorus 21.

In 559 the wall of the Chersonese was attacked by a section of the Hun army of Zabergan; *Agath.* v 21.1. Germanus successfully defended the walls from capture whether by siege tactics or by assault, and then destroyed a Hun force which attempted to bypass the walls by sea; soon after this he was wounded while fighting overimpetuously when the Romans made a sortie but continued fighting in spite of this; eventually the Romans had to retreat in face of superior numbers but the Huns almost immediately abandoned the siege and withdrew; *Agath.* v 21.5-23.5. Germanus is not recorded again.

Germanus 5

Caesar 582

Possibly son of Iustinianus 3; cf. *Greg. Tur. HF* v 30 and see Stein, *P-W* x 1313.

PATRICIVS(?) and MVM in 582, when he married Charito, daughter of the emperor Tiberius, in August and was proclaimed Caesar together with (the future emperor) Maurice on Aug. 5; *Joh. Nik.* 94.26 ('he had formerly been patrician') (p. 522 Zotenberg), *Theoph. AM* 6074 (ὁ στρατηγός) (= *Cedr.* 1690), *Zon.* xiv 11 (ὁ στρατηγός), *Leo Gramm.* 138B (πατρικίον τὸν ἐν Ἀφρικῇ στρατηγοῦντα; a description of dubious reliability). He is not recorded after becoming Caesar, and his name is not in the title or the subscription of a law of Tiberius dated 11 Aug. 582 which name only Maurice as Caesar (Tiberius, *Nov.* 13). According to John of Nikiu, 'owing to his humility of heart he refused to be emperor' and so Maurice succeeded to the throne alone.

GERMANVS 6

dux Phoenices Libanensis 588

DVX PHOENICES LIBANENSIS a. 588: τὸν ἐν Φοινίκη Λιβανησίας στρατιωτικῶν ταγμάτων ἡγούμενον; *Evagr. HE* vi 5, cf. *Nic. Call. HE* xviii 11 (based on Evagrius). In *Theoph. Sim.* iii 1.3 there is probably a lacuna after his name; cf. *Theoph. Sim.*, ed. de Boor, p. 110, note on line 11, and *Theoph. AM* 6079, where Germanus is described as ruler at Edessa (τὸν τὴν Ἐδεσηνῶν ἀρχὴν πεπιστευμένον), and see also Goubert, 1, pp. 277-9. Shortly before Easter (April 18) 588 Germanus was at Edessa where he and the bishop (probably of Edessa) were joined by the new army commander Priscus 6; they accompanied him to the troops assembled close by at Monocarton, where Germanus introduced him to the troops and the bishop celebrated Easter; *Theoph. Sim.* iii 1.3, 1.6, *Theoph. AM* 6079. From a comparison of Theophylact and Theophanes, whose account was probably derived from Theophylact, it seems probable that in the lacuna in Theophylact there were allusions first to Germanus as commander of troops (in the field army, presumably) at Edessa and then to the bishop of Edessa; the extant text then continues by describing Priscus' warm treatment of Germanus, who, according to Theophylact, was on a visit to Edessa and was properly in office at Damascus (in Phoenice Libanensis; περιλαβῶν δεξιῶς κατησπάζετο ἐκ τῆς ἐπιδημίας γεγόμενον - Δαμασκού γὰρ οὗτος διεκόσμηι τὸν θρόνον; the word θρόνος is, it is true, frequently used of bishoprics, e.g. *Theoph. Sim.* iii 5.10, but it often occurs also of secular officials, especially in verse, and the allusion to Damascus here is certainly appropriate to Germanus). It seems probable therefore that Germanus was *dux Phoenices*

Libanensis based at Damascus but in early 588 was serving in command of troops attached to the field army at Edessa ready for the campaign against Persia; for similar examples cf. e.g. Molatzes, Rhecithangus and Theoctistus.

Following the mutiny by the troops immediately after Easter and the flight of Priscus, Germanus was invited by the army to become their general; he was reluctant but agreed when threatened with death if he refused, insisting however that the soldiers swear oaths not to plunder Roman citizens; Theoph. Sim. III 2.4-6, Theoph. AM 6079, Evagr. *HE* VI 5, Nic. Call. *HE* XVIII 11, Mich. Syr. X 21, Bar Hebr., *Chron.*, p. 83, Agapius, p. 440, cf. *Chron.* 1234, lxxvii (a muddled account, alleging that it was Maurice who appointed him).

He persuaded the troops to take the offensive against the Persians, first sending a thousand men to defend Constantina and then leading four thousand on an attack into Persia; the army won a considerable victory at Martyropolis over a Persian army under Marouzas, secured a large quantity of booty and thereafter made their peace with the emperor; Evagr. *HE* VI 9, Nic. Call. *HE* XVIII 14, Theoph. Sim. III 3.8-4.4, Mich. Syr. X 21, Bar Hebr., *Chron.*, p. 83.

Germanus was summoned for trial, found guilty and sentenced to death but far from suffering harm he survived and received handsome rewards from the emperor; Evagr. *HE* VI 10 (γερω̄ν ἠξίωσεν - if he is identical with Germanus 13, this could refer to the honorary consulship), Nic. Call. *HE* XVIII 14, Mich. Syr. X 21, Bar Hebr., *Chron.*, p. 83.

Possibly identical with Germanus 13.

Germanus 7

PVR 590

PVR a. 590: in office when Gregory was elected bishop of Rome, said to have intercepted Gregory's letter to Maurice declining the appointment and to have sent instead one announcing the popularity of his election; Greg. Tur. *HF* X 1 (praefectus urbis Romae Germanus eius anticipavit nuntium et comprehenso, disruptis epistulis, consensu quem populus fecerat imperatori direxit), cf. Joh. Diac. *V. Greg.* I 40, Paul. Diac. *V. Greg.* 10.

The name Germanus in the text of Greg. Tur. could be read as *germanus* and would then allude to Gregory's brother Palatinus; both Joh. Diac. and Paul. Diac. understood it as a proper name (both wrote explicitly 'Germanus nomine') but their narratives were clearly based on that of Greg. Tur. and so are not decisive.

FL. GERMANVS 8

v.c. ?598/599

He leased a stable at Hermopolis to a priest Hyperechius; *P. Lond.* III, p. 260, no. 1005 = *SB* 9932 Hermopolis (a letter from the priest addressed Φλαουίω Γερμανῶ τῷ λαμπροτάτῳ . . .]; he is twice styled ἡ σὴ λαμπρότης and his father - name lost - was τῆς λαμπρᾶς μνήμης). The document, dated in year 17 of an unknown emperor, was probably late sixth-century and under Maurice.

Germanus 9

patricius (East) ?M/L VI

Ὁ πατρίκιος; husband of Cosmiane; Joh. Mosch. *Pratum* 59 (48). Probably in Jerusalem; cf. Cosmiane.

GERMANVS 10

comes (in Egypt) VI/VII

Germanus κόμης is named in a surviving fragment of a deed of sale recording the purchase by him of part of a house; *P. Lond. inv.* 1045 (= *P. Lond.* III, p. liv) provenance unknown.

Germanus 11

patricius; father-in-law of Theodosius 13 L VI/E VII

A leading member of the senate in the reign of Maurice; Theoph. Sim. VIII 4.10 (ἀνδρὸς λίαν ἐξόχου καὶ τῶν ἐς συγκλήτου βουλήν ἄγαν ἐπιφανοῦς) (= Nic. Call. *HE* XVIII 37).

PATRICIUS: πατρίκιος, *Chron. Pasch.* s.a. 603, Theoph. AM 6094, 6098, Zon. XIV 13, Cedr. I 703.

In Nov. 601 his daughter married Theodosius 13, eldest son of the emperor Maurice; Theoph. Sim. VIII 4.10, Theoph. AM 6094 (Nov.), *Chron. Pasch.* s.a. 603 (Feb. 602), Zon. XIV 13, Cedr. I 703. Father-in-law of Theodosius; Theoph. Sim. VIII 8.3, *Chron. Pasch.* s.a. 603, Theoph. AM 6094, Nic. Call. *HE* XVIII 39, Zon. XIV 14. On Feb. 2, 602, he rescued Theodosius from an angry mob during a food shortage; Theoph. Sim. VIII 4.13.

In late 602, while hunting at Callicrateia (on the outskirts of Constantinople), Germanus and Theodosius received a letter from the rebellious army of Thrace demanding the dismissal of Maurice and his replacement by Theodosius or, if he were unwilling, by Germanus; Theoph. Sim. VIII 8.3-5, Theoph. AM 6094, Nic. Call. *HE* XVIII 39. Following this Germanus was summoned to the palace by Maurice and accused of responsibility for the revolt, partly because of the letter, partly because the rebel army had seized all the horses outside Constantinople except those of Germanus; his pleas of innocence were rejected by Maurice and on Theodosius' advice he fled for sanctuary, taking his

bodyguard (τοὺς ὑπασπιστάς τοὺς ἑαυτοῦ), first to the church of the Theotokos of Cyrus (*PLRE* II, p. 338), where his men drove away the emperor's emissary Stephanus 53, and then to Hagia Sophia, where Maurice sent his own bodyguard to bring him out; in the turmoil he first agreed to leave but remained inside after warnings from a sympathetic crowd that his life was in danger; Theoph. Sim. VIII 8.7-9.3, Theoph. AM 6094, Nic. Call. *HE* XVIII 39.

In late November, after the flight of Maurice, Germanus began to aspire to the throne and sent Theodorus 148 to enlist the support of the Green faction; when they firmly rejected him, he turned to support Phocas; Theoph. Sim. VIII 9.14-16, Theoph. AM 6094, Nic. Call. *HE* XVIII 40. At one point Phocas appeared to be about to crown Germanus emperor, but assumed the crown himself; Theoph. Sim. VIII 10.4-5, cf. Theoph. AM 6094 (he was offered the crown but refused).

Subsequently Germanus was rumoured to have saved the life of Theodosius by bribing Phocas' man, Alexander 18, but Theophylact emphatically dismisses this; Theoph. Sim. VIII 13.4.

Some time after the accession of Phocas Germanus became a cleric; *Chron. Pasch.* s.a. 603. According to Theophanes this followed his involvement in a plot to seize the throne; it was discovered, and he was forcibly tonsured, ordained a priest and placed under house-arrest (in 603 or 605, see Constantina 1); Theoph. AM 6098. He exchanged secret messages with Maurice's widow Constantina via Petronia, who betrayed them; Theoph. AM 6099. He was executed together with his daughter on the isle of Prote (in 605 or 607, see Constantina); *Chron. Pasch.* s.a. 605, Theoph. AM 6099, Zon. XIV 14. A muddled version of his overthrow is given in Joh. Nik. 103.10-12 (p. 539 Zotenberg), where he is confused with Alexander 18.

Germanus 12 scribo M VI/VII

Γερμανοῦ σκρίβονος; Zacos 344 (seal; obv.: cruciform monogram (49) of Γερμανοῦ; rev.: CKP/IBO/NOC).

Germanus 13 honorary consul and MVM (vacans) 602-604

Possibly identical with Germanus 6. If so, he was restored to favour after the army mutiny of 588 and resumed his military career on the eastern frontier.

HONORARY CONSVL and MVM (VACANS) a. 602-604: shortly before the overthrow of Maurice (Nov. 602), Germanus replaced Narses 10 in command of the fort of Dara (Μαυρίκε ἀποπαύει τῆς περιφρουρᾶς τοῦ Δαρὰς τὸν ἡγεμόνα Ναρσην, καὶ Γερμανὸν ἀντανίστησιν); shortly

afterwards he is described by Theophylact as commander of Dara and honorary consul at the time when he greeted Lilius, envoy of Phocas, on his way to Persia (in c. March 603) (ἀνήρ δ' οὗτος τῆ τῶν ὑπάτων ἀξίᾳ κοσμούμενος τὴν τε τοῦ συντεταγμένου αὐτόθι στρατοπέδου λαχὼν ἐπιμέλειαν); Theoph. Sim. VIII 15.3-4. Styled ὁ στρατηγός; Theoph. AM 6095 (603/604). Narses was MVM in 602 but was clearly not dismissed by Maurice, only moved from Dara; Germanus was honorary consul and probably MVM (*vacans*) placed in command of Dara in 602; he is not likely to have held the post of *dux Mesopotamiae* unless Narses had also held it, which is unlikely.

While at Dara with Lilius Germanus was attacked and wounded by a soldier; he soon recovered and was able to send Lilius forward on his embassy; Theoph. Sim. VIII 15.5-6.

When Narses 10 rebelled (?late 603/early 604), Germanus was ordered by Phocas to besiege him in Edessa; Theoph. AM 6095, Zon. XIV 14. During 604 he encountered an invading Persian army near Constantina; his army was defeated and he was fatally wounded, dying a few days later in Constantina; Theoph. AM 6096, Cedr. I 710, Zon. XIV 14.

Germanus 14 exceptor (of the PPO?) (in Italy) 639

In Nov. 639 he witnessed the donation to the church of Ravenna by Paulacis; Marini, *P. Dip.* 95 = *P. Ital.* 22, line 10 Germanus *except...*, line 52 Germanus *exceptor emp.* (sic; possibly = *in(ustris) p(raefecti)*, but this is very uncertain).

Germanus 15 notarius et scriniarius (in Italy) 639

In Nov. 639 he paid thirty six *solidi* to Paulacis at Ravenna; Marini, *P. Dip.* 95 = *P. Ital.* 22, lines 57-8 a vobis Germano notario et scriniario.

Germanus 16 ex praefectis VII

Γερμανοῦ ἀπὸ ἐπαρχῶν; Zacos 837 = Dumbarton Oaks seal 55.1.1989 (seal; obv.: +ΓΕΡ/ΜΑΝΟΝ/ΑΠΟΕΠ/ΑΡΧΩ/Ν; rev.: +ΔΘ/ΛΘΤΗΘ/ΘΕΟΤΟ/ΚΟΝ). A similar seal which occurs in Zacos' series is Dumbarton Oaks seal 58.106.3059.

Gerontius 1 advocate (in Egypt) ?c. 555

Named in a list of accounts as receiving a payment by way of largesse from an estate, certainly that of the Apions, in a third indiction at Oxyrhynchus; *P. Oxy.* 1913, line 56 (τῷ ἄλλοιμωτάτ(ῳ) σχολαστικ(ῷ) Γεροντίῳ λόγ(ῳ) φιλοτιμ(ίας)). The document is similar to *P. Oxy.* 1911 (dated 557) and probably roughly of the same date; a third indiction fell in Sept. 554/Aug. 555. Cf. Theodorus 22.

Gerontius 2 advocate (in Egypt) M VI

His heirs are mentioned in a document from the Hermopolite nome dated a. 581 Jan. 2; *PSI* 786, lines 6-7 κληρονόμοις τ[οῦ] τῆ[ς] λογίας μνήμης Γεροντίου γενομένου[σ] σχολαστικοῦ (a receipt for τὴν ἐξ ἔθους ἀγίαν προσφορὰν for indiction 13, viz. 6 *solidi*).

Perhaps identical with Gerontius 1.

Fl. Gerontius 3 PVC 560-562

Full name; glass weights, etc. (see below). Gerontius; *elsewhere*.

PVC a. 560-562: ὁ ἐπαρχος τῆς πόλεως (or similar); Theoph. AM 6053 (in late 560), Joh. Mal. 491 (May/June 562). There survives a balance dated to his prefecture; Našturel, *BZ* 60 (1967), p. 239 (+ἐπὶ τοῦ μ(ε)γαλοπρεπεστάτου) ἐπάρχου πόλεως Γεροντίου) and see Popescu, *România* 1976, pp. 262-5, no. 247. A number of glass weights also survive, dated ἐπὶ Φλαουίου Γεροντίου); Monneret de Villard, Catalogue D, nos. 3a-d (four examples, b = Schlumberger, *Mél.*, p. 324, n. 11), Zacos 2996a, b, c, *BZ* 60 (1967), p. 239, and British Museum, Dept. of Medals and Later Antiquities, 92, 6-13, 60.

In late 560 he was accused by Eugenius 1 of planning with Georgius 7 and Aetherius 2 to make Theodorus 34 emperor; the charge was investigated and dismissed as baseless; Theoph. AM 6053. During his tenure serious fires occurred at Constantinople; Joh. Mal. 491 (dated between events in May and June 562).

He is the unnamed prefect who put a stop to disorders in Constantinople following rumours that the emperor was dead; Theoph. AM 6053, Cedr. 1 678.

GERONTIUS 4 comes (in Egypt) VI/VII

He issued an order (π(α)ρὰ Γεροντίου κόμιστος) to irenarchs of a village called Ares for the arrest of certain murderers; *P. Lond.* III, p. 251, no. 1309 provenance unknown. There was one village of that name in the Hermopolite nome, another in the Arsinoite.

GERONTIUS 5 v.c., chartularius (of the estate of Theodosius 42) ?E VII

Addressee of the acknowledgement of a loan; *P. Lond.* 1, p. 215, no. 113 (6c) = Mitteis, *Chrest.* 148, lines 3-4 τῶ λαμπρο[τά]τῳ Γεροντίῳ χαρτουλ[α]ρίῳ οὐσίας Θεοδοσίου[σ] τοῦ ἐνδοξ(ο)τάτου στρατηλάτ[ου]. The document is from Arsinoe, of sixth- or seventh-century date, probably late sixth-/early seventh- as it uses a late form of Christian invocation (ἐν ὀνόματι κτλ.); the absence of a regnal year suggests a

date during the Persian occupation. Gerontius was perhaps the steward of a private estate; see Theodosius 42.

FL. GERONTIUS 6 v.sp., comes (in Egypt) 633

Φλάουιος Γερόντιος ὁ περίβλεπτος κόμης, son of Colluthus τῆς λαμπρῶς μνήμης, from Arsinoe; leased rooms to a bath attendant at Arsinoe in 633; *P. Lond.* 1, p. 214, no. 113 (6b) = Mitteis, *Chrest.* 147 Arsinoe (dated Mesore 19, indiction 7, year 23 of Heraclius, i.e. Aug. 12, 633). In the document Gerontius is styled ἡ ὑμετέρα λαμπρότης (lines 16-17) but in the endorsement as well as the address he is ὁ περίβλεπτος κόμης.

Gessius iatrosophist (at Alexandria) L VI/E VII

Ἴατροσοφιστής, he taught medicine at Alexandria; a pagan, who accepted baptism to avoid persecution while retaining his beliefs, and boasted of the fact; later falling ill he was taken to SS Cyrus and Ioannes but was not cured until after genuinely accepting Christianity; Sophronius, *Mir. SS. Cyr. et Ioh.* 30 (*PG* 87.3, 3513-20).

Gibal Gothic commander 551

On the name, see Schönfeld, p. 110.

A prominent Gothic commander, sent by Totila in 551 with Indulf and Scipuar to capture Ancona; Proc. *BG* IV 23.1 (cited under Indulf). They laid siege to Ancona and then in late summer 551 Gibal and Indulf took the Gothic fleet against the Romans; they were defeated with heavy losses at Sena Gallica and Gibal himself was captured; Proc. *BG* IV 23.2-3.9-12.38. Cf. further Indulf.

GIBASTES comes (East) ?VI

Ὁ μεγαλοπρεπέστατος κόμης; father of Anthusa; *AE* 1976, 630 Axiopolis (Scythia). The name is perhaps Germanic; Gibastes was perhaps a military man, possibly *comes et dux Scythiae* (cf. Popescu, *Dacoromania* 1, 1973, p. 71).

Giberit v.d. (in Italy) 535/542

V.d.; son-in-law of Cessis; witness of a document drawn up at Ravenna in 535/542 (see Waduulf); Marini, *P. Dip.* 131 = *P. Ital.* 43, line 26 (+ego Ghiveric v.d.), line 51 (Giberit v.d. gener Cessinis comitis).

Gibimer 1 Gothic officer (in Italy) 538

On the name, see Schönfeld, p. 107

A Goth, left at Clusium (Chiusi) in command of a thousand strong

garrison by Vitigis in March 538; Proc. *BG* II 11.1 (ἄρχοντα Γιβίμερα). The garrison of Clusium surrendered to the Romans in c. June 538 and were sent with other Goths from Tuder to Sicily and Naples; Proc. *BG* II 13.1-4.

GIBIMER (Γιβίμερ) 2 dux Palaestinae ?M/L VI

Δούξ Παλαιστίνης; a monophysite, prevented by a vision from entering the church of the Anastasis at Jerusalem until he became a convert to orthodoxy; Joh. Mosch. *Pratum* 60 (49). The correct form of the name is Γιβίμερ, not Γήβημερ, according to the best MS tradition of Moschus and also to the Gothic etymology (letter from Philip Pattenden).

Possibly identical with Gibimer 1, although the date may be too late.

Gibitrudis nun E/M VII

Of noble birth (genere et religione nobilis), she became a nun in Gaul; Ionas, *V. Columb.* II 12 (*MGH, Scr. Rer. Mer.* IV, pp. 131-2).

Gibrus commander of a barbarian detachment (in Lazica) 556

In 556 he commanded a detachment of Lombards and Heruls in Phasis (see *Martinus* 2, p. 846); Agath. III 20.10 (ἐφρούρουν Λαγγοβάρδων ἀπόμοιρα καὶ Ἐρούλων, Γίβρος δὲ ἡγεῖτο ἀμφοτέρων).

The name is Germanic (see Schönfeld, p. 110) and he was perhaps himself a Lombard or a Herul.

Gilacius ?MVM (vacans) 547

Cf. *Justi*, p. 115.

An Armenian, in 547 he commanded a troop of Armenians under Ioannes 46 in Italy (ὀλίγων τινῶν Ἀρμενίων ἄρχων); he was captured by the Goths after Totila surprised and scattered the forces with Ioannes in Lucania, held prisoner for a while and then killed; he could speak no language except Armenian and could give no information to the Goths apart from his name and rank (ὁ δὲ αὐτοῖς ἄλλο οὐδὲν ἀποκρίνασθαι ἴσχυσε πλὴν γε δὴ ὅτι Γιλάκιος στρατηγὸς εἶη· τὸ γὰρ ἀξίωμα, ὃ δὴ πρὸς βασιλέως λαβὼν ἔτυχε, πολλάκις ἀκούσας ἐκμαθεῖν ἴσχυσε); Proc. *BG* III 26.24-7.

He had perhaps been given the title of MVM as an honour.

Gilderich MVM (vacans) c. 527/528

One of three στρατηλάται sent by Justinian to Lazica in c. 527/528; they quarrelled among themselves, were defeated and dismissed; Joh. Mal. 427. See further Cerycus. In later sources the name of Gilderich has been replaced by that of Belisarius; see *Belisarius*, p. 184.

Gislaadus (or Gislodus) Frankish noble M VI

Matrona Gislaadi proceris nomine Bella; Ven. Fort. *V. S. Radeg.* xxvii 64. See *Bella*.

Gisulfus 1 Lombard dux of Friuli 569- before 581

Nephew of Alboin; Paul. Diac. *Hist. Lang.* II 9. Brother of *Grasulfus* 1; see *Goubert*, II i, p. 197.

He served as *strator* (equerry) under Alboin; Paul. Diac. *Hist. Lang.* II 9 (cited below).

dux of Friuli a. 569- before 581: appointed by Alboin in 569, soon after the invasion of Italy (dum Alboin animum intenderet quem in his locis ducem constituere deberet, Gisulfum, ut fertur, suum nepotem, virum per omnia idoneum, qui eidem strator erat, quem lingua propria 'marpahis' appellat, Foroïulanae civitati et totae illius regioni praeficere statuit); *Gisulfus* insisted on choosing for himself which clans were to settle there before he would accept; this was conceded, et ita demum ductoris honorem adeptus est; Paul. Diac. *Hist. Lang.* II 9. He was *dux* of Friuli in the interregnum following the death of Cleph (a. 574); Paul. Diac. *Hist. Lang.* II 32 (post cuius mortem Langobardi per annos decem regem non habentes sub ducibus fuerunt. Unusquisque enim ducum suam civitatem obtinebat: Zaban Ticinum, Wallari Bergamum, Alichis Brexiam, Eoin Trientum, Gisulfus Forumiuli; sed et alii extra hos in suis urbibus triginta duces fuerunt).

He seems to have died before 581 when his brother *Grasulfus* was probably *dux* of Friuli, as his successor; see *Grasulfus* 1 and cf. *Gogo*.

Gisulfus 2 Lombard dux of Friuli 590-c. 610

Son of *Grasulfus* 1; *Ep. Austras.* 41 (*MGH, Epp.* III, p. 147). Brother of *Grasulfus* 2; Paul. Diac. *Hist. Lang.* IV 39. Husband of *Romilda* and father of eight children, four sons (*Taso*, *Cacco*, *Raduald* and *Grimoald*) and four daughters (*Appa*, *Gaila* and two whose names were unknown to Paul); Paul. Diac. *Hist. Lang.* IV 37, 38. He was related to *Arichis* (consanguineus), who educated his sons; Paul. Diac. *Hist. Lang.* IV 18. In 590, while of age to be *dux*, he was still a young man; *Ep. Austras.* 41 (cited below).

dux of Friuli a. 590-c. 610: he apparently succeeded his father (whether dead or deposed is not clear) in 590; the exarch *Romanus* 7 marched to Histria against *Grasulf*, only to be met by the *dux* *Gisulf* who submitted with his *priores* and army; *Ep. Austras.* 41 (a. 590; on the date, see *Goubert*, II i, pp. 201-2; *Gisoulfus*, vir magnificus, dux, filius

Grasoulfi, in iuvenale aetate meliorem se patri cupiens demonstrare, occurrit nobis, ut cum omni devotione sanctae reipublicae se cum suis prioribus et integro suo exercitu, sicut fuit, subderet). Foroiulanus dux; Paul. Diac. *Hist. Lang.* iv 18, 37, 38. In 602/603 he and Gaidoaldus were reconciled to king Agilulf after a period of hostility; Paul. Diac. *Hist. Lang.* iv 27 (hoc anno Gaidoaldus dux de Tridento et Gisulfus de Foroiuli, cum antea a regis Agilulfi societate discordarent, ab eo in pace recepti sunt). In 606 the abbot John was ordained patriarch of Aquileia 'cum consensu regis et Gisulfi ducis'; Paul. Diac. *Hist. Lang.* iv 33, *Chronica Patriarcharum Gradensium* 3 (MGH, *Scr. Rer. Lang.*, p. 394).

In c. 610 he was killed in battle against a greatly superior Avar force in Venetia; Paul. Diac. *Hist. Lang.* iv 37. His sons Taso and Cacco succeeded to the *ducatus*; Paul. Diac. *Hist. Lang.* iv 38.

Givarius (vir) *inlustris* (in Spain) 642/646

Dominus *inlustris*; brother of Gundesvinda; they received a letter from Braulio on the death of their mother; Braulio, *Ep.* 29 (a. 642/646; addressed 'inlustribus domnis et in Christo dilectissimis filiis Gundesvindae et Givario').

Glom (Γλώμ) Hun king 528

On the name, see Justi, p. 116, s.n. Γλώνης, no. 3.

KING of a section of the Huns, an ally of Cavades, defeated and killed in 528 by Boa while marching with Tyrax to aid the Persians against the Romans; Joh. Mal. 431, Theoph. AM 6020, Cedr. 1 644, Joh. Nik. 90.65.

Gnoupas phylarchus 528

One of the commanders sent by Justinian to pursue Alamundarus (PLRE II) after the murder of Arethas (the Kindite; PLRE II); his colleagues were the phylarchs Arethas (the Ghassānid) and Naaman, together with the *duces* of Phoenice and Euphratensis, Dionysius 1 and Ioannes 6, and the *tribunus* Sebastianus 1; they failed to catch Alamundarus but destroyed his camp and took four Persian forts; Joh. Mal. 435. For the date of their return, April of indiction 6 (i.e. 528), see Bury, Johannes Malalas: the text of the *codex Baroccianus*, in BZ 6 (1897), p. 229. Although not specifically styled φύλαρχος, Gnoupas was presumably one of οἱ τῶν ἐπαρχιῶν φύλαρχοι (Joh. Mal. 435, lines 3-4) whom Justinian ordered to pursue Alamundarus. He and Naaman were perhaps also Ghassānids. For the name, cf. Gōphna and Jafnah.

Goar (Γοάρ) Goth M VI

A Goth, captured in Dalmatia during the war of 536-539 and taken

to Constantinople, convicted of plotting against the Romans when war broke out again in the early 540s and exiled for a long while to Antioch in Egypt, finally recalled to Constantinople by Justinian; in 552 he persuaded Ildigisal to flee with him from Constantinople and after various adventures they reached the Gepids; Proc. BG iv 27.5-18. For further details and the date, see Ildigisal.

Described by Procopius as impetuous and energetic and in revolt against his fate as a captive; BG iv 27.6.

Godas (Γώδας) ruler of Sardinia 533

On the name, see Schönfeld, p. 111.

A Goth, slave of the Vandal king Gelimer who put him in command of Sardinia; he revolted and began to rule Sardinia independently, while seeking military help from Justinian who was preparing for war on the Vandals (cf. Cyrillus 2 and Eulogius 1); Proc. BI 1 10.25-34, 11.22, 25.11. He was quickly overthrown and killed by a Vandal expedition under Tzazo; Proc. BV I 11.22-4, 14.9, 24.1.3.

Described as impulsive and vigorous and physically very strong; Proc. BV I 10.25.

Godegiselus 1 dux (in Gaul) 575

For the name, see Schönfeld, pp. 111-12.

In 575 the *duces* Godegiselus and Guntchramnus Boso commanded Sigibert's army which defeated and killed Chilperic's son Theodebertus; Greg. Tur. HF iv 50, cf. iv 51 (eighteen days before the death of Sigibert).

Possibly identical with Godegiselus 2.

Godegiselus 2 army commander of Childebert 587

Son-in-law of Lupus 1; in 587 he led an army of Childebert against Vrsio and Bertefredus in the Woëvre; he is styled 'quasi ducem' and was presumably not actually a *dux*; after the death of Vrsio he tried to save Bertefred, but when threatened by Childebert he pursued Bertefred to Verdun and killed him although he was in sanctuary in an oratory; Greg. Tur. HF ix 12.

Godilas 1 (PLRE II, Godilas) ?MVM per Thracias or MVM vacans 528

On the name, see Schönfeld, pp. 114-15.

Καμπιδούκτωρ τῶν λαγκιαρίων; in 518 he supported the proclamation as emperor of Justin I; Const. Porph. *de cer.* 93.

In 528 he and **Baduarius 1** led an expedition by land from Odessus to recover Bosphorus, captured by the Huns of the Crimea; Theoph. AM 6020, Cedr. 1 645, and see further **Baduarius**. His name is missing from the account of these events in the surviving text of John Malalas (Joh. Mal. 432) but cf. Joh. Nik. 90.68-9, where the name 'Tûlilan' is perhaps a corruption of Godilas (although the role of 'Tûlilan', commander of the fleet, appears actually to have gone to **Ioannes 7**).

Also in 528, when a Bulgar army invaded Scythia and Moesia, defeated **Baduarius** and **Iustinus 1** and raided Thrace, **Godilas** with **Constantiolus** and **Ascum** met and defeated them and killed their leaders; however, in the aftermath of the battle they were attacked and put to flight by other Bulgars; the three commanders were pursued and lassoed, and only **Godilas** was able to cut himself free and escape; Joh. Mal. 438 (οἱ Ῥωμαίων στρατηγοί), Theoph. AM 6031 (οἱ στρατηλάται).

He was presumably a *magister militum*, since he was apparently at least equal in authority to **Baduarius**, **Ascum** and **Constantiolus**. No MVM *per Thracias* is recorded in connection with these events and the post was perhaps held by **Godilas**; otherwise he will have been an MVM *vacans*.

Godilas (Γουδίλας) 2 officer of the bodyguard of **Ioannes 46** 547-548

A Thracian (Θραξ); officer (δορυφόρος) of the bodyguard of **Ioannes 46**; commander with **Chalazar** of the horsemen left at Ruschiane by **Ioannes** in late 547/early 548; Proc. BG III 30.6.19. Cf. **Ioannes**, p. 659. He and **Deopheron** negotiated its surrender in 548, after midsummer; Proc. BG III 30.19-20.

Godinus 1 Frankish noble; ?dux 576

He first served under **Sigibert**, then transferred his allegiance to **Chilperic**, who enriched him greatly; in 576, he led an army from Champagne against **Chilperic's** capital of Soissons, was defeated by the king and fled; **Chilperic** took back all the estates conferred on him from the public treasury in the region of Soissons and gave them to the basilica of St Médard (villas vero quas ei rex a fisco in territorio Suessionico indulserat abstulit); **Godinus** himself died soon afterwards and his widow married **Rauchingus**; Greg. Tur. HF v 3.

Godinus 2 son of **Warnacharius 2** E VII

Son of **Warnacharius 2**, on whose death (in 626) he married his stepmother **Berta**; they fled for sanctuary to **Dagobert** in Austrasia when **Chlotharius** ordered **Arnebertus**, husband of **Godinus's** sister, to kill him; later **Godinus** returned to Burgundy without **Berta**, after **Chlotharius**

promised him his life; she then told the king that **Godinus** meant to kill him and **Chlotharius** eventually had him killed at Chartres, even though he had sworn oaths of loyalty at several different holy places; **Fredegar.** iv 54.

Godomarus: king of the Burgundians 524-532; PLRE II.

Gogo tutor and adviser of **Childebert II** 575-581
 Author of four surviving letters; *Ep. Austras.* 13 (MGH, *Epp.* III, p. 128) (a. 575/581; to the *dux* **Chamingus**), 16 (p. 130) (date uncertain; to **Trasericus**, bishop of Toul), 22 (pp. 134-5) (after 567/568; to **Petrus**, bishop of Metz), 48 (pp. 152-3) (a. 575/581; to the Lombard **Grasulfus 1**). In addition he was the addressee of four poems from **Venantius Fortunatus**; *Ven. Fort. Carm.* VII 1-4 (ad **Gogonem**, or similar).

He served in a position of trust under **Sigibert**; *Ven. Fort. Carm.* VII 1, lines 35-6 (principis arbitrio **Sigibercthi** magnus haberis: iudicium regis fallere nemo potest). lines 41-2 (nuper ab Hispanis per multa pericula terris egregio regi gaudia summa vehis; this refers to the journey of **Sigibert's** bride **Brunichildis**, whom **Gogo** escorted from Spain, **Fredegar.** III 57 (Gogonem causa legationis ad **Athanagildum** regem direxit) and cf. *Greg. Tur. HF* IV 27), cf. *Carm.* VI 8, lines 37-40 (at **Sigibert's** court, a man of influence and generosity, cf. **Papulus**). According to **Venantius** he sometimes lived at court, where he was highly regarded, *Carm.* VII 4, lines 25-6 (sive palatina residet modo laetus in aula, cui scola congregiens plaudit amore sequax); and sometimes at various pleasant places throughout Austrasia, *Carm.* VII 4, lines 5-24.

After **Sigibert's** death (575) **Gogo** acted as tutor and adviser to his son **Childebert**, until his own death in 581; *Ep. Austras.* 13 (**Gogo** rejoices that the young king's boyhood promises to further his career are being fulfilled), 48 (he replied on **Childebert's** behalf to an invitation from **Grasulf** to join in war against the Lombards), *Greg. Tur. HF* V 46 (in 580 a priest of **Rodez** hoped with **Gogo's** support to secure the bishopric there, 'quod filium suum cum **Gogone**, qui tunc regis erat nutricius, commendaverat').

In 581 he died and was succeeded by **Wandelinus**; *Greg. Tur. HF* VI 1.

Described as eloquent; *Ven. Fort. Carm.* VII 1, line 44. He included verses of his own (not preserved) in the letter to **Chaming**; *Ep. Austras.* 13.

In the letter to bishop **Petrus** he records that he had acquired an estate near Metz, for which he seeks the bishop's help; *Ep. Austras.* 22.

According to Fredegar. iii 59 Gogo was appointed *maior domus* of Sigibert, whose tutor (*nutritius*) he had been, at the suggestion of Chroдинus, and prospered until he brought Brunichildis from Spain; she turned Sigibert against him and the king had him put to death. This version of his death is inconsistent with Greg. Tur. *HF* vi 1 and the other elements of the story are not to be found in Gregory, although they are not inconsistent with Venantius Fortunatus, and should be treated with caution.

Goisuintha Visigothic queen M/L VI

On the name, see Schönfeld, p. 112.

Wife of Athanagildus; Joh. Bicl. s.a. 569, Greg. Tur. *HF* v 38. She bore him two daughters, Brunichildis, Greg. Tur. *HF* iv 38, ix 1; and Galsuintha, Ven. Fort. *Carm.* vi 5, lines 28-9, Greg. Tur. *HF* iv 28, ix 20. Left a widow in 568, she subsequently became the wife of Leovigildus; Joh. Bicl. s.a. 569, Greg. Tur. *HF* iv 38, v 38, ix 1. Stepmother of Reccared; Greg. Tur. *HF* ix 1.

Styled 'regina'; Joh. Bicl. s.a. 579, s.a. 589.

An Arian, she had a lifelong hatred of Catholicism; Joh. Bicl. s.a. 589. In 579/580 she persecuted Catholics in Spain and tried, at first by persuasion, then by force, to convert her daughter-in-law Ingundis 2; Greg. Tur. *HF* v 38.

In 580 she is said to have supported the rebellion of Ermenegildus; Joh. Bicl. s.a. 579 (*factione Gosvinthae reginae*).

In 586 she was reconciled with her stepson Reccared and encouraged him to seek peace with the Franks; Greg. Tur. *HF* ix 1.

In 589 she and a bishop Vldida, after feigning conversion to Catholicism, were found to be conspiring against Reccared; Vldida was exiled; Goisuintha died that same year, possibly by suicide (*Gosuintha vero Catholicis semper infesta vitae tunc terminum dedit*); Joh. Bicl. s.a. 589.

Golon Mihran

Gomacharius Visigothic comes of Agde 506/589

Comes (*civitatis Agathensis*); an Arian (hereticus), he seized an estate belonging to the church, ignoring protests from the bishop Leo; in due course he died of a fever, following prayers by the bishop; Greg. Tur. *Glor. Mart.* i 78. Leo was bishop some time between 506 (Sophronius, at the Council of Agde, *Conc. Gall.* 314-506, pp. 213-18) and 589 (Tigradius, at the Council of Narbonne, *Conc. Gall.* 511-695, pp. 254-257). Agde was in Septimania and part of the Visigothic kingdom.

Gomatrudis wife of Dagobert 625-628

Sister of queen Sichildis; in 625 she married Dagobertus; Fredegar. iv 53. In 628 he abandoned her and married Nantechildis; Fredegar. iv 58 (styled 'regina').

Gôphna phylarch (in Euphratensis) L VI

'The illustrious Gôphna, who was at Mabbug'; present in Hierapolis for the debate between the monophysite bishops Damianus of Alexandria and Petrus of Antioch, which Damianus failed to attend; later he pressed for them to meet at Gabitha (in Arabia), but there found Damianus obstinate and left to return to his troops; styled 'phylarch'; Mich. Syr. x 22. The date was perhaps 586/587; cf. Frend, *The Rise of the Monophysite Movement*, pp. 341-2.

Possibly this man is the same person as Jafnah.

GORDIA 1 wife of Marinus 597

Wife of Marinus 6, living in Constantinople in 597; styled by Gregory 'excellentissima filia mea domna Gordia'; mother of Theoctista 1; she received a letter (not extant) from Gregory, who had been asked by Narses 9 to write to Gordia and Theoctista and their husbands Marinus and Christodorus letters of spiritual encouragement (*ut...scribere debeam eosque de anima sua aliquid ammonere*); Greg. *Ep.* vii 27 (a. 597 June; Gregory informs Narses that he had written only to Gordia because of the difficulty of finding anyone in Constantinople able to translate Latin into Greek).

In spite of their names, there is no evidence that Gordia and Theoctista were related to the emperor Maurice.

Gordia 2 sister of the emperor Maurice L VI/E VII

Sister of Maurice and wife of Philippicus 3; Theoph. Sim. i 13.2, Joh. Eph. *HE* iii 5.18, Theoph. AM 6076, 6094, Cedr. i 692, Nic. Call. *HE* xviii 10. She was one of two sisters; Evagr. *HE* vi 3, Nic. Call. *HE* xviii 10, and cf. Theoctista 2. She probably married Philippicus in 583; Theoph. AM 6076, Cedr. i 692. One of Maurice's sisters (unnamed), greatly enriched by him; *Chron.* 1234, lxxvi.

A late source records that she founded the monastery of St Mamas, near the gate of Xylocercus, and took the bodies of Maurice and his sons there for burial after their murder; *Patr. Const.* iii 185. Cf. Janin, *Églises et Monastères*² 326-31, 344, *Const. Byz.* 403, and see also Pharasmanes. She probably enlarged the monastery founded by Pharasmanes; see Grierson, *Tombs and Obits*, p. 47 with n. 88.

GORDIANA (c.f.); aunt of pope Gregory M VI

Paternal aunt of pope Gregory, of noble family, she lived with increasing reluctance as a nun with her sisters Aemiliana and Tarsilla until they died, when she abandoned the religious life and married the steward of her estates (conductor agrorum suorum); Greg. *Hom. in Evang.* 38.15 (PL 76.1290-2), *Dial.* iv 17.

GORDIANVS (v.c.); father of pope Gregory E/M VI

A native of Rome and father of pope Gregory; *Lib. Pont.* 66 (Gregory was 'natione Romanus, ex patre Gordiano'). A senator, of wealthy family; Greg. *Tur.* HF x 1. Husband of Silvia; *Whitby Life* 1, Joh. *Diac.* V. *Greg.* 19. Brother of Aemiliana, Gordiana and Tarsilla; Greg. *Dial.* iv 16, *Hom. in Evang.* 38. Father also of Palatinus; Greg. *Ep.* xi 4. See further Gregorius 5.

According to Joh. *Diac.* V. *Greg.* iv 83 he was a *regionarius*. The meaning is unknown; he may have been one of the *curatores regionum* at Rome (on whom cf. Chastagnol, *La Préfecture Urbaine*, pp. 256-8) or possibly a *defensor ecclesiae* (see Richards, *Consul of God*, pp. 25-6).

He perhaps died c. 573; cf. Stuhlfath, *Gregor der Grosse*, p. 27.

Gothaeus (Γοτθαῖος) envoy of Gelimer 533

Sent with Phuscias by Gelimer as envoys to Theudis in Spain in 533 to seek an alliance; their mission coincided with the capture of Carthage by Belisarius, into whose hands they fell on their return; Proc. *BV* 1 24.7-18.

Granikan Satar Persian general 624

See Justi, p. 119 (Granik-satar).

Persian commander with the 'New Army' under Sarablangas in 624; Moses Dasxurançi 11 10 ('one of the faithful nobles of the king, a governor, and a commander named Granikan Satar, who also marched against him (viz. Heraclius)'). For the date, cf. Dowsett, *Byz.* 21 (1951), pp. 318-21. In Theoph. AM 6115 the word Πεποζίτας is not a personal name but that of a Persian regiment, like the Χοσροηγέται (*pace* Dowsett, translation of Moses Dasxurançi, p. 81, n. 2).

Granista Visigoth; comes (at Narbo) 589?

A wealthy Visigoth, of noble birth, at Narbo; an Arian, he and Wildigernus *comites* rebelled at Narbo with the Arian bishop Athalocus against Reccared (recently converted to Catholicism), inviting help from the Franks; *V. Patr. Emer.* xix 44 (duo denique comites, inclyti licet

opibus et nobiles genere, profani tamen mentibus et ignobiles moribus). The date is uncertain; it may have been 587, under which year Gregory of Tours records the revolt of Athalocus (HF ix 15), or 589, when the Frankish *dux* Boso 2 was defeated by Claudius 2. See Garcia Moreno, p. 52, no. 69, n. 2, and cf. Thompson, *Goths in Spain*, p. 103 (both supporting 589).

Grasulfus 1 Lombard dux of Friuli 575/581-590

In or before 581 he received a letter, written by Gogo (died 581) on behalf of Childebert II, in answer to his invitation to make war on the Lombards on behalf of the empire; the Franks were ready for an alliance with him if he had adequate resources for war, or, if not, with envoys from Constantinople, whom Grasulf is told to send on when they arrive; *Ep. Austras.* 48 (MGH, *Epp.* III, pp. 152-3) (the letters were conveyed by Billulfus, *parens* of Grasulfus).

In 590 the exarch Romanus 7 marched from Ravenna against Histria intending to attack Grasulfus (Ravennam remeantes, in Histriam provinciam contra hostem Grasoulfum deliberavimus ambulare), but was met by the son of Grasulfus, Gisulfus, who submitted; *Ep. Austras.* 41 (MGH, *Epp.* III, p. 147) (for the date, late 590, see Goubert, II i, pp. 201-2).

Grasulfus was father of Gisulfus 2 and held a post of authority by 581 somewhere in Italy, and in 590 in Istria; he was probably *dux* of Friuli in succession to Gisulfus 1 and perhaps was his (younger) brother (cf. Goubert, II i, p. 197). In or before 581 he was evidently co-operating with the empire (see Stein, *Stud.*, p. 108 and cf. Goubert, II ii, pp. 17-18 - perhaps in consequence of the mission of Pamphronius). In 590 he was hostile to them but perhaps he died or was overthrown and his policy was then changed by his son.

Grasulfus 2 dux of Friuli E/M VII

Brother of Gisulfus 2; Paul. *Diac. Hist. Lang.* iv 39.

dux of Friuli: he became *dux* after the murder of Taso and Cacco, whose younger brothers Raduald and Grimoald refused to serve under him; Paul. *Diac. Hist. Lang.* iv 39. For the date, which is quite uncertain, see Gregorius 15. He died at Friuli some time in the mid seventh century and was succeeded by Ago; Paul. *Diac. Hist. Lang.* iv 50 (mortuo apud Foroiuli Grasulfo duce, Foroiulensem ducatum Ago regendum suscepit), v 17 (Grasulfo Foroiulanorum duce defuncto, successor ei in ducato Ago datus).

Gratiosus candidatus et imperialis spatharius VII

Γρατζιώσος κανδ(ιδᾶτος) (καὶ) β(ασιλικὸς) σπαθ(άριος); Zacos

2877 (seal; obv.: ΓΡΑΤΖΙ/ΩΚΟΚΑ/ΝΔ'ΙΥΚ/ΠΑΘ'; rev.: GRATI/OSVSCA/ND'IMP'S/PATHA').

Gregoras 1 MVM M/L VI

Γρηγορᾶ ma(g)istro mil(itum); Zacos 346 (seal; obv.: cruciform monogram (63) of Γρηγορᾶ; rev.: ΜΔΙΥ/ΤΥΟΜ/ΙΛ⁹).

Gregoras 2 patricius VI/VII

Gregora patricio; Zacos 347 (seal; obv.: monogram (64) of ΤΡΕΤΟΡΑ; rev.: PATR/ICIO).

Gregoras 3 patricius; ?MVM (per Africam) 609/610

Γρηγορᾶς; Joh. Ant., Theoph., Cedr., Zon., Nic. Call. Gregorius; Nic. Brev., Joh. Nik., Mich. Syr., *Chron.* 1234, Bar Hebr., Agapius, *Hist. Nest.*

According to Nic. *Brev.* 3, he was the brother of Heraclius 3. Father of Nicetas 7; Joh. Ant. fr. 218e (*FHG* v 37), Nic. *Brev.* 3-4, Theoph. AM 6100, 6101, 6102, Cedr. 1 711, Zon. xiv 14, 15, Nic. Call. *HE* xviii 55, Joh. Nik. 107. 4 (p. 541 Zotenberg), *Chron.* 1234, lxxxx, Bar Hebr., *Chron.*, p. 87, Agapius, p. 449, *Hist. Nest.* ii 82. Like Heraclius 3, he was elderly in 609/610 and a leading member of the senate; *Chron.* 1234, lxxxx.

?MVM (PER AFRICAM) a. 609/610: he was ὑποστράτηγος under the *exarchus Africae* Heraclius 3; Joh. Ant. fr. 218e, Theoph. AM 6100, 6101, Zon. xiv 14, Nic. Call. *HE* xviii 55, cf. Nic. *Brev.* 3 (governor of Africa), *Hist. Nest.* ii 82 ('Master of Africa'). He was probably *magister militum* in Africa subordinate to the exarch. Perhaps appointed at the same time as Heraclius.

PATRICIUS: Theoph. AM 6100 (ὁ πατρίκιος καὶ ὑποστράτηγος of Heraclius), 6102, Zon. xiv 14, 15, Mich. Syr. x 25, Bar Hebr., *Chron.*, p. 87, *Chron.* 1234, lxxxx.

With Heraclius he rebelled against Phocas in 609 and 610; Nic. *Brev.* 3, Theoph. AM 6100, 6101, 6102, Zon. xiv 14, Nic. Call. *HE* xviii 55, Mich. Syr. x 25, Bar Hebr., *Chron.*, p. 87, *Chron.* 1234, lxxxx, Agapius, p. 449.

Gregoria 1 ?gloriosa femina (East) 529

In a letter to Rusticiana 2, Gregory sent greetings to Gregoria and Eudoxius 2; Greg. *Ep.* ii 27 (a. 592 April; *domnum* Eudoxium et *domnam* Gregoriam). She was probably the wife of Eudoxius and daughter-in-law of Rusticiana. Cf. also Apion 4 and Eusebia 2. She is

not mentioned in Greg. *Ep.* viii 22 (a. 598 May; cf. Eudoxius); possibly she was dead.

Gregoria 2 cubicularia (of the empress) 597

Addressee of a letter from Gregory in 597 forgiving her for the many sins she has confessed; Greg. *Ep.* vii 22 (a. 597 June; addressed 'Gregoriae cubiculariae Augustae'; she is styled 'dulcedo vestra'). The empress was Maurice's wife, Constantina, at Constantinople.

Gregoria 3 wife of Heraclius Constantinus M VII

Daughter of Nicetas 7, in 629/630 she married the son and successor of the emperor Heraclius, Heraclius Constantinus 38 (= Constantinus Augustus in 641); Nic. *Brev.* 9, 21, Zon. xiv 15, 18.

Fl. Gregorius (*CIL* xiv 2010 = xv 7212) V/VI: *PLRE* II.

GREGORIVS 1 (v.c.) (in Italy); monk M VI

Brother of Speciosus 2; of noble birth and good secular education (*duo nobiles viri adque exterioribus studiis eruditi*), the two brothers entered the monastery founded by Benedict near Terracina, while Benedict was still living; they gave away their considerable wealth to the poor; when Speciosus died while away at Capua, Gregorius knew of the event in a vision; Greg. *Dial.* iv 9.

For the monastery in question, cf. Greg. *Dial.*, p. 112, n. 1.

GREGORIVS 2 ?v.sp.; military commander (in Africa) 546/547

Cousin of Artabanes 2; Proc. *BV* ii 27.10. He was therefore an Armenian and a member of the royal family of the Arsacids. Recorded as speaking Armenian; Proc. *BV* ii 28.16. See also Coripp. *Ioh.* iv 488 (cited below).

He was with Artabanes in Carthage in early 546 and was made privy to Artabanes' intention to assassinate Guntharis 2; Proc. *BV* ii 27.10. A speech encouraging Artabanes is attributed to Gregorius by Procopius; Proc. *BV* ii 27.11-19. On the night of the murder he was actively involved in the preparations and was himself present when it was carried out; Proc. *BV* ii 28.7-10.14-17.

He was one of the army officers serving under Ioannes 36 Troglita in Africa in winter 546/547 and was present at the defeat of Antalas; he was apparently stationed between Putzintulus and Geisirith with Iberian (presumably Armenian?) troops; Coripp. *Ioh.* iv 487-8 (*tertius inde furens rapta Gregorius hasta atque levi clipeo telis fulgebat Iberis*).

For his rank and post, cf. Putzintulus.

He is probably not to be identified with the 'Gorgius' named in Coripp. *Ioh.* vii 437 (where the text is faulty); this man was under the command of the *tribunus* Liberatus.

Georgius Florentius Gregorius (Gregory of Tours) 3

bishop of Tours 573-594

Full name; titles of his surviving works (see Krusch, *MGH, Scr. Rer. Mer.* 1, editio altera, p. ix, n. 2). Gregorius; *elsewhere*.

His father was Florentius 2, son of Georgius 1; Greg. Tur. *V. Patr.* 14.3. His mother was Armentaria, granddaughter of Florentinus 1 and Gregorius Attalus (*PLRE* II, p. 179); Ven. Fort. *Carm.* x 15, cf. Greg. Tur. *V. Patr.* 7.2. He was therefore of senatorial descent on both sides. He was a great-nephew of Gundulfus, Nicetius 1 (bishop of Lyon) and Tetricus (bishop of Langres). Nephew of Gallus 2 (bishop of Clermont); Greg. Tur. *Mir. S. Iul.* 23, *V. Patr.* 2.2. Younger brother of Petrus 12; Greg. Tur. *HF* v 5, *Mir. S. Iul.* 24. He had a sister, Anonyma 4, who married Iustinus 3; Greg. Tur. *Mir. S. Mart.* II 2. Uncle of Eusthenia, Greg. Tur. *Mir. S. Mart.* IV 36; and of Iustina 2, Ven. Fort. *Carm.* VIII 13, IX 7, lines 81-4, Greg. Tur. *HF* x 15. See stemma 12.

He was born in the Auvergne, perhaps at Clermont; Ven. Fort. *Carm.* VIII 15, line 3 (lumen ab Arvernens veniens feliciter arvis). His birthday was November 30; Greg. Tur. *Mir. b. Andreae* 38. The year was apparently 538 or 539; Greg. Tur. *Mir. S. Mart.* III 10 (shortly after he became bishop in 573 (cf. below), his mother visited Tours and was cured of an ailment which she had suffered ever since the birth of Gregory thirty-four years before).

He received his earliest education under Nicetius, then still a priest (at Chalon-sur-Saône); *V. Patr.* 8.2-3. Later he was educated at Clermont under the guidance of the future bishop Avitus; Greg. Tur. *V. Patr.* 2 praef.

He was a deacon at Tours, apparently by 563; Greg. Tur. *Mir. S. Mart.* I 32, 35. He became bishop of Tours in 573 (in the twelfth year of Sigibert) and was consecrated shortly before August 28; Greg. Tur. *Mir. S. Mart.* II 1, and cf. Krusch, *op. cit.*, p. xi.

He died on November 17 (confirmed by the Necrologia), probably in 594; cf. Krusch, *op. cit.*, pp. xviii-xix (he was certainly dead by April 596, when his successor Pelagius was in office (Greg. *Ep.* VI 52), but was bishop for at least twenty-one years (until 593 Aug./594 Aug.) and was still alive in the nineteenth year of Childebert (593 Dec. 25/594 Dec. 24); cf. *HF* x 31 *ad fin.*, where the other dates given, year thirty-one of Guntram and five of pope Gregory, are inconsistent with the other data, and are probably mistakes). This suggests 594, but does not exclude 595.

He was the addressee of several letters and poems from Venantius Fortunatus; Ven. Fort. *praefatio, Carm.* I 5, V 4-5, 8-17, VIII 11-21, IX 6-7, X 12a, *V. S. Mart.*, prologus. He gave Venantius a villa on the bank of the river Vienne; Ven. Fort. *Carm.* VIII 19.

His own writings are enumerated by him in *HF* x 31: Decem libros Historiarum, septem Miraculorum, unum de Vita Patrum scripsi; in Psalterii tractatu librum unum commentatus sum; de cursibus etiam ecclesiasticis unum librum condidi. These are: *Historia Francorum* (ending in 591, completed in 593/594, in Gregory's twenty-first year as bishop), *Liber in Gloria Martyrum*, *Libri Quattuor de Virtutibus* (or *Miraculis*) *S. Martini*, *Liber de Virtutibus* (or *Miraculis*) *S. Iuliani*, *Liber in Gloria Confessorum*, *Liber De Vita Patrum* (all extant), a commentary on the Psalms (mostly lost), and the *De Cursu Stellarum Ratio* (extant). He also translated the *Passio Septem Dormientium apud Ephesum* (extant) and wrote a work on the liturgical masses composed by Sidonius Apollinaris (now lost). Another extant work is a Latin version of the *Liber de Miraculis Beati Andreae apostoli*, on which cf. Bonnet, *MGH, Scr. Rer. Mer.* 1, pp. 821-2.

See further, on his life and writings, Arndt and Krusch in *MGH, Scr. Rer. Mer.* 1, pp. 1-23, 451-62 and Krusch in *MGH, Scr. Rer. Mer.* 1, editio altera, pp. ix-xxii and cf. Stroheker, no. 183.

Gregorius 4

PPO (?Orientis) 577/578

Sent by Tiberius Caesar to Armenia with the resources to restore the army there following severe defeats by Tamchosroes; his mission, which preceded the despatch to the east of Mauricius 4, was a success; Joh. Eph. *HE* III 6.14 ('quemadmodum ante hunc (Mauricium) etiam praefectus (ὑπαρχος) praetorianorum cui nomen fuit Gregorius ut copiarum sumptus disponderet et curaret missus erat, qui ibi in Armenia in omnibus rebus prospere egit').

His appointment probably coincided with the recall of Iustinianus 3 (late 577). He was perhaps PPO Orientis but could equally have been PPO *vacans* with responsibilities for supply; cf. e.g. *PLRE* II, p. 111, Apion 2, and *PLRE* II, p. 134, Archelaus 5, but cf. also Antiochus 2 and Maximinus 2.

Gregorius 5

?PVR 573; pope 590-604

He came from a leading senatorial family; Greg. Tur. *HF* x 1, Monk of Whitby, *V. Greg.* 1 (nobilis secundum legem). His great-great-grandfather (atavus) was a bishop of Rome, Felix; Greg. *Dial.* IV 17, *Hom. in Evang.* 38.15 (*PL* 76. 1291) (to be identified with pope Felix III, a. 483-492, cf. Greg. *Dial.*, p. 254, n. 3). He was possibly related to another pope, Agapetus (whose father was called Gordianus); cf. *Lib.*

Pont. 59. His father was Gordianus; *Lib. Pont.* 66, Monk of Whitby, *V. Greg.* 1, Paul. Diac. *V. Greg.* 1, Joh. Diac. *V. Greg.* 1 1, iv 83. He had three paternal aunts, Aemiliana, Gordiana and Tarsilla; *Greg. Dial.* iv 17, *Hom. in Evang.* ii 38.15 (*PL* 76. 1290-2). His mother was called Silvia; Monk of Whitby, *V. Greg.* 1, Paul. Diac. *V. Greg.* 1, Phot. *Bibl.* 252, cf. Joh. Diac. *V. Greg.* 1 9. A maternal aunt (still alive in 591) was Pateria; *Greg. Ep.* 1 37. He had a brother, Palatinus; *Greg. Ep.* xi 4, cf. ix 44. Cf. also Germanus 7. The family was native to Rome; *Lib. Pont.* 66, Monk of Whitby, *V. Greg.* 1. It owned a *domus* on the Caelian Hill, later converted by Gregory into the monastery of St Andrew; cf. *MGH, Epp.* ii, appendix 1, pp. 437-9. Gregory's date of birth is unknown but was perhaps c. 540.

Gregory was very well educated in secular learning: *Greg. Tur. HF* x 1 (litteris grammaticis dialecticisque ac rhetoricis ita erat institutus ut nulli in urbe ipsa putaretur esse secundus).

?PVR a. 573: he held an office in Rome when he and other *viri nobilissimi* signed a *cautio* sent by bishop Laurentius of Milan to the then pope on his accession (Jan. 573); *Greg. Ep.* iv 2 (a. 593 Sept.). The text reads: 'ego quoque tunc urbanam praeturam gerens pariter subscripsi', though a manuscript variant has 'praefecturam'. His office was either *praetor urbanus* or PVR. The *praetor urbanus* was certainly by this date a very insignificant post, assuming that it even still existed, and the allusion in Gregory of Tours to Gregory as proceeding in a grand manner through Rome (*HF* x 1: qui ante serico contactus ac gemmis micantibus solitus erat per urbem procedere trabeatus), if it alludes to his office, suggests rather the city prefecture of Rome. It is true that John the Deacon (*V. Greg.* 1 4) regarded him as a *praetor* (sub praetoris urbani habitu), but the probability is that he was PVR.

Soon after this, perhaps following the death of his father (cf. Paul. Diac. *V. Greg.* 3), he abandoned a secular career for a religious one; he founded monasteries on his estates, six in Sicily and one in Rome, and gave them rich endowments, before selling off his remaining estates (though not all, cf. *MGH, Epp.* ii, appendix 1) and giving the proceeds to charity; he then entered his monastery in Rome as a monk; *Greg. Tur. HF* x 1. He lived first as a monk, then was made a deacon (by pope Benedict I, in c. 578) and was sent (by Pelagius II, in c. 579/580) as papal *apocrisarius* to Constantinople, where he remained until recalled to Rome in c. 586; *Greg. Ep.* v 53a, *Magna Moralia*, praef. 1 (*PL* 75-510-11), Pelag. II, *Ep.* 1, *Greg. Tur. HF* x 1, Monk of Whitby, *V. Greg.* 2, and cf. *Greg. Ep.* ii 51 (his recall six years before 592).

In 590 he succeeded Pelagius II as bishop of Rome; *Greg. Tur. HF* x 1, Joh. Bicl. s.a. 587, Joh. Diac. *V. Greg.* 1 39-40, and cf. *Greg. Ep.* 1 3-7,

26, 29-31. He was consecrated on Sept. 3, 590, and was bishop from 590 to 604, dying on March 12, 604 (his Feast Day); Joh. Diac. *V. Greg.* iv 68, and cf. *Laterc. Pont.* 55 (*MGH, AA* ix, p. 270).

Gregorius 6

PPO (Italiae) 595

PPO (ITALIAE) a. 595 June: he was in office in Rome during the second siege by the Lombards and with Castus supported pope Gregory's efforts to negotiate with Agilulf; for this he and Castus incurred the emperor's displeasure and Gregory wrote strongly to Maurice in their favour; *Greg. Ep.* v 36 (a. 595 June; de gloriosis viris Gregorio praefecto praetorio et Casto magistro militum). No longer in office in 598; *Greg. Ep.* ix 4, 45, 50, 55, 57, 61, 62, 125 (all style him 'ex praefecto'). Addressed as 'gloria vestra', *Greg. Ep.* ix 125 (a. 599); and styled 'gloriosus', *Ep.* v 36, ix 4, 45, 50, 55-57, 61, 62, 77, 125.

In 598 he and other former officials, summoned to appear before Leontius 11 in Sicily to present their accounts, took refuge in a church in Rome; after discussion with pope Gregory, they agreed to accompany Marcus 6 back to Sicily; *Greg. Ep.* ix 4 (a. 598 Sept./Oct.; gloriosum etenim Gregorium ex praefecto vel alios qui in saeptis ecclesiasticis residebant, hortari studiose curavimus, ut exirent et rationes suas debuissent exponere. Qui egredientes cum Marco viro magnifico scribone, qui ad eorum exhibitionem venerat, accepto verbo ad Siciliam ire parati sunt). He then fell ill, but eventually travelled to Sicily in Nov./Dec., 598, bearing a letter from Gregory to Azimarchus; *Greg. Ep.* ix 77. In the meantime, in Nov. 598, Gregory had written letters to Leontius and others in Sicily commending him and asking for him to be treated well; *Greg. Ep.* ix 50 (to bishop Donus of Messina), 55 (to Leontius), 56 (to Amandinus) and 57 (to the bishops of Tauromenium and Syracuse, Secundinus and John, asking their help for Gregory, 'illic venienti tam apud Leontium gloriosum ex consulem in disponendis rationibus suis, quam apud alios, ubi causa poposcerit').

While still at Rome, in October 598, he planned to construct a basilica in honour of a number of saints and Gregory wrote to bishops at Sorrentum, Terracina, Portus, Naples, Nuceria, Ostia and Formiae to send relics for him; *Greg. Ep.* ix 45.

He owned estates at Rhegium, where he was in dispute with the church on a matter concerning property, and also in Campania, at Naples and Sorrentum; *Greg. Ep.* ix 61 (to bishop Bonifatius at Rhegium), 62 (to the bishops of Naples and Sorrentum, Fortunatus and John). Both letters were written in Nov./Dec. 598. In 599 Feb./April he was asked by Gregory to help the subdeacon Savinus with the transport

of timber from Bruttium, where he had estates, to Rome; Greg. *Ep.* IX 125 (addressed 'Gregorio ex praefecto').

Gregorius 7 ?v.c. (Egypt) VI
'Ο λαμπρότατος; son of Megas; native of Heracleopolis and a landowner (κτήτωρ); *Stud. Pal.* III 64 Heracleopolis.

Gregorius 8 a secretis M/L VI
Γρηγορίου a sec(retis) secret(arii); Zacos 348a and b (two seals; obv.: cruciform monogram (65) of Γρηγορίου; rev.: ΑΣΕΦ/ΣΕCΡ/ΕΤΣ).

Gregorius 9 diocetes M/L VI
Γρηγορίω δικιτη; Dumbarton Oaks seal 58.106.3139 (seal, dated M/L VI Oikonomides; obv.: cruciform monogram of Θεότοκε βοήθει; rev.: +ΓΡΙ/ΓΟΡΙΩ/ΔΙVΚΙ/ΤΗ+).

Gregorius(?) 10 PVC M VI/VII

His monogram (66) occurs on several glass weights; Monneret de Villard, Catalogue H, no. 30, with fig. 4, no. 30, Tsougarakis, *BCH* 108 (1984), p. 734, no. 5 (from Crete) and cf. Feissel, *Rev. Num.*⁹ 28 (1986), p. 129, fig. 1, no. 6 and p. 128, with n. 55 (also recording an unpublished example, from Egypt).

Gregorius 11 doctor (at Oxyrhynchus) L VI/E VII

Τὸν λογιώτα(τον) Γρηγόριον ἀρχίατρο(ν); named in a list of minor officials at Oxyrhynchus; *P. Oxy.* 1108, line 6. The purpose of the list is obscure.

Gregorius 12 scholarius; later a monk L VI/E VII

'Ο ἀπὸ σχολαρίων; a monk at Choziba in Palestine; Joh. Mosch. *Pratum* 29 (25). He was an informant of John Moschus.

Abimenus Gregorius 13 ?phylarchus L VI/E VII

Inscr. 1-3 Khanasir (Anasartha, in Syria); *Inscr.* 1) *IGLS* II 281 = Prentice, *Princ. Exp. Syr.* III, A, p. 254, no. 319, 2) *IGLS* II 288 = Wadd. 1832 = *CIG* 8712 = Prentice, *op. cit.*, p. 252, no. 318, 3) *IGLS* II 292 = Prentice, *op. cit.*, p. 260, no. 325.

Γρηγόριος ὁ πανεύφημος), of noble family (ἐκ ῥίζης εὐγενοῦς κλάδος εὐσεβῆς βλάστησαν), dedicated building works to God in 604 (in indiction 8, in Seleucid year 916, under Phocas and Leontia); *Inscr.* 1. Further building is recorded on *Inscr.* 3 (undated; Ἀβίμενος Γρηγόριος ὁ (π)α[νεύφημος]). His name is probably to be restored on *Inscr.* 2,

dated in 594/5 (in indiction 13, in Seleucid year 906, cf. *IGLS* II, p. 165, n. 8), where the words ...ον πανεύφημον are placed between the emperor and empress and the praetorian prefects, indicating that he was a notable local person and was not holder of any office ranking below the praetorian prefect. He may well therefore have been a *phylarchus*; cf. *IGLS* II, p. 165, n. 6. The word Abimenus presumably conceals an Arabic name, perhaps Abi-Ma'n (suggested in a private communication by Professor I. Shahīd).

Gregorius (or ?Georgius) 14 MVM (in Africa) VI/VII

Gregorii (or Georgii) magistri militum; *Bull. Soc. Nat. Ant. Fr.* 1914, p. 284, no. 2 (seal, from Carthage; obv.: the letters G, R, O and E arranged at the points of a cross; rev.: +MAG/ISTR1/MILI/TVM).

Gregorius 15 patricius (et exarchus Italiae?) E VII

Patricius Romanorum; he tricked the brothers Taso 1 and Cacco into visiting Opitergium and then had them murdered by his soldiers; Paul. Diac. *Hist. Lang.* IV 38. The title given by Paul suggests that he was *exarchus Italiae*; cf. Eleutherius and Ioannes 239. The date was some time after 610 (cf. Taso) but precisely when is not known. The list of exarchs however suggests either c. 610/615 or 619/625.

Gregorius 16 PPO (Africae) 627

Asked by pope Honorius in 627 to punish the *praeses Sardiniae* Theodorus 161 and send to Rome certain clergy of Cagliari whom Theodorus had sent instead to Africa; *PL* 80. 478, = Mansi X 582 (letter of Honorius to a subdeacon Sergius, dated June 10, 627; filio nostro Gregorio praefecto; eminentissimo praefecto), cf. *PL* 80. 481 (a letter of Honorius to a bishop of Syracuse which mentions an unnamed *eminentissimus praefectus*).

His name and office suggest the possibility that he was a relative of Gregoras 3 and Nicetas 7. He may also be identical with the *patricius* Gregorius 19 (rebel in 646).

Gregorius 17 army commander (in Cilicia) c. 635/641

An army commander, sent by Heraclius to guard Callisura in Cilicia and prevent the Arabs from passing through (presumably he guarded the Cilician Gates - κλεισούρα); he executed a bishop Epiphanius as a monophysite and made belligerent remarks about the Arabs and about monophysites, but on the day after the death of Epiphanius he perished at the hands of a party of Arab raiders; Mich. Syr. XI 6.

Gregorius 18 Roman general 636

An Armenian, named, with Qntris and Ardigun, as commander of the Roman army defeated at Yarmuk; *Chron.* 1234, cxvi. All three names occur in no other source and are presumably either corruptions or mistakes. The Roman commanders at Yarmuk were Theodorus 164, Baanes, Nicetas 9 and Gabala.

Fl. Gregorius 19

patricius (and exarchus) Africae 645; usurper (Africa) 646-647

[F]l. Gregorius; *CIL* VIII 2389 = D 839. Gregorius; *elsewhere*.

He may have been a relative of the emperor Heraclius; to judge by his name he was perhaps a brother of Gregoria 3 and son of Nicetas 7. See stemma 6.

PATRICIUS (and EXARCHVS) AFRICAE a. (641?-) 645, ?AVGVSTVS (in Africa) a. 646-647: he was *patricius* in July 645 (July of indiction 3), when he attended the disputation at Carthage between Maximus and Pyrrhus; Mansi x 709-10, 760 = *PG* 91.288A, 348A, 353A. Styled ὁ πατρίκιος τῆς Ἀφρικῆς, Theoph. AM 6138, cf. Mich. Syr. xi 10, *Chron.* 1234, cxxvi, Bar Hebr., *Chron.*, p. 97 (the patrician of Africa). Patricius; *CIL* VIII 2389 = D 839 (Thamugadi, dated under an emperor Constantine, either Heraclius Constantinus or Constans II), VIII 10965 a and b, VIII 22656, no. 23, Fredegar. iv 81, Agapius, p. 479, Balādhurī, p. 227 = Hitti, pp. 356-7. Probably in 646 he rebelled and apparently had himself proclaimed emperor, but in the following year was attacked, defeated and killed by the Arabs; Theoph. AM 6139 (τῶ τυράννῳ Γρηγορίῳ), Balādhurī, p. 227 = Hitti, pp. 356-7 (Africa, 'whose patrician exercised authority from Tripoli to Tanjah (= Tangiers)'), Fredegar. iv 81, Mich. Syr. xi 10, Bar Hebr., *Chron.*, p. 97, Agapius, p. 479, *Chron.* 1234, cxxvi. The Syriac sources claim that he escaped alive and returned to Constantinople to make his peace with the emperor. The revolt is dated by Michael the Syrian in year 5 of Constans, 25 of the Hegira and 958 of the Seleucid era.

Gregorius 20 son of Photius 7 E VII

Son of Photius 7; he was baptised by Theodore of Syceon; *V. Theod. Syc.* 127.

In 648 an *a secretis* called Gregorius, son of Photinus (sic), was sent to Rome from Constantinople; Mansi xi 5, 7. If his father's name is wrongly recorded, he could be the same man.

Gregorius 21 candidatus VII

Γρηγορίῳ κανδιδάτῳ; Zacos 844a, 844b = Dumbarton Oaks seal

55.1.1991, Dumbarton Oaks seal 55.1.1992 (also in Zacos' series) (three similar seals; obv.: +ΘΕ/ΟΤΟΚΕ/ΒΟΗΘ/ΕΙ; rev.: ΓΡΗ/ΓΟΡΙΩ/ΚΑΝΔΙ/ΔΑΤΩ).

Gregorius 22 honorary consul VII

Γρηγορίῳ σὺν Θεῶ ἀπὸ ὑπάτων; Zacos 842a, 842b, Dumbarton Oaks seal 58.106.3411 (also in Zacos' series) (three seals, dated M VI/M VII Zacos, VII Oikonomides; obv.: +ΓΡΗ/ΓΟΡΙΟΒ/CV^ΘN+ (842a), +ΓΡΗ/ΓΟΡΙΔ/CV^ΘN+ (842b, Dumbarton Oaks seal); rev.: ΑΠΟ/VΠΑ/ΤΩΝ (842a), +ΑΠΟ/VΠΑ[T]/ΩΝ (842b, Dumbarton Oaks seal)).

Gregorius 23 honorary consul VII

Γρηγορίου ἀπὸ ὑπάτων; Zacos 843 (seal; obv.: ΓΡΗ/ΓΟΡΙ/ΟΒ; rev.: ΑΠΟ/VΠΑ/ΤΩΝ). A similar seal is in Panchenko, *Katalog*, p. 100, no. 286.

Gregorius 24 MVM VII

Γρηγορίου στρατηλάτου; Zacos 1144 (seal; obv.: Virgin Hodegetria and child; rev.: +ΓΡ/ΗΓΟΡΙΟ/VCTPA[T]/ΗΛΑΤ[Δ]).

Gregorius 25 MVM VII

Γρηγορίου στρατηλάτου; Zacos 847 = Dumbarton Oaks seal 55.1.1994, Dumbarton Oaks seals 58.106.1833 and 58.106.3641 (both also in Zacos' series) (three seals, dated M VI/M VII Zacos, VII Oikonomides; obv.: ΓΡΗ/ΓΟΡΙ/ΟΒ; rev.: CTP/ATHA/ATΔ).

Gregorius 26 MVM VII

Γρηγορίῳ στρατηλάτῃ; Zacos 1488 (seal; obv.: cruciform monogram of Θεοτόκε βοήθει; rev.: +ΓΡΗ/ΓΟΡΙΩ/CTPATH/ΛΑΤΗ+).

Grepes king of the Heruli 527-528

Γρέπης; Joh. Mal. Γρέτης; Theoph.

KING of the Heruli, he entered into an alliance with the Romans and visited Constantinople, where he adored (προσεκύνησε) Justinian and accepted Christianity, receiving baptism on Jan. 6, 528, with twelve kinsmen and many followers, with the emperor acting as godfather; he then returned home promising help when required; Joh. Mal. 427, Joh. Mal. (Slav.), p. 135, Theoph. AM 6020, Cedr. 1643, Ps.-Dion., *Chron.* II, p. 53 (s.a. 844), Mich. Syr. IX 21, Joh. Nik. 90.70. Cf. also Stein, *Bas-Emp.* II 305-6.

Grimarit Lombard dux (in Italy) c. 571/574

Longobardorum dux crudelissimus Grimarit; present near Populonia when bishop Cervonius was buried there; Greg. *Dial.* III 11. The date was perhaps during the conquest of central Italy by the Lombards, in c. 571/574. His name is spelt variously in the MSS, viz. Grimarit, Gummari, Gumarit, Gomarit, Gummarit, Gummareth.

Grimoaldus I Bavarian noble L VI/E VII

Son of Garibaldus I, brother of Gunduoldus and Theodelinda; Fredegar. IV 34.

Grimoaldus 2 a Frank; maior palatii (in Austrasia) a. 641/642–?662

Son of Pippin (of Landen); he was energetic and highly regarded at the court of Sigibert III; Fredegar. IV 86.

In 639 Grimoaldus and Adalgiselus, both *duces*, accompanied Sigibert on the campaign against Radulf in Thuringia and helped to protect him; Fredegar. IV 87.

Closely associated with bishop Chunibert of Cologne, he planned with him to expel Otto and secure for himself the post of *maior palatii* formerly held by his father; Fredegar. IV 86. In 641/642 he had Otto murdered by Leutharius 2 and as *maior palatii* established the authority of the post over Austrasia; Fredegar. IV 88 (gradus honoris maioris domus in palatio Sigiberti et omni regno Austrasiorum in manu Grimoaldi confirmatus est vehementer), *Lib. Hist. Franc.* 43. As *maior domus* he received two letters from bishop Desiderius of Cahors; Desid. Cadurc. *Ep.* I 2, 6 (= *MGH, Epp.* III, pp. 194, 196).

Probably in 660 he deposed king Dagobert and placed his own son Childebert on the throne; two years later he was overthrown and killed; *Lib. Hist. Franc.* 43, and cf. Wallace-Hadrill, note on Fredegar. IV 88 (p. 75).

Grimoaldus 3 Lombard king 662–671

Youngest son of Gisulfus 2 and Romilda; Paul. Diac. *Hist. Lang.* IV 37 (described as 'puerulus' in c. 610).

For his earlier years, see Radoaldus.

dux of Beneventum a. 647–662: he succeeded to the office of *dux* of Beneventum on the death in 647 of his brother Radoald; Paul. Diac. *Hist. Lang.* IV 46 (apud Beneventum vero mortuo Raduald duce, qui ducatum quinque rexerat annis, Grimoald, eius germanus, dux effectus est gubernavitque ducatum Samnitium annis quinque et viginti). He held the office for fifteen years, not twenty-five (see below).

KING of the Lombards a. 662–671: Paul. Diac. *Hist. Lang.* IV 51, V 1–33, *Orig. Gent. Lang.* 7, *Hist. Lang. cod. Goth.* 8. He died in 671; Paul. Diac. *Hist. Lang.* V 33.

Gripas (Γρίπας) Gothic commander (under Theodahad) 536

On the name, see Schönfeld, p. 114.

In 536 he and Asinarius led a Gothic army into Dalmatia (ἄλλων τε καὶ Ἀσινάριου καὶ Γρίπα σφισιν ἡγουμένων); near Salona they defeated and killed Mauricius I but were then themselves routed by the father of Mauricius, Mundus; Proc. *BG* I 7.1–5. Later in 536 Gripas led another army into Dalmatia (Γρίπα σφισιν ἡγουμένου) and took Salona; fearing a siege, he withdrew at the approach of Constantianus 2 to a nearby plain, and when Salona was then occupied by the Romans he returned with his army to Ravenna; Proc. *BG* I 7.27–36.

Grippo

Frank; vir inluster; spatharius (of Childebert II); envoy 585/586, 587/588, 589/590

A Frankish noble; Greg. Tur. *HF* X 2 (genere Francus).

Vir inluster; envoy of Childebert II to the emperor Maurice in late 585/early 586; his fellow-envoy was Babo; *Ep. Austras.* 43 (*MGH, Epp.* III, p. 149). See Babo.

Spatharius; envoy again of Childebert II to Maurice in late 587/early 588; his fellow-envoys were Ennodius 3, Radan and Eusebius 8; *Ep. Austras.* 25 (*MGH, Epp.* III, pp. 138–9) (Grippo, Radan and Eusebius were 'optimates'). For the date and circumstances of this embassy, see Goubert, II 1, pp. 135–7.

In 589 he was again member of an embassy from Childebert to Maurice; his colleagues Bodegiselus 2 and Evantius were murdered at Carthage on the way, but Grippo continued to Constantinople, completed his business and returned to Childebert (in 590) with the emperor's promise to punish the guilty; Greg. Tur. *HF* X 2, 3 (shortly after his return the Franks invaded north Italy, in 590), Paul. Diac. *Hist. Lang.* III 31. Later in 590, at Childebert's court, he offered to return to Carthage to identify the killers; Greg. Tur. *HF* X 4.

Grod

king of the Huns in the Crimea 528

Γρώδ; Joh. Mal. Γορδᾶς; Theoph., Cedr. 'Gordios'; Mich. Syr., Ps.-Dion. Jârðks; Joh. Nik.

KING of the Huns living near Bosphorus, who in 528 became an ally of the Romans; he visited Constantinople, was baptised a Christian with

Justinian sponsoring him as his godfather, and then returned home laden with gifts, having undertaken to protect Bosphorus and Roman interests in that area; on his return he melted down the sacred images of silver and electrum worshipped by the Huns and sold the metal in Bosphorus, whereupon the Huns, led by their priests, rose against him, killed him and replaced him as king with his brother Mougel; Joh. Mal. 431-2, Theoph. AM 6020, Cedr. I 644, Joh. Nik. 90.66-7 (the statement by John that Grod converted his brother is certainly an error), Mich. Syr. IX 21, Ps.-Dion. *Chron.* II, p. 53.

Iugildus Grusingus ?Lombard mercenary (in Italy) 591

Probably a (?Lombard) mercenary with his own band of followers, serving with the Romans in Italy in 591; Greg. *Ep.* II 7, and see Adobin.

Guaram I curopalates and ruler of Iberia 588-c. 602

For the probable identity of Guaram and the Gorgenes of Theoph. Byz. fr. 3, see Toumanoff, *Le Muséon* 65 (1952), p. 39.

Son of Leo 9; Toumanoff, *op. cit.*, p. 37 with n. 45, p. 38 with n. 47. According to Juansher (see below) his uncle was Mihrdat; cf. Toumanoff, *op. cit.*, p. 32, with n. 22.

A ruler of the Iberians (Γοργένους αὐτῶν ἡγεμονεύοντος), in 572 he joined the Armenian revolt against the Persians and sought the protection of the Romans; Theoph. Byz. fr. 3 (= Phot. *Bibl.* 64). He apparently fled to Constantinople when the revolt failed and remained there when in 575 the Persarmenians returned to their Persian allegiance; Toumanoff, *op. cit.*, p. 45, Joh. Eph. *HE* III 6.11 ('principes eorum (the Persarmenians) ... cum rege populi cui nomen Gorgonius' remained in Constantinople).

According to Juansher, cited by Toumanoff, *op. cit.*, p. 42, the Iberians revolted from Persia in 588 (cf. p. 43, n. 5) and asked Maurice for a ruler from the Iberian royal house; Maurice sent Guaram, 'who was prince of Klarjet'i and Javakhet'i,' conferring on him the dignity of *curopalates* and sending him to Mts'khet'a. He ruled from 588 to c. 602 and was succeeded by his son, Stephanus I; Toumanoff, *op. cit.*, p. 49, n. 19, p. 203. Cf. also Justi, p. 121, s.n. Guram, no. 1.

Guarizila Moor; brother of Antalas M VI

Brother of Antalas, he was a Moorish leader in Byzacena; probably in 543 he was blamed by Solomon I for disturbances in Byzacena and killed, an act which provoked Antalas to revolt; Proc. *BI* II 21.17, 22.8, Coripp. *Ioh.* II 28, III 384, IV 364-6. His name is recorded only in Coripp. *Ioh.* IV 366.

Guarsana Moorish leader 548

One of the Moorish leaders against the Romans at the battle of the Plains of Cato in 548; Coripp. *Ioh.* VIII 266.

Gubazes king of the Lazi 541-555

On the name, cf. Justi, p. 119.

He was of Roman descent through his mother; Proc. *BG* IV 9.9. Nephew of Opsites I (and of Theodora 3); Proc. *BG* IV 9.7. Elder brother of Tzathes 2; Agath. III 14.3. He also had a sister (name unknown); Proc. *BG* IV 17.14. He was married with children; Proc. *BG* IV 16.20.

KING of the Lazi a. 541-555; already king in 541, Proc. *BP* II 17.2. 'Ο Λαζῶν (or Κόλχων) βασιλεύς (or similar); Proc. *BP* II 17.2, 28.30, *BG* IV 8.1, 8.16, 10.2, 16.2, 16.6, 17.13, Agath. II 18.6, III 2.3. He was assassinated in 555; see below.

SILENTIARIUS: in 548 (see below) he asked Justinian for the arrears of pay due to him as a *silentarius*; he had received nothing since Chosroes invaded Lazica (in 541) and claimed that ten years' pay was owed; Proc. *BP* II 29.31 (ἔφασκε δὲ καὶ οἱ αὐτῶ τὸ δημόσιον τὰς συντάξεις ὀφείλειν ἑνιαυτῶν δέκα, ἐπεὶ ἐν τοῖς σιλεντιαρίοις ἐν παλατίῳ τασσόμενος οὐδὲν κεκομισμένος ἐνθῆνδε εἶη, ἐξ οὗ δὴ ἐς γῆν τὴν Κολχίδα Χοσρόης ἦλθε). The figure of ten years suggests that he had received nothing since c. 539, but it is inconsistent with the statement about Chosroes and is perhaps an error by Procopius. It is possible that Gubazes was given the (honorific) title of *silentarius* on becoming king of the Lazi, but perhaps more likely that before becoming king he lived, as a prince of a client state, in Constantinople in the imperial palace and became a *silentarius* then.

In 541 the Lazi were unhappy with Roman rule and Gubazes submitted to the Persians when Chosroes invaded Lazica; Proc. *BP* II 17.2, cf. 29.31 (cited above).

In 547/548 he learnt of a Persian plot to assassinate him (cf. Phabrizus and Pharsanses), to transport the Lazi elsewhere and settle the land with Persians; Proc. *BP* II 28.30, 29.2.6-8, *BG* IV 16.2. He therefore revolted from Persia, returned to the Roman alliance and asked Justinian for military aid; the emperor sent an army under Dagisthaeus (in 548); Proc. *BP* II 29.9-11. Gubazes had earlier formed an alliance with the Alans and the Sabirian Huns to guard Lazica and in 548 he asked Justinian for the money, three *centenaria*, owing to them, as well as for his own back-pay as *silentarius* (see above); the emperor agreed and the

money was paid, though after some delay; Proc. *BP* II 29.29-32, 30.28-9. In 548 and 549 he and Dagisthaeus took part in various operations against the Persians; see further Dagisthaeus. After the collapse of the Roman attempt to take Petra, Gubazes nevertheless remained on guard over the passes into eastern Lazica, confident that the Persians could not cross to the north bank of the Phasis; Proc. *BP* II 30.23-7.

In 550 he sent *Ioannes* 44 *qui et* Guzes to end the revolt of the *Apsilii*, which had resulted from actions by a Lazian noble, *Terdates*, with whom Gubazes had quarrelled; Proc. *BG* IV 10.2.7. In 551 the Persians controlled most of Lazica and Gubazes sought refuge in the mountains; Proc. *BG* IV 16.6. In this year he did not send their supplies to the *Suani*, as a result of the hostility between himself and *Martinus* 2, and they deserted to Persia; Men. Prot. fr. 11. He spent the winter of 551/552 with his family in the mountains in conditions of great hardship, rejecting overtures from the Persian commander *Mermeroes* and hoping for help from Constantinople; Proc. *BG* IV 16.18.20.23-32. In the spring of 552 he joined *Martinus* in a strongly fortified position near the mouth of the Phasis while the Persians overran the country; Proc. *BG* IV 17.11-13.

In 554 he made allegations of incompetence to Justinian about *Bessas*, *Martinus* and *Rusticus* 4, following their flight before the Persians from *Chytropolia* to *Nesus*; *Agath.* III 2.3. As a result, *Martinus* and *Rusticus*, who already allegedly regarded him with hatred and suspicion, plotted his downfall by suggesting that he had pro-Persian sympathies and in 555 they had him assassinated; *Agath.* III 2.9.11, 3.1.8-10, 4.5-6, and cf. 9.3, 10.8-9, 11.8, 12.6, 13.5, IV 6.3, 8.3, 21.1. See further *Martinus*.

The *Lazi* appealed for justice to Justinian who sent *Athanasius* 2 to conduct an enquiry; Gubazes was cleared of treachery and adjudged to have been wrongfully killed; *Agath.* III 14.2, IV 11.1, and cf. *Athanasius*, *Martinus*, *Rusticus* and *Ioannes* 47. He is also alluded to at *Agath.* IV 1.1.4, 2.3.5, 5.7, 8.4.6, 9.5, 10.3-4.

According to *Agathias*, Gubazes and the *Lazi* were regarded by Justinian as loyal subjects and as fellow-Christians and therefore deserving of Roman protection; *Agath.* II 18.6.

Gubulgudu (Γουβουλγουδοῦ) officer of *Valerianus*' bodyguard 538

A Hun and an officer (δορυφόρος) of the bodyguard of *Valerianus* 1, he fought bravely to save *Ancona* from capture by the *Goths* in summer 538; Proc. *BG* II 13.14-15, and see *Vlimuth* and *Conon*.

Gudeliva: wife of *Theodahad* 535-536; *PLRE* II.

GVDSCALCVS 1

dux Campaniae 599/600

Addressee of letter from pope Gregory asking him to stop harassing the monastery of the Holy Archangels; *Greg. Ep.* x 5 (a. 599 Nov./600 Feb.); addressed 'Gudescalco duci Campaniae'; he is styled 'magnitudo tua' and addressed as 'magnifice fili', i.e. he was not a *vir gloriosus*). His name is Germanic, and he was probably a Lombard; see *Brown, Gentlemen*, p. 73.

Gudescalcus 2 Lombard; son-in-law of king *Agilulf* L VI/E VII

Husband of a daughter of king *Agilulf*; in c. 601 he and his wife were captured at *Parma* by the troops of the exarch *Callinicus* 10 and taken to *Ravenna*; *Paul. Diac. Hist. Lang.* IV 20 (= *Agnellus, Lib. Pont. Eccl. Rav.* 101). The date was after the expiry of the two-year truce agreed in 598/599; cf. *Paul. Diac. Hist. Lang.* IV 8-9, 12, *Greg. Ep.* IX 44, 66, 67.

Gudila ?son of *Tzaliconius* M VI

On the name, see *Schönfeld*, p. 114.

Possibly a son of *Tzaliconius*, in Italy; *Marini, P. Dip.* 140 = *P. Ital.* 49, lines 25-6 (cited under *Tzaliconius*).

Gudiliv(a) vir inluster (in Spain) L VI/E VII

On the name, see *Schönfeld*, p. 114.

Founder of three churches consecrated by bishops of *Acci* in the reigns of *Reccared* and *Witteric* (in 594 and, possibly, 607) and recorded in an inscription at *Iliberris* (haec s(an)c(t)a tria tabernacula in gloriam Trinitatis indivise cohoperantib(us) s(an)c(t)is aedificata sunt ab inl(ustri) Gudiliv . . cum operarios vernolos et sumptu proprio); *Vives, Inscriptioes cristianas* 303 = *ILCV* 1815 *Iliberris*. For the dates, cf. *Garcia Moreno*, p. 53 with notes.

GVDVIN (Γούδουϊς) 1 commander (in Thrace) 595, 602

On the name, see *Schönfeld*, p. 115. Cf. also *Kudis*.

In 595 he served in Thrace under *Priscus* 6; he is styled ὁ ταξίαρχος; *Theoph. Sim.* VII 12.7. On the meaning of ταξίαρχος, see *Theodorus* 21. *Guduin* was probably one of the (new style) *duces*. In summer 595 he was sent by *Priscus* to recover *Sigidunum* from the *Avars*; he recaptured it and repaired the walls; *Theoph. Sim.* VII 11.6-8. Later that year *Priscus* sent him with two thousand troops to spy on the khan's forces in *Dalmatia*; he ambushed an *Avar* force guarding the khan's booty, annihilated it and returned to *Priscus* with the booty; *Theoph. Sim.* VII 12.2-8, *Theoph. AM* 6091, *Cedr.* 1 699.

?MVM (VACANS) a. 602: in 602 he was serving in Thrace as ὑποστράτηγος under Petrus 55; Theoph. Sim. viii 5.12, Theoph. AM 6094. He was possibly still *dux*, but could by now have been an MVM *vacans*; cf. Cours, Heraclius 3. In summer 602 Petrus gave him command of the troops sent across the Danube against the Slavs; Guduin crossed the Danube (cf. Bonosus 1), killed many Slavs and took many prisoners, and then tried to keep his men on the north side of the Danube, against their wishes, apparently following orders sent to Petrus from the emperor (cf. Theoph. Sim. viii 6.2); Theoph. Sim. viii 5.12, Theoph. AM 6094. In autumn 602 he was with Petrus near Palastolum (Palatiolum), when the army mutinied; Petrus confided to him the difficulties under which the emperor's orders were putting him; Theoph. Sim. viii 6.4-7, 7.1-3, Theoph. AM 6094.

He may possibly be identical with Guduin 2. If so, he gave his allegiance to Phocas, but could not have been MVM, since Guduin 2 is styled only 'magnitudo vestra' (not 'gloria vestra').

GVDVIN 2 *dux* at Naples (?*dux* Campaniae) 603

Addressee of a letter from pope Gregory urging exemplary punishment for a soldier who had violated a nun; styled 'magnitudo vestra'; Greg. *Ep.* xiv 10 (a. 603 Dec.; addressed 'Guduin duci Neapolin').

Possibly identical with Guduin 1.

He may have been a Lombard; cf. Jarnut, *Studien*, p. 138, no. 131.

Guenfan Moor; father of Antalas E VI

Coripp. *Ioh.* i 468, iii 66-7, 77, 107-9, v 8, vii 296, 522. Cf. Antalas.

Guentan Moorish chief 546/547

One of the Moorish 'duces' with Antalas and Carcasan in winter 546/547; Coripp. *Ioh.* iv 642.

Guerpinus (Werpinus) comes civitatis Meldensis 585

In 585 he was succeeded by Gundovaldus 3 as *comes* of Meldensis (Meaux); he then murdered Gundovald, but was himself attacked and killed by Gundovald's relatives (parentes) - sicque uterque a comitatu morte imminente discessit; Greg. Tur. *HF* viii 18.

Guldrimir vir inluster (in Spain) 610/612

Vir inluster; envoy with Tatila, sent by king Gundemar (610/612) to the Franks; they were detained at Irupinae (site unknown) by king Theoderic II; *Ep. Wisig.* 13 (*MGH, Epp.* iii, p. 679). Cf. Bulgar.

He was a Visigothic noble.

Gulfaris

MVM (of Istria) 599

Addressee of a letter from pope Gregory praising his efforts at winning back schismatics in Istria, the area under his authority (inter curas iniunctae vobis gubernationis illarum partium); styled 'gloriose fili' and 'gloria vestra'; Greg. *Ep.* ix 160 (a. 599 May/June; addressed 'Gulfari magistro militum').

Possibly identical with Vlfari. If so, he was a Lombard *dux* who deserted to the Roman cause.

GVNDEBERGA *qu(ae)* et NONNICA

spectabilis femina (in Italy) M VI

Gundeberga qui (sic) et Nonnica, sp.f.; died aged about forty-four, on June 12, 570, buried at Mutina; *CIL* xi 941 = *ILCV* 253 Mutina. Her name is Germanic; cf. Schönfeld, p. 298.

Gundebert

son of Gundald E VII

Son of Gundald by his Lombard wife; brother of Charibert; Fredegar. iv 34. Nephew of Theodelinda.

Gundegisilus *qui* et Dodo

comes civitatis Santonum 585; bishop of Bordeaux 585-590

Consecrated bishop of Bordeaux after the death of Bertchramnus in 585, according to king Guntram's orders; Greg. Tur. *HF* viii 22 (tunc rex, data praeceptione, iussit Gundegisilum comitem cognomento Dodonem episcopum ordinari). Mentioned in 589 and 590, Greg. Tur. *HF* ix 41, x 15-16; and also in Ven. Fort. *Carm.* vii 25, v. 7 (cf. Galactorius).

Gundelandus

maior domus (in Neustria) E/M VII

Of noble family, he was a distinguished *maior domus* under Chlotharius II; *Lib. Hist. Franc.* 40 (Gundolandus nobilis maiorum domus in aula regis vir egregius atque industrius). In 617 he was one of three high officials of Chlotharius II (see Warnacharius 2 and Chucus) who accepted a bribe of one thousand *solidi* from Lombard envoys; Fredegar. iv 45. He died in the reign of Dagobert, still in office, and was succeeded (allegedly) by Erchinoaldus; *Lib. Hist. Franc.* 42 (cited under Erchinoald). As the *maior domus* in Burgundy was Warnacharius 2, Gundeland served Chlotharius in Neustria. The context of *Lib. Hist. Franc.* 40 (events of 613) suggests that he was in office then, and he was still *maior domus* in 629/630, if *Lib. Hist. Franc.* 42 is correct. The testimony of the latter is suspect because of the allusion to Erchinoald who was *maior*

domus not under Dagobert but under Clovis II from c. 641 on. Possibly it was Aega who succeeded Gundeland.

Gundemar king of the Visigoths 610–612

Husband of Hildoara; *Ep. Wisig.* 16 (*MGH, Epp.* III, pp. 684–5).

GOVERNOR of Narbonensis, before 610: he was governor of the Province (of Narbonensis), apparently under Witteric, when he gave assistance to exiles and other victims of Witteric; *Ep. Wisig.* 16 (*plebs tibi a Deo subiecta... dilatatis regni vestri temporibus se gaudeat praeparatam, sicut et antea regni gloria semper gubernator et defensor universae Provinciae velut pater familias cunctis affuisti et omnes exterminatos et afflictos consolatione proprie fobisti*).

KING of the Visigoths a. 610–612: he succeeded Witteric in April 610 and died in Feb./March 612; *Lat. reg. Visig.* 31 (*MGH, AA* XIII, p. 467) (he reigned two years and ten months; probably a mistake for one year and ten months), *Isid. Hist. Goth.* 59 (two years). He is mentioned in four letters from Bulgar and in the records of a council of bishops at Toledo in 610; *Ep. Wisig.* 11, 12, 13, 16 (the last is a letter of consolation to him on the death of his wife), *Mansi* x 507ff. During his reign he mounted two military expeditions, one against the Basques, the other against the Romans, and then died in Toledo; *Isid. Hist. Goth.* 59. His successor was Sisebut; *Lat. reg. Visig.* 32, *Isid. Hist. Goth.* 60.

See also Thompson, *Goths in Spain*, pp. 159–61.

Gundesvinda domina inlustris (in Spain) 642/646

Sister of Givarius (q.v.); Braulio, *Ep.* 29.

Gundihild inlustris femina (in Italy) 557

Inl(ustris) f(emina); widow of Gunduhulus; in 557 she petitioned the *ordo* of Reate 'per actores suos' for a special guardian to be appointed to safeguard the family property for her two children now that her husband was dead; her children were Lendarit and Landarit; Marini, *P. Dip.* 79 = *P. Ital.* 7, lines 1–2, 4, 13, 14, 16–20, 22, 25, 48, 65–6.

Gundirit inlustris vir (in Italy) 557

One of the accusers of Gunduhulus; styled 'vir magnificus' and 'inlustris vir'; Marini, *P. Dip.* 79 = *P. Ital.* 7, lines 44–5, 58, 67, 79. The affair took place at Reate.

Gundoaldus dux civitatis Astensis c. 589–612

For the name, see Schönfeld, pp. 116–17, s.n. Gundibadus.

Son of Garibaldus I, brother of Grimoaldus I and Theodelinda; Paul.

Diac. *Hist. Lang.* III 30, IV 40, 48, *Origo Gent. Lang.* 6, *Hist. Lang. cod. Goth.* 6, *Fredegar.* IV 34. He married a lady from the Lombard nobility (de gente nobili Langobardorum) and had two sons, Gundebert and Charibert; *Fredegar.* IV 34, cf. Paul. Diac. *Hist. Lang.* IV 48 (his son Aripert (sic) became king of the Lombards in 652, after the death of Rodoald).

He took his sister Theodelinda to live in Italy on the occasion of a Frankish attack on the Bavarians, and there he married her to Authari (*Fredegarius* says to Ago, i.e. Agilulf); Paul. Diac. *Hist. Lang.* III 30, *Fredegar.* IV 34.

DVX CIVITATIS ASTENSIS c.a. 589–612: appointed 'dux in civitatem Astense' (= Hasta, in the Cottian Alps) by king Authari; *Origo Gent. Lang.* 6, *Hist. Lang. cod. Goth.* 6. The date was perhaps c. 589, when Theodelinda married Authari. Gundoaldus was still in office in 612 when he was assassinated; Paul. Diac. *Hist. Lang.* IV 40 (qui erat dux in civitate Astensi), cf. *Fredegar.* IV 34 (supposedly very popular with the Lombards, he was allegedly killed by an agent of Agilulf and Theodelinda – *factione Agonis regis et Theudelindae*).

Gundoberga Lombard queen 626

Daughter of Agilulf and Theodelinda and sister of Adaloald; *Fredegar.* IV 34, 50, Paul. Diac. *Hist. Lang.* IV 47, *Origo Gent. Lang.* 6. Wife of Arioald; Ionas, *V. Columb.* II 24a (*MGH, Scr. Rer. Mer.* IV, p. 145) (while Arioald was still *dux* of Turin, i.e. before 626), *Fredegar.* IV 50, 51, cf. Paul. Diac. *Hist. Lang.* IV 47 (wrongly called the wife of Rodoald = son of Rothari). Later she married Rothari (see below).

After Arioald became king, she was accused of treason with Taso (Paul the Deacon alleges adultery) but after three years she was cleared after a contest of champions and restored to her throne; *Fredegar.* IV 51, Paul. Diac. *Hist. Lang.* IV 47. Cf. Ansoaldus 2.

She built a church of St John the Baptist at Ticinum; Paul. Diac. *Hist. Lang.* IV 47, v 40.

When Arioald died, she apparently supported Rothari and married him (in 636); stripped of her property by him and held in confinement for five years, she was allegedly released after an embassy from Clovis II protested (cf. Aubedo) and restored to her estates and royal honours; *Fredegar.* IV 70–1 (narrated under the year 630).

Gundovaldus I dux (in Gaul) (?574) 575–593; ?patricius 593

Dux under Sigibert, defeated near Poitiers by Chilperic's son, Theodebert, probably in 574; *Greg. Tur. HF* IV 47 (and see Sigulfus I). After Sigibert died in 575, Gundovald *dux* rescued Childebert from

danger and installed him as king over his father's subjects; Greg. Tur. *HF* v 1, Fredegar. iii 72. In 593, after the death of Guntram (March 28), Gundovald and Wintrio led an army from Burgundy and Champagne against the region around Soissons (then subject to Fredegundis and Chlotharius II) but were defeated by Landericus and barely escaped; *Lib. Hist. Franc.* 36, cf. Fredegar. iv 14 (dating the raid in the year of Guntram's death).

?PATRICIVS a. 593: according to *Lib. Hist. Franc.* 36 Gundovald and Wintrio were *patricii*, but Fredegarius (iv 14) describes Wintrio only as *dux Campanensis* and does not mention Gundovald at all; the titles in the *Lib. Hist. Franc.* may therefore be erroneous. The silence of Gregory of Tours is not decisive, since his history ended before 593 and in any event he never mentions Gundovald again after 575. Cf. Buchner, p. 107 with n. 71.

Gundovaldus 2

Frankish pretender 584-585

He claimed to be a son of Chlothacharius I (*PLRE* II); Greg. Tur. *HF* vi 24, vii 32. The claim was apparently accepted by Childebert I and Charibert, but denied by Chlothacharius himself, Sigibert and Guntram (see below). He was said by Guntram to have been the son of a mill manager; Greg. Tur. *HF* vii 14. Known by the nickname Ballomer (a word thought to have meant 'false prince'; cf. Dalton, II, p. 565); Greg. Tur. *HF* vii 14, 36, 38, ix 28.

Born and reared in Gaul where he had a good education, he was presented to Childebert I by his mother who described him as a son of Chlothacharius to whom his father had taken a dislike; he was accepted as a prince by Childebert and allowed to grow his hair long but was then summoned before Chlothacharius who denied paternity on seeing him and cut his hair; after Chlothacharius died he was again treated as a prince by Charibert, but was then called before Sigibert who cut his hair and exiled him to Cologne; from there he escaped to Narses I in Italy, where he married and had two sons; his wife died and he went with his children to Constantinople and was warmly received by the emperor; Greg. Tur. *HF* vi 24, vii 36.

Possibly in 581 he was visited in Constantinople by Guntchramnus Boso and invited to return to Gaul to assert his royal claims; Greg. Tur. *HF* vi 24, vii 14, 32, 36. His recall was strongly supported by leading notables at the court of Childebert II; Greg. Tur. *HF* vi 24, vii 32-4. He had support also from former notables of Chilperic and Guntram (cf. Bladastes, Desiderius 2, Mummolus 2 and Waddo 2). According to words attributed to Guntram in 589, he was recalled with a view to marrying Brunichildis; Greg. Tur. *HF* ix 28.

He landed in Marseilles from Constantinople in 582; Greg. Tur. *HF* vi 24, vii 32. There he was received by bishop Theodorus and went on to join Mummolus at Avignon, before withdrawing to an island off the coast to wait on events; meanwhile however the treasures which he had apparently brought with him were seized by Guntchramnus Boso and one of Guntram's *duces* (unnamed), divided between them and carried off to the Auvergne; Greg. Tur. *HF* vi 24.

After Chilperic died in late 584 Gundovaldus was taken from Avignon by Desiderius and Mummolus and proclaimed king at Brive-la-Gaillarde in the Limousin; Greg. Tur. *HF* vii 10, Fredegar. iv 2 (November). He made a royal progress through the neighbouring cities; Greg. Tur. *HF* vii 10. In areas formerly subject to Sigibert he had oaths of loyalty taken to Childebert but where Chilperic and Guntram had ruled he had them taken to himself; Greg. Tur. *HF* vii 26.

He failed to win the recognition of Guntram or Childebert and was finally besieged in Convenae (St-Bertrand-de-Comminges), betrayed by his supporters and killed by Villo and Boso 2; Greg. Tur. *HF* vii 32-8, Fredegar. iv 2.

His sons were still alive in 589; Greg. Tur. *HF* ix 28.

Gundovaldus 3

comes civitatis Meldensis 585

In 585 he succeeded Guerpinus as *comes* of Meldensis (Meaux) (Gundobaldus autem comitatum Meldensem super Guerpinum accipiens); he had barely commenced his duties when he was attacked and killed by Guerpinus; Greg. Tur. *HF* viii 18.

Gunduaris

manager of the patrimonium of a Frankish queen M/L VI

Addressee of Ven. Fort. *Carm.* vii 17 (ad Gunduarium); he was manager of the *patrimonium* of the queen and is described as her loyal servant (lines 13-16 reginae egregiae patrimonium celsa gubernas: quae tibi commisit sensit ubique fidem. Nemo piae poterat reginae carior esse, quam qui pro meritis talis et ipse foret); he was himself married (line 18).

The queen in question was perhaps Brunichildis.

Gunduhulus (Gudahals)

inlustris vir (in Italy) 557

Vir inlustris; husband of Gundihild and father of Lendarit and Landarit; owner of property at Reate; shortly after charges were brought against him (by Adiud, Rosemud and Gundirit), he died; Marini, *P. Dip.* 79 = *P. Ital.* 7, lines 4, 7-8, 30, 34-5, 43-4, 57. He presumably died not long before the document was drawn up in 557.

Gundulf (Proc. *BG* iv 23): see *Indulf qui et Gundulf*.

Gundulfus dux (in Gaul) 581–583

On the name, see Schönfeld, pp. 117–18.

Of senatorial family (de genere senatorio), he was uncle of Armentaria, the mother of Gregory of Tours (therefore he was Gregory's great-uncle; cf. stemma 12); he served as *domesticus* (manager of a royal *villa*, cf. Ewig, *Spätantikes und Fränkisches Gallien* 1, pp. 412–13) but was promoted in 581, if not before, to *dux* under Childebert II; in 581 he was sent to Marseilles by Childebert whose claims on part of the city had been rejected by Guntram; he broke his journey for five days at Tours with his great-nephew; on arriving at Marseilles with the bishop Theodorus he was prevented from entering by Dynamius 1, but, managing to take Dynamius captive, he subjected the city to Childebert and restored Theodorus to his see before returning to Childebert; Greg. Tur. *HF* vi 11.

In 583 he was sent by Childebert to raise the siege of Avignon which Guntchramnus Boso was conducting with king Guntram's army without the permission of Childebert; after raising the siege he carried off Mummolus 2 to the Auvergne for a time; Greg. Tur. *HF* vi 26.

Possibly identical with Gundulfus 'servus vester' who delivered a letter from bishop Germanus of Paris to Brunichildis urging her to prevent Sigibert from waging fratricidal war (so possibly in 575, cf. Greg. Tur. *HF* iv 51); *Ep. Austras.* 9 (= *MGH, Epp.*, III, pp. 122–4). Perhaps also identical with Gundulfus to whom Arnulfus was sent for training (Gundulfo subregulo seu etiam rectori palatii vel consiliario regis exercitandus in bonis actibus traditur) and by whom he was later commended to the service of Theodebert, son of Childebert; *Gesta S. Arnulfi* 3 (= *MGH, Scr. Rer. Mer.* II, p. 433). The titles given him in the *Gesta* reflect his prominence at the court, presumably, of Childebert. See however Stroheker, no. 184.

Guntchramnus king of the Franks 561–592

For the name, see Schönfeld, p. 118.

Son of Chlotharius I (*PLRE* II, Chlothacharius); Greg. Tur. *HF* iv 3, 22, Fredegar. III 55, *Lib. Hist. Franc.* 29, Paul. Diac. *Hist. Lang.* II 10. His mother was Ingundis 1; Greg. Tur. *HF* iv 3. Brother of Guntharius, Childericus, Charibertus, Sigibertus and Chlodosinda 1, half-brother of Chilperic and Chramn; Greg. Tur. *HF* iv 3, 16, 22.

He had a son first, Gundobad, by his mistress Veneranda; then he married Marcatrudis who bore him a son but whom he dismissed after

the deaths of Gundobad (whom she was suspected of poisoning) and then of the son she bore him; he then married Austregildis *quae et Bobilla*, by whom he had two sons, Chlotharius and Chlodomer; Greg. Tur. *HF* iv 25, Fredegar. III 56, cf. Mar. Avent. s.a. 577 (Chlotharius and Chlodomer). He also had two daughters, Chlodeberga and Chlothildis; Greg. Tur. *HF* ix 20, *Conc. Gall.* 511–695, p. 235.

In 555 he was sent with Charibert by Chlotharius to bring Chramn to order; Greg. Tur. *HF* iv 16. See further Charibert and Chramn.

On the death of Chlotharius in 561 his four surviving sons divided his kingdom between them; Guntram obtained the former kingdom of Chlodomer with his capital of Orléans (see Dalton I, p. 140); Greg. Tur. *HF* iv 22, Mar. Avent. s.a. 561, Fredegar. III 55 ('in Burgundia regnans'), *Lib. Hist. Franc.* 29, Paul. Diac. *Hist. Lang.* II 10.

Some time before 567 he averted an attempt by Sigibert to seize Arles (cf. Celsus); during the campaign he occupied Avignon but later returned it to Sigibert; Greg. Tur. *HF* iv 30. In 567 he co-operated with Sigibert and sent Mummolus to retake cities seized by Chilperic after the death of Charibert; Greg. Tur. *HF* iv 45. Another expedition was sent against him by Sigibert, perhaps c. 569; Greg. Tur. *HF* v 5 (the date was apparently some two or three years before 572, when bishop Tetricus of Langres died).

In 573 he and Sigibert quarrelled (over the appointment of the bishop of Châteaudun); Guntram summoned a council of bishops to meet at Paris (11 Sept. 573) and settle the matter, but the two kings rejected the bishops' advice and the civil war continued; Greg. Tur. *HF* iv 47, *Conc. Gall.* 511–695, pp. 211–17. In 574 he came to an agreement with Chilperic to resist Sigibert but gave way to threats from Sigibert and allowed him to march through his lands in order to attack Chilperic; Greg. Tur. *HF* iv 49. In 575 again he agreed to take joint action with Chilperic to resist Sigibert but again made a separate peace with Sigibert and took no action; Greg. Tur. *HF* iv 50.

In 577 his two sons both fell ill and died, leaving him without an heir; he then made peace with his nephew Childebert and adopted him as his son and heir; Greg. Tur. *HF* v 17, Mar. Avent. s.a. 577, Fredegar. III 78.

In 580 his wife Austregildis died; Greg. Tur. *HF* v 35, Fredegar. III 82. In this same year envoys were sent to him by Miro, king of the Sueves in Galicia, but they were intercepted and imprisoned by Chilperic and seem not to have reached Guntram; Greg. Tur. *HF* v 41.

In 581 an alliance was formed against Guntram by Chilperic and Childebert (Chilperic, now also without any heirs, named Childebert to succeed him); Greg. Tur. *HF* vi 1, 3, Fredegar. III 86. The state of war between Chilperic and Guntram created problems in this year for

Chilperic's envoys on their return from Constantinople; Greg. Tur. *HF* vi 2. Guntram rejected demands by Childebert for the surrender of part of Marseilles and prepared to defend his kingdom from attack; he lost Périgueux, Agen and other cities in that region to Chilperic (see Desiderius); Greg. Tur. *HF* vi 11–12. In 582 he agreed to a demand from Chilperic to pay compensation for losses caused by the activities of Asclepius 5; Greg. Tur. *HF* vi 19.

In 583 he and Childebert continued to quarrel over Marseilles and other issues; he was attacked by Chilperic but defeated him in a battle and they made peace; Greg. Tur. *HF* vi 31. In the following year he made peace with Childebert, restoring to him the portion of Marseilles in dispute, and they planned to retake from Chilperic the cities which he had captured; Greg. Tur. *HF* vi 33, 41, Fredegar. iii 90.

After Chilperic's death in late 584, Guntram went to Paris to protect the interests of the infant Chlotharius and to administer his kingdom; Greg. Tur. *HF* vii 5–8, Fredegar. iv 3. He claimed for himself all of the former kingdom of Charibert, and rejected demands made by envoys on behalf of Childebert for the surrender of Fredegundis and the handing over of various cities; Greg. Tur. *HF* vii 12, 14. He sent Fredegundis into semi-exile at Rueil; Greg. Tur. *HF* vii 19–20. In this year also Guntram sent an embassy (see Ragnovaldus) to Spain; Greg. Tur. *HF* vii 10 (its purpose is not recorded). He also instituted an investigation into the death of Chilperic (see Eberulfus); Greg. Tur. *HF* vii 21.

In 585 he assembled a large army and sent it against Poitiers and then against the pretender Gundovaldus 2, whom it overthrew at Comminges; Greg. Tur. *HF* vii 24, 28, Fredegar. iv 2. Guntram then summoned Childebert to him and reaffirmed him as his heir, further conferring on him all the territory once ruled by Childebert's father Sigibert; Greg. Tur. *HF* vii 33. In addition he divided with him the treasures accumulated at Avignon by Mummolus; Greg. Tur. *HF* vii 40. He was invited to Paris to attend the baptism of Chilperic's infant son, Chlotharius; Greg. Tur. *HF* viii 1 (it did not in fact take place until some years later). Also in 585 Guntram mounted an expedition to attack the Visigoths in Septimania and then in Spain, which had initial successes but ended in failure (cf. Nicetius 3); Greg. Tur. *HF* viii 28, 30, Fredegar. iv 5.

In 586 several embassies visited Guntram from the Visigothic king Leovigild seeking peace but found him uncooperative; Greg. Tur. *HF* viii 35, 38, 45. In the following year he sent an envoy, Syagrius 2, to the emperor Maurice at Constantinople; Fredegar. iv 6. In the same year he twice refused to receive envoys from the new Visigothic king Reccared; Greg. Tur. *HF* ix 1, 16. Also in 587, he restored the town of Albi to

Childebert (cf. Desiderius 2) and disclosed to him the conspiracy led by Rauching; Greg. Tur. *HF* viii 45, ix 9. Late in the year he summoned Childebert to a conference with his mother, wife and sister and regulated territorial and other matters between them by the Treaty of Andelot (November 587); Greg. Tur. *HF* ix 10, Fredegar. iv 7, and cf. Greg. Tur. *HF* ix 20 for the text of the treaty. In 587 also his envoys visited the Bretons under Warochus and accepted the peace terms offered by them; Greg. Tur. *HF* ix 18.

Early in 588 he appears to have given qualified assent to a proposed marriage between Reccared and Chlodosinda; Greg. Tur. *HF* ix 20. In the following year however he sent a further military expedition to attack Septimania, which ended in disaster (cf. Austrovaldus and Boso); Greg. Tur. *HF* ix 31, Fredegar. iv 10, Joh. Bicl. s.a. 589. He also advised Childebert to accept offers of peace from the Lombards; Greg. Tur. *HF* ix 29. In this year he entertained suspicions of Childebert and temporarily closed his kingdom, but was convinced that he was not plotting against him after summoning a council of bishops to meet on November 1 to discuss the matter; Greg. Tur. *HF* ix 32.

In 590 he mounted an expedition led by Beppolenus and Ebracharius against the Bretons; Greg. Tur. *HF* x 9. He received an embassy from the Lombard king Authari and sent it on to Childebert to make peace; Greg. Tur. *HF* x 3, Paul. Diac. *Hist. Lang.* iii 34. In 591 he at last attended the baptism of Chlotharius at Nanterre; Greg. Tur. *HF* x 28, Fredegar. iv 3.

He died on March 28, 592, and was buried at Chalon-sur-Saône in the church of St Marcellus which he had built himself; Fredegar. iv 14, *Lib. Hist. Franc.* 35, Paul. Diac. *Hist. Lang.* iv 11. Fredegarius iv 14 puts his death in the thirty-third year of his reign (= 593), but see Krusch, *MGH, Scr. Rer. Mer.* vii, p. 488, for 592, and cf. *Lib. Hist. Franc.* 35 (he reigned thirty-one years). His kingdom was taken over by Childebert; Fredegar. iv 16, *Lib. Hist. Franc.* 36.

He was famous for his charitable activities and for his religious observances; Greg. Tur. *HF* ix 21, Fredegar. iii 56, iv 1. He refused to sell appointments to episcopal sees; Greg. Tur. *HF* vi 39, cf. however viii 22 for a possible instance.

Guntchramnus Boso dux (in Gaul) 575–577, 582–583

Full name; Greg. Tur. *HF* v 14, 18, 24, 25, vii 14, 32, 36, 38, viii 21, ix 8, 10, 23, *Mir. S. Mart.* ii 17, Fredegar. iv 8. Guntchramnus; *elsewhere*. For the name Boso, cf. Schönfeld, pp. 52–3, Förstemann 329; for Guntchramnus, Schönfeld, p. 118.

He married a daughter of Severus 3 and was brother-in-law of Burgolenus and Dodo; Greg. Tur. *HF* v 25. He had daughters and at least one son who was still a child in 583; Greg. Tur. *HF* v 24, 25, vi 26, ix 10, 23.

dux a. 575-577, 582-583: dux; Greg. Tur. *HF* iv 50 (in 575, under Sigibert), v 4 (in 576, at Tours), 14 (in 577, at Tours), vi 24 (in 582, ?under Childebert II), 26 (in 583, under Childebert; see below).

In 575 he and Godegiselus 1 *duces* led the army of Sigibert which defeated and killed Theodebertus, son of Chilperic; Greg. Tur. *HF* iv 50. Following the death of Sigibert (late 575) he took refuge from the wrath of Chilperic in the church of St Martin at Tours where, apparently in January 576 (around Epiphany), the bishop Gregory refused to surrender him to Chilperic's agent Roccolenus; Greg. Tur. *HF* v 4, *Mir. S. Mart.* ii 27. He continued to reside in the church throughout 576 and into 577; at his invitation another son of Chilperic, Merovechus, joined him there (probably summer/autumn 576) and accepted his advice to attack Marileifus to avenge the death of some of his servants; Guntchramnus consulted a woman fortune-teller, who promised him a great future (his credulity in these matters is mocked by Gregory); he was believed to enjoy the secret support of Fredegundis because of his part in Theodebert's death (cf. also *HF* v 18) and in collusion with her lured Merovechus out of Tours in an attempt to have him killed; he swore an oath to Chilperic on the altar cloth that he would never leave the church without the king's permission but in 577 he accompanied Merovechus when he left Tours and attacked the district around Auxerre; Greg. Tur. *HF* v 14. He was later suspected of conspiring with bishop Egidius to betray Merovechus (perhaps in 578); Greg. Tur. *HF* v 18. Perhaps in autumn 577 he returned to Tours with armed men and removed his daughters from the church where he had left them for safety, taking them to Poitiers in the kingdom of Childebert; he left them in the church of St Hilary there and went to join Childebert; Greg. Tur. *HF* v 24. In 578 he took his daughters away from Poitiers; while doing so he was attacked by Dracolenus, with whom he was supposedly allied (*foedus inter nos initum habemus*), but fought him off and killed him; Greg. Tur. *HF* v 25.

At some date between 578 and 582 he visited Constantinople and invited the pretender Gundovaldus 2 to return to Gaul to assert his royal claims; Greg. Tur. *HF* vi 26, vii 14, 32, 36, 38. His role in this, treated as a secret in *HF* vi 24, was explicitly revealed in 585 both by Gundovald and by Gundovald's envoys, Zotanus and Zahulfus; Greg. Tur. *HF* vii 32, 36.

In 582 after Gundovald landed in Gaul Guntchramnus arrested and

imprisoned bishop Theodorus of Marseilles for aiding and abetting him; Greg. Tur. *HF* vi 24. He seized the treasures brought from the east by Gundovald, dividing them with an unnamed *dux* of king Guntram and carrying off a great quantity of gold and silver to the Auvergne (where he had estates, see below); Greg. Tur. *HF* vi 24, 26, cf. vii 36 and 38 (he acted in breach of oaths sworn to Gundovald in Constantinople).

In 583 he visited Childebert but on his return home to the Auvergne with his wife and children was arrested by king Guntram and accused of inviting the pretender Gundovald to Gaul; he promised to prove his innocence by capturing and handing over Mummolus 2 and, leaving his young son as hostage with the king, took men from the Auvergne and Le Velay and laid siege to Avignon; he was conducting the siege with the army of king Guntram, a fact which angered Childebert who had not given him permission (he was therefore a subject of Childebert, not of Guntram) and who accordingly sent Gundulfus to raise the siege; Greg. Tur. *HF* vi 26.

In late 584 he was one of the envoys sent by Childebert to Guntram (the others included bishop Egidius and Sigivaldus 3); he was again accused of inviting Gundovald to Gaul, a charge which he denied; Greg. Tur. *HF* vii 14.

In October 585 he was accused of complicity when some of his servants robbed the tomb of a recently deceased female relative of his wife in the church at Metz; he gave no answer to the charge but fled, abandoning in his haste a large quantity of stolen treasures; all of the property which he had acquired in the Auvergne by royal gift (*omnes res, quas in Arverno de fisci munere promeruerat*) was confiscated; Greg. Tur. *HF* viii 21.

During the childhood of Childebert he is said to have frequently insulted and abused Brunichildis and to have supported attacks on her, and so to have incurred her enmity; as a result, his execution was ordered by Childebert; in 587 he tried to obtain pardon, visiting many bishops and nobles and finally securing the intercession of the bishop of Verdun, Ageric; Childebert agreed to leave him in the custody of Ageric to await the judgement of king Guntram on his fate; Greg. Tur. *HF* ix 8, cf. 23. In late 587 he was taken by Childebert to Guntram and sentenced to death; his efforts to secure the intervention of bishop Magnericus of Trier failed and he was killed; Greg. Tur. *HF* ix 10, Fredegar. iv 8.

His wife and children were exiled (his children apparently went to live with Ageric at Verdun, cf. *HF* ix 23) and his property, which was found to contain a great quantity of gold, silver and other valuables, some of it buried, was confiscated; Greg. Tur. *HF* ix 13.

He is described by Gregory as avaricious and always ready to break his word and as one who trusted in fortune-tellers (cf. above); Greg. Tur. *HF* v 14, ix 10.

Gregory relates that once when crossing the Loire his life was in danger but he prayed to St Martin and was miraculously saved; *Mir. S. Mart.* II 17.

GVNTELEDA spectabilis femina ?M/L VI

The name is Germanic, cf. Schönfeld, p. 118.

Hic requiescet in pace famula Chr(ist)i Guntelda sp(ectabilis) f(femina); she died aged about fifty and was buried at Comum on Aug. 30; subsequently her son Basilius 7 and grandson Guntio 2 were buried in the same tomb; *CIL* v 5415 Comum (apparently once in the church of St Julian).

Guntharis 1 commander of Heruli (in Italy) 537

Sent to Albano with some Herulian troops by Belisarius (in autumn 537), he was soon driven out by the Goths; Proc. *BG* II 4.8.

Probably not identical with Guntharis 2

Guntharis 2 rebel in Africa 546

His name is spelt in various ways in the sources. Guntharic; Jord. Guntarith; Corippus. Guntharius; *Marcell. com. Addit.* Guntharit; Letter of the Milanese clergy (cf. below). Guntharith; Vict. Tonn. Γόνθαρις; Proc., Agath. Guntarit; Paul. Diac. Guntharides, Guntharus, Gundarus; *Lib. Pont.* For the name, which is Germanic, cf. Schönfeld, p. 119.

In 540 he was one of the bodyguards of Solomon 1 (τῶν δορυφόρων τῶν αὐτοῦ ἕνα); Proc. *BV* II 19.6. In 544 he may still have been one of his bodyguards, since he served under him at the battle of Cillium (see below).

When Solomon mounted his expedition against Iaudas and the Moors on Mount Aurasium in 540, Guntharis was sent ahead with a small army; after making camp near Bagai by the river Abigas, he joined battle with the Moors but was defeated and withdrew to his camp where he was then besieged; reinforcements came from Solomon but then the Moors diverted the river and flooded the camp and only the hasty arrival of Solomon himself caused them to withdraw and saved Guntharis; Proc. *BV* II 19.6-16.

In 544 he took part in the battle of Cillium under the command of Solomon 1; according to Corippus, his flight during the battle was the turning point which led to defeat for the Romans and death for Solomon; Coripp. *Joh.* III 428-33, cf. Proc. *BV* II 21.25-6 (some Romans

refused to fight, others did so reluctantly and many fled during the battle).

MAGISTER MILITVM (VACANS) and DVX NUMIDIÆ a. 545: magister militum (in late 545); Jord. *Rom.* 384, Vict. Tonn. s.a. 546. He was also commander of the regular army units in Numidia (τῶν ἐν Νουμίδαις καταλόγων ἡγούμενος); Proc. *BV* II 25.1. He was therefore *MVM vacans* and *dux Numidiae*.

In late 545, two months after Sergius 4 left Africa, Guntharis plotted rebellion and began by secretly persuading the Moors to attack Carthage; Proc. *BV* II 25.1. Summoned to Carthage by Areobindus 2 in face of this threat, Guntharis was given command of the army against the Moors; Proc. *BV* II 25.4-5. In a secret agreement with the Moorish leader Antalas, Guntharis undertook to kill Areobindus and to share Africa, leaving Antalas to rule Byzacena with fifteen hundred Roman soldiers and half the wealth of Areobindus and taking the remainder with Carthage and the rest of Africa for himself (ἐφ' ᾧ. . . Γόνθαρις δὲ τὸ βασιλέως ἀξίωμα λάβοι, Καρχηδόνας τε τὸ κράτος καὶ Λιβύης τῆς ἄλλης ἔχων); Proc. *BV* II 25.6-10. In a chance encounter between some Romans and the Moors, advancing from their camp at Ad Decimum, some Moors were killed; Guntharis recalled the Romans and angrily rebuked them for endangering the Roman cause; Proc. *BV* II 25.12-14. He was kept informed by Areobindus of the latter's negotiations with the other Moorish leader Cutzinas, which he endeavoured to frustrate while also keeping his ally Antalas informed of their progress; Proc. *BV* II 25.15-19. He planned to have Areobindus killed in battle, in order to secure the command of Africa (τὴν Λιβύης ἀρχήν) without incurring the opprobrium of open rebellion; however the reluctance of Areobindus to engage in battle aroused his suspicions that his purposes were known, and he therefore turned to open revolt; Proc. *BV* II 25.22-8.

He opened and jammed the city gates of Carthage which he himself was guarding, stationed a large force of armed men on the battlements and occupied the gateway in person, wearing his breastplate; his object was allegedly to frighten Areobindus into flight back to Constantinople, but bad weather made this impossible; he did not deny his rebellious intentions when Areobindus sent to enquire the reasons for his conduct, and so Areobindus prepared for battle; Proc. *BV* II 26.1-9. He aroused the anger of his troops against Areobindus and Athanasius 1, whom he accused of deliberately depriving the troops of their pay; he promised to give them what was owed out of his own resources; Proc. *BV* II 26.10-13. The battle which decided the outcome was fought around the gates; it was evenly balanced until Areobindus took fright and fled and was followed by his supporters; Proc. *BV* II 26.14-19. After this victory

Guntharis occupied the palace at Carthage and placed a guard on the harbour and the gates; Proc. *BV* II 26.20. He had Areobindus murdered shortly afterwards; Proc. *BV* II 26.23-33, Coripp. *Ioh.* IV 225-6, *Marcell. com. Addit.* ad a. 547, Jord. *Rom.* 384, Vict. Tonn. s.a. 546, Letter of the Milanese clergy (= *Vigiliusbriefe*, ed. Schwartz, no. 4, p. 20). He sent the head of Areobindus to Antalas, but refused to give him the money or soldiers promised; Proc. *BV* II 27.1.

His rule lasted for only thirty-six days, after which he was assassinated by Artabanus 2; Proc. *BV* II 28.1-30 (his assassination described), 28.41 (the thirty-sixth day of his rule), *BG* III 31.2, 32.6, Coripp. *Ioh.* IV 231-42, *Marcell. com. Addit.* ad a. 547, Vict. Tonn. s.a. 546 (the thirty-sixth day), Jord. *Rom.* 384, cf. Agath. 1, proem. 25 (his fall described by Procopius). The events of his reign are recorded in Proc. *BV* II 27-8. His rebellion is also recorded in *Marcell. com. Addit.* ad a. 547 (tyrannus), Jord. *Rom.* 384 (suscepta tyrannide), Vict. Tonn. s.a. 546 (regnum cum tyrannide assumit), Letter of the Milanese clergy (tyrannus), and Coripp. *Ioh.* IV 222-42 (cf. 228 sumere nec timuit bellum nomenque tyranni, and also 240 Guntarith infelix, cupiens fera regna tenere). Procopius and Agathias (cf. above) style him simply τύραννος. The later sources Paulus Diaconus and the *Liber Pontificalis* misunderstood these events and described Guntharis as arousing the Vandals and seizing the kingship among them before Belisarius visited Africa for a second time and overthrew him (see Belisarius, p. 220).

He planned to marry Praciecta 1, the widow of Areobindus and a niece of the emperor, in the hope of regularising his rule; Proc. *BV* II 27.20-2, Jord. *Rom.* 384.

Described by Procopius as a good soldier; Proc. *BV* II 19.6 (one of Procopius' stock phrases).

Guntharius Frankish prince E/M VI

Son of Chlotharius I (Chlothacharius, *PLRE* II, p. 291) and Ingundis 1; Greg. Tur. *HF* III 21 (he was his eldest son), IV 3, *Mir. S. Mart.* III 15. Brother of Childeric, Charibert, Guntchramn, Sigibert and Chlotsinda and half-brother of Chilperic and Chramn; Greg. Tur. *HF* IV 3 and see stemma 18a.

Probably in 532/533 he led an expedition for his father to regain territory from the Visigoths but advanced no further than Rodez before withdrawing (for the date, cf. Theodebert); Greg. Tur. *HF* III 21.

He died before his father (i.e. before 561); Greg. Tur. *HF* IV 3.

Gunthimer Vandal noble 533

A member of the Vandal royal family of the Asdingi, killed with

Gebamundus in late 533; Vict. Tonn. s.a. 534 (= Isid. *Hist. Vand.* 83). The two are called brothers of king Gelimer; Gebamund was probably his cousin and so perhaps was Gunthimer.

Gunthus tribunus (in Egypt) ?VI

Named in a letter found at Hermopolis from a widow asking for his help in removing from her house some women who were being a nuisance; *P. Herm.* 17 (probably written later than a sixth-century document on the same papyrus; the widow asks Apa Ioannes to persuade τῶν τριβοῦνων τῶν Γοῦνθον - sic - to help).

Presumably he commanded troops stationed at Hermopolis; cf. *Not. Dig. Or.* xxxi 24.

Guntio 1 son of Magnacharius M VI

Son of Magnacharius, brother of Wiolicus and Marcatrudis; when their widowed mother married a family servant, the brothers persuaded Guntram to break up the marriage and kill the man; Fredegar. III 56.

In 577 he and his brother were executed by Guntram for making derogatory comments on Austregildis and her children and their estates were confiscated; Greg. Tur. *HF* V 17.

Guntio 2 son of Basilius ?L VI/E VII

The name is Germanic, see Schönfeld, p. 119.

Grandson of Guntelda, son of Basilius 7; he died aged about fifty and was buried in the same tomb as his father and grandmother; *CIL* V 5415 Comum.

Iulius Gurdabius (*ILCV* 160) IV/VI: *PLRE* II.

Gurdanaspes Persian general 628

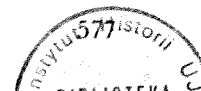
On the name, see Justi, p. 120, s.n. Γουνδαβούνας.

Formerly a commander of the Persian army, he helped Siroes (= Cavades II) to overthrow Chosroes in spring 628; *Chron. Pasch.* s.a. 628 (μετὰ καὶ Γουρδανάσπα τοῦ πρὶν ἐξάρχου τοῦ Περσικοῦ στρατοῦ). On this man and Gusdanaspes, see Stratos 1, App. xxxviii.

GVRDIMER comes (at Rome) 559

Instructed by Pelagius I to attend to the mowing of certain meadows on the via Portuensis (ista prata in via Portuense, quae Epreiana voca(n)tur) to avoid an oversupply of hay; Pelag. I, *Ep.* 76 (a. 559 April).

He was apparently a layman concerned with the management of papal lands.



Gurgenes (Theoph. Byz. fr. 3): see Guaram I.

Gusdanaspes *qui et Rhazei* Persian officer 628

Γουσανάσπαν τον 'Ραζεί; *Chron. Pasch.* Γουνδαβουσαῖν; Theoph. Γουνδαφούνδος; Cedr. See Justi, p. 120 and cf. Aspād-gušnasp.

An officer in the army of Shahrbaraz, in early 628 he and other high-ranking Persians joined the Romans and later helped Siroes (= Cavades II) to overthrow Chosroes (but cf. Gurdanaspes); *Chron. Pasch.* s.a. 628 (τὸν χιλίαρχον τοῦ Περσικοῦ στρατοῦ; he accompanied Elias 10 and Theodotus 7 to escort Persian representatives to Heraclius, on March 25, 628), Theoph. AM 6118 (ὅς τις χιλίαρχος ἦν τῆς στρατίας Σαρβάρου, μετὰ ἄλλων πέντε, τριῶν μὲν κομήτων, δύο δὲ ἀξιωματικῶν, deserted to the Romans), Cedr. 1 734 (ὁ χιλίαρχος Σαρβάρου καὶ ἄλλοι πολλοί, joined the Romans; later he was sent by Siroes to kill Chosroes). See also Noeldeke, *Tabari*, pp. 362–3, with p. 362, n. 3, pp. 365ff., 387.

Gusinus vir inluster (in Spain) 589

Vir inluster et procer; one of the *seniores Gothorum* who subscribed the catholic faith at the Third Council of Toledo, in 589; Mansi ix 989 = Vives, *Concilios*, p. 123.

Gyso comes (in Burgundy) 642

Comes; sent by Willibadus with bishop Ailulf of Valence to Autun in Sept. 642 to discover whether or not there was a plot to kill Willibad; he and the bishop were prevented from returning by Flaiochadus; Fredegar. iv 90. Gyso was presumably one of the *comites* in Burgundy and a loyal supporter of Willibad.

Hadrianus 1 ?army commander (East) 529

According to Zacharias of Mytilene, when the Samaritan revolt of 529 broke out Justinian sent 'Hadrianum χιλίαρχον' who joined forces with the local commander and armies and the Arabs to defeat the rebels, recapture Neapolis and kill the rebel leader (Julianus 3); Zach. *HE* ix 8. See also Ioannes 8, Irenaeus (= *PLRE* II, Irenaeus 7), Theodorus 5 and Theodotus 1. No other source names him or mentions that Justinian sent a special representative, but in any event they are not always consistent with one another in their accounts of what happened. The meaning of χιλίαρχος is unexplained; its occurrence is unusual by this date.

Hadrianus 2 gloriosissimus comes (in Egypt) VI

Named in a sixth-century papyrus of unknown provenance as owner of a farm (τὸ γεώργιον τοῦ μεγάλ[ο]πρπειστάτω καὶ ἐνδοξοτάτω κόμιδι 'Ατριάου – sic); *PSI* VII 836, 2–3.

HADRIANVS (?) 3 vicarius Thraciae VI

'Αδριανοῦ βικαρίου Θράκης; Zacos 2798a and b (two similar seals; obv.: cruciform monogram (6), perhaps of 'Αδριανοῦ, but 'Ιορδανοῦ is also possible; rev.: ΒΙΚΑ/ΠΙΘΠΑ/ΚΗC). For a similar seal, see Laurent, in *Echos d'Orient* 38 (1939), p. 367.

Hadrianus (?) 4 praefectus E/M VII

'Αδριανοῦ ἐπάρχου; Zacos 1490 (seal; obv.: cruciform monogram of Θεοτόκε βοήθει; rev.: square monogram (7), perhaps of 'Αδριανοῦ ἐπάρχου, although 'Αδαμαντίου, 'Ανδρέου, ΔαμIANOῦ or even Δαυίδ are possible interpretations).

HADRIANVS 5 governor (consularis) of Lydia VII

'Αδριανῶ ἀρχ(ο)ντι Λυδ(ι)ας; Zacos 1489 (seal; obv.: cruciform monogram of Θεοτόκε βοήθει; rev.: +ΑΔ/ΠΑΝΩ/ΑΡΧΩΝ/ΤΙΛΛΔΗ/ΑC+).

Hamazasp Mamikonian Armenian noble I. VI

He accompanied Heraclius 3 in pursuit of the rebels under Samuel 2 Vahewuni in Armenia, probably in 595; Sebeos VII, p. 33. Cf. also Justi, p. 125, s.n. Hamazasp, no. 9.

al-Hārith; see Arethas.

Harmaton envoy to the Avars 598

Envoy of Maurice to the khan of the Avars, after the flight of Comentiolus 1 in spring/summer 598; he negotiated an end to the war; Theoph. Sim. VII 15.8–14, Theoph. AM 6092. The account in Theophylact was probably based on the official report of the embassy.

Hassan L. VI

Son of En-No'man and brother of al-Mundhir; baptised in 594, he was a zealous Christian; said to have defeated and captured the Persian rebel Bistam (in 594); *Hist. Nest.* II 60, cf. 65 (*PO* 13, pp. 481–2) for Bistam's defeat, by Chosroes in 594.

Helena (Bar Hebr., *Chron.*, pp. 81–2); wife of Tiberius; see Aelia Anastasia.

Helena 1 niece of the empress Sophia L VI

Niece (ἀνεψία) of Sophia 1; her statue stood at the Milion with those of Sophia and Arabia; *Enarr. Brev. Chron.* 35.

Helena 2 hypatissa VII

Ἑλένης ὑπατίσσης; Zacos 848 = Dumbarton Oaks seal 58.106.4449 (seal, dated M VI/M VII Zacos, VII Oikonomides; obv.: ΕΛΕ/ΝΗC; rev.: ΒΠΑ/ΤΙC/ΧΗC).

HELIAS 1 v.sp., proconsul (Cretae) 539

In office when Arion was consul (καὶ (ἐπὶ) Ἡλίου [τοῦ περ]ῖ-βλ(έπτου) ἀνθυπάτου); *Inscr. Cret.* IV 460 Gortyn (Crete) (the inscription records repairs to a wall under Helias and archbishop Theodorus).

Helias 2 ?prominent layman (at Marseilles) c. 567

One of several persons to whom Venantius Fortunatus sent greetings through Dynamius 1 in c. 567; Ven. Fort. *Carm.* VI 10, line 69. He is associated with 'Albinus eximius' and 'clarus Iovinus' (see Albinus 2, Iovinus 1) and was perhaps like them a distinguished layman.

Helias: see also Elias

Heliodorus commentariensis (of the PPO Italiae) 534-535

He served in the *officium* of the PPO Italiae and reached the position of *commentariensis* in 534; Cass. *Var.* XI 28 (title: de *commentariense*) Heliodorus *commentariensium* fruatur officio. For the *commentariensis*, see Jones, *LRE* II 587 with n. 58, and cf. Stein, *Untersuchungen*, p. 33.

FL. HELLADIVS 1

v.c., *scriiniarius* of the officium of the dux Thebaidis 569

Addressee of a petition, dated May 15, 569, found at Antinoe; *P. Cairo Masp.* 67023, lines 4-7 Φλα[υ]ίω Ἑλλαδίω τῷ λαμπροτάτῳ σκρινιαρίῳ τῆς κ[α]τὰ/[Θ]ηβαΐδα λαμπρᾶς δουκ[ι]κῆς ταξέως, υἱῷ τοῦ τῆς ἀρίστης/[μυ]ήμης (lacuna) ὀρωμμένῳ ἀ[π]ὸ τῆς Πανοπολιτῶν/[Κ]αλ[λι]πόλεως. The name of his father is not recorded, but Helladius was a native of the Panopolite nome.

At some time (it is not clear whether before becoming *scriiniarius* or during his service), he was *τοποτηρήτης* of Antaeopolis; *P. Cairo Masp.* 67194 (undated, from Aphrodito; line 1, ... Ἑλλάδῆος [ὁ] τοποτηρ[ή]της τῆς Ἀντ[α]ίου?; a letter from him to another official), *P. Cairo Masp.*

67279 = *P. Beaugé* 2 (undated, from Antinoe; line 16 τοποτηρ[ή]της γενόμενος Ἑλλάξ[διο]ς ὁ λαμπροτάτος σκρινιαρίος); referred to in a petition (and cf. Callinicus 4).

Helladius 2

vir illustrissimus; ?dux of Carthaginiensis; bishop of Toledo c. 614/15-c. 632/33

Probably a Roman, to judge by his name; he held a high position in the Visigothic royal court and held office, possibly as *dux* of Carthaginiensis (see below); strongly drawn to the monastic life, he entered the monastery of Agali near Toledo, subsequently becoming abbot there, and then in old age he was made bishop of Toledo; he was bishop for eighteen years, in the reigns of Sisebut and Suinthila, dying early in the reign of Sisenand; Ildefonsus, *DVI* 6 (hic cum regiae aulae illustrissimus publicarumque rector existeret rerum sub saeculari habitu monachi votum pariter explebat et opus). Attested as bishop in *Cont. Hisp.* 16 (*MGH, AA* XI, p. 339), *Ep. Wisig.* 1 (*MGH, Epp.* III, p. 661). He succeeded Aurasius and was succeeded by Iustus; Ildefonsus, *DVI* 6-7. His successor was already bishop at the Fourth Council at Toledo in 633; Vives, *Concilios*, p. 222.

The meaning of *rector rerum publicarum* is probably in this case *dux provinciae*, i.e. *Carthaginiensis*. As, presumably, a Roman, Helladius could have been *dux* or provincial governor, but not *comes civitatis* (cf. Thompson, *Goths in Spain*, pp. 143-4); the only other *rector rerum publicarum* was Sisisclus, a Goth. Therefore, if the title has the same meaning in each case, both men were probably *duces provinciae*.

Hellesthaeus (Proc. *BP* I 20) king of the Ethiopians c. 519-c. 531: see *PLRE* II, Elesboas.

Rusticius Helpidius: poet and quaestor M V/VI: *PLRE* II.

Helpis (Rossi II, p. 79, n. 6 = p. 130, n. 14 = p. 426, n. 63) ?V/VI: *PLRE* II.

Henus dux (of Childebert) 590

Henus; *Ep. Austras.* 40. Cedinus; Greg. Tur. *HF* x 3, Paul. Diac. *Hist. Lang.* III 31.

One of the twenty *duces* sent by Childebert II to Italy in 590 to help the Romans against the Lombards; he and twelve other *duces* approached Verona and took several strongholds but had no further success and finally withdrew when food ran short and dysentery broke out; Greg. Tur. *HF* x 3, Paul. Diac. *Hist. Lang.* III 31 (the three leading *duces* were

Audovaldus, Olo and Cedinus). While in Italy he opened negotiations at one and the same time with his ally Romanus 7 and with the Lombard king Authari, finally agreeing a ten-month truce with the latter before withdrawing from Italy with his booty; *Ep. Austras.* 40 (*MGH, Epp.* III, p. 146) (styled 'vir magnificus' by Romanus).

Heper comes; vir illustris; diaconus (in Italy) ?VI

Depositio Heper comitis/v.i. diacuni die XV kl/Settembris ...; *CIL* XI 2885 with p. 1296, Add. ad n. 2885 = *ILCV* 1208A Volsinii.

Fl. Ioannes Theodorus Menas Narses Chnoubammon Horion Hephaestus PPO (Orientis) 551-552

From his names (see below) he was evidently a native of Egypt. According to John Lydus, *de mag.* III 30, he claimed descent from the Hephaestos described by Diodorus Siculus (I 13.3) as the first king of Egypt (see below).

An advocate in Alexandria (ἐν τοῖς ἐνταῦθα ῥήτορσιν ἐγεγόνει); *Proc. Anecd.* 26.35.

QSP, DVX ET AVGVSTALIS THEBAIDIS, ?a. 543/545: recorded in the preambles of orders issued by him, *P. Flor.* III 292, line 1 ...]ων Ὁρίων Ἡφαιστος ὁ ἐνδοξ(ότατος) κυαίστ(ωρ) δοῦξ (καὶ) αὐγου[στάλι(ος)] τοῦ Θηβ(αίων) ἔθνους (mentioning a seventh indiction), 293, line 1 [Ἰ]ωάννης Θεόδωρος Μηνᾶς Ναρσής Χνουβάμμων Ὁρίων Ἡφαιστος ὁ ἐνδοξ(ότατος) κυαίστ(ωρ) δοῦξ (καὶ) αὐγουστάλι(ος) τοῦ Θηβαίων ἔθν(ους) (mentioning an eighth indiction) (both documents from Aphrodito). Evidently identical with the man whose name is partially preserved in a similar document from Antinoe, *P. Cairo Masp.* 67031, line 1 + Φ[ιλ(αίος)] Ἰωάννης Θεόδ[ω]ρος Μηνᾶς Ν[αρ]σή[ς] Χν[...].μ[...], cf. line 3 (an allusion to the time ἀφ' οὗ σὺν Θεῷ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐπ[ε]λ[αβ]όμεθα). In view of the chronology of his later career, the two indictions referred to could very well have been 543-4, and 544-5. Hephaestus held the post of *dux et augustalis Thebaidis* and bore the honorific title of QSP (appropriate for a former advocate; cf. also Stein, *Bas-Emp.* II 755, n. 1 from p. 754).

DVX ET PRAEFECTVS ALEXANDRIAE, ?a. 545/546(-551?): he went on to become governor of Alexandria where he brought an end to civil disorders by cowing those involved; *Proc. Anecd.* 26.35 (παραλαβὼν τὴν Ἀλεξανδρέων ἀρχὴν, τὸν μὲν δῆμον τοῦ στασιάζειν κατέπαυσε, φόβηρος τοῖς στασιώταις φανείς). He imposed severe controls on the prices of goods for sale in Alexandria and also on bread prices during a time of food shortage, and allegedly succeeded both in enriching himself and pleasing Justinian by increasing the imperial revenues; the people of

Alexandria, so Procopius claims, were too afraid of him to protest; in addition Hephaestus brought to an end, with the emperor's approval, the free distribution of corn at Alexandria instituted long before by Diocletian; *Proc. Anecd.* 26.36-44. These actions were very probably connected with the famine of 545/6 and the flight of the patriarch Zoilus in late 546; see Stein, *Bas-Emp.* II 754, n. 1. While in office at Alexandria Hephaestus was flattered by the *grammaticus* Anatolius 5 who quoted in his honour a line from Homer about the god Hephaestus; Olympiodorus, *In Alc.* 2, 80 (εἰς Ἡφαιστον ἄρχοντα ἐπιστάντα τῇ πόλει). Hephaestus may have continued to govern Alexandria until he became PPO in 551.

PPO (ORIENTIS) a. 551 late-552 early: Hephaestus was PPO Orientis when John Lydus received his discharge; he personally praised John and did him honour; Joh. Lyd. *de mag.* III 30 (ὁ ὑπαρχος - Ἡφαιστος δὲ ἦν ὁ χρηστός, ἀνὴρ ἀγαθὸς καὶ ἐκ μόνης τῆς προσηγορίας τὴν οὔσαν εὐγένειαν αὐτῷ δεικνύς - there follows the allusion to Diodorus Siculus, see above). For the date, late 551 to early 552, see Stein, *Bas-Emp.* II 785-6 and 838-9. Some of Hephaestus' prefectorial edicts survive; Zachariae von Lingenthal, *Ἀνεκδότα*, pp. 259ff., no. 37, pp. 265ff., no. 4 (τύπος Ἡφαιστοῦ τοῦ ἐνδοξοτάτου).

His time in office in Egypt is alluded to in a document of uncertain date and provenance; *P. Erl.* 120 τοῦ ἐνδο[ξ]οτάτου κ[αὶ] πανευφήμου Ἡφαιστοῦ ἀντιλαβό(ν)τος τῶν ἀρχῶν.

Heraclammon ?sophist (at Pergamum) M VI

Honoured with a picture(?) at Pergamum accompanied by verses by Agathias; he was an accomplished orator and was honoured belatedly for his efforts on behalf of the city; *Anth. Gr.* XVI 36, lines 1-4 τὰς μὲν ὑπὲρ μύθων τε καὶ εὐτροχάλοιο μελίσσης/ εἰκόνας ἰλήκοις δηρὸν ὀφειλόμενος/ νῦν δ' ὑπὲρ ἰδρώτων τε καὶ ἀστυόχοιο μερίμνης/ τῆδε σε τῆ γραφίδι στήσαμεν, Ἡρακλάμον. According to the lemma, the verses were: Εἰς εἰκόνα σοφιστοῦ ἐν Περγᾶμῳ δοθεῖσαν ἐπὶ πρεσβείᾳ πολιτικῆ.

Heraclianus priest; envoy of Justinian 535

Envoy of Justinian to Theodahad in 535 (per venerabilem virum Heraclianum presbyterum); *Cass. Var.* X 25 (a. 535; Theodahad's reply).

Heraclides

PVC V/VI

City prefect of Constantinople, named in an unpublished inscription in the Istanbul Museum; cf. Feissel, *Rev. Num.* 28 (1986), p. 121, n. 5.

Heraclius: vir illustrissimus (in Gaul) LV/E VI; bishop of St-Paul-Trois Châteaux 527-541; *PLRE* II.

Heraclius (*P. Harris* 155) V/VI: *PLRE* II.

Heraclius 1 envoy of Childebert I; bishop of Angoulême ?-580

He once served as envoy under Childebert I; in the reign of Charibert, when he was a priest in Bordeaux, an attempt to make him bishop of Saintes failed and he was exiled; later he became bishop of Angoulême in succession to Frontonius, became involved in a dispute with Nantinus, and died in 580; *Greg. Tur. HF* IV 26, v 36.

HERACLIVS 2 comes (in Egypt) VI/VII

Ὁ κόμης Ἡράκλεις, mentioned in a petition, of unknown provenance; *P. Gen.* 14, line 9 (with Wilcken, *Arch. Pap.* III, p. 385).

Heraclius 3 patricius et MVM (?exarchus) Africae ?602-610

Native of Armenia; *Theoph. Sim.* III 1.1 (ordered ἐς τὴν ἑαυτοῦ πόλιν ἐπανελθεῖν ἐς τὴν Ἀρμενίαν γενόμενον). Brother of *Gregoras* 3; *Nic. Brev.* 3 (cited below). Father of *Heraclius* 4 (the emperor *Heraclius*); *Theoph. Sim.* II 3.2, 5.10, 10.6, III 6.2, *Nic. Brev.* 4, *Theoph. AM* 6078, 6079, 6080, 6100, 6101, *Cedr.* I 693, 711, *Zon.* XIV 14, *Nic. Call. HE* XVIII 55, *Suid.* Σ 100, Φ 349, *Joh. Nik.* 109.25, *Mich. Syr.* X 25, *Chron.* 1234, lxxxx, *Agapius*, p. 449. Presumably father of *Theodorus* 163 (*curopalates*) (generally styled brother of the emperor *Heraclius*, although *John* of *Nikiu* 106.2 implies that he was the emperor's half-brother). According to one source he was already elderly in 610; *Chron.* 1234, lxxxx.

?MVM (in the East) a. 586-588, ?589; in 586, 587 and early 588 he served under *Philippicus* as ὑποστράτηγος; *Theoph. Sim.* II 7.11, 18.2, *Theoph. AM* 6078, *Cedr.* I 693, *Suid.* Φ 349. Styled στρατηγός; *Theoph. Sim.* II 18.6 (in 587), 18.26 (winter 587/588) (in both cases he took command during *Philippicus*' absence, on *Philippicus*' orders; see below). He was evidently *Philippicus*' second-in-command and the authority which he exercised implies the rank of MVM.

In 586 he commanded the centre of the Roman army at the battle of Solachon; *Theoph. Sim.* II 3.2. After the battle he and another ἡγεμῶν were sent out scouting to make sure that no Persians remained in the area; *Theoph. Sim.* II 5.10-6.4, *Theoph. AM* 6078, *Cedr.* I 693. Later in 586, during the siege of Chlomarion he was sent by *Philippicus* with *Iovius* 2 and *Maruthas* 1 to find a suitable stronghold in Arzanene; accompanied by only a few men, he narrowly avoided the Persian army and hastened to warn *Philippicus* of their presence; *Theoph. Sim.* II 7.11-8.5. After the fiasco at Chlomarion (see *Philippicus*), *Heraclius* was given command of the army for a time by *Philippicus*; he invaded Persia and ravaged widely before returning laden with booty to winter with

Philippicus at Theodosiopolis; *Theoph. Sim.* II 9.17-10.5, *Theoph. AM* 6078, *Cedr.* I 693, *Suid.* Π 1267. In spring 587 he was placed in command of two thirds of *Philippicus*' army (cf. *Theodorus* 32 and *Andreas* 11) and sent to raid inside Persia; *Theoph. Sim.* II 10.6-7. He invaded Persia, captured a stronghold and stationed a Roman garrison there; *Theoph. Sim.* II 18.1-6, *Theoph. AM* 6079 (the apparent assertion in *Theophanes* that he then joined *Theodorus* at Beioudaes is an error; *Theophanes*' narrative is based on *Theophylact* and so ἀμφοτεροι refers to *Theodorus* and *Andreas* 11, not to *Theodorus* and *Heraclius*; cf. also *Suid.* Σ 100).

In late 587 *Heraclius* was left in command of the eastern army for the winter by *Philippicus*, who intended returning to Constantinople; he immediately began to strengthen discipline and to punish deserters; *Theoph. Sim.* II 18.26 (στρατηγὸν ἐναφεῖς τὸν Ἡράκλειον), *Theoph. AM* 6079 (Ἡράκλειον καταλιπὼν ἡγεμόνα Ῥωμαίων), cf. *Suid.* Φ 349. However when *Philippicus* learnt that *Priscus* 6 had been appointed to succeed him (early 588), he wrote ordering *Heraclius* to leave the army under *Narses* 10 and return to Armenia, having first published to the army the emperor's orders to reduce the soldiers' pay; *Theoph. Sim.* III 1.1-2, *Theoph. AM* 6079.

In autumn 589 he held command in the east under *Comentiolus* 1 and led the Roman army to victory in the battle of Sisarbanon near Nisibis, after *Comentiolus* had fled; *Theoph. Sim.* III 6.2, *Theoph. AM* 6080, and cf. *Comentiolus*.

?MVM PER ARMENIAM c.a. 595: he was one of the three Roman military governors of Armenia in the 590s (successor of *Ioannes* 101 *Mystacon* and predecessor of *Suren*); *Sebeos* XX, p. 54. Sent by *Maurice* to put down the Armenian revolt led by *Samuel* 2 *Vahewuni* and *Atat* *Khorkhoruni*, he was joined by *Hamazasp* *Mamikonian* and defeated the rebels; *Sebeos* VI, p. 32, VII, pp. 33-4. For the date, probably 595, see *Mamak* *Mamikonian*.

PATRICIVS ET EXARCHVS AFRICAE a. 608/610 (?a. 602-610): πατρίκιος καὶ στρατηγὸς Ἀφρικῆς, *Theoph. AM* 6100 (in 608), *Cedr.* I 711; ὁ στρατηγὸς Ἀφρικῆς, *Theoph. AM* 6101 (a. 609/610). Described as the governor of Africa; *Nic. Brev.* 3 (cited below), *Paul. Diac. Hist. Lang.* IV 36 (*Eraclianus* qui *Africanus* regebat), *Nic. Call. HE* XVIII 35, *Zon.* XIV 14, cf. *Sebeos* XXI, p. 56, XXIV, p. 64 (commander in Egypt; there is confusion with his son, whose army under *Nicetas* captured Egypt). *Patricius*, in Africa; *Mich. Syr.* X 25, *Chron.* 1234, lxxxx, *Bar Hebr., Chron.*, p. 87. According to *Nic. Brev.* 3 (see below) he was appointed by *Maurice*. This could be correct; he may have taken office after an interregnum when Africa was under the PPO *Innocentius* 3; cf.

Goubert, II ii, pp. 214–15. He had a subordinate general (ὑποστράτηγος) under him (Gregoras 3) and certainly held the post of *exarchus Africae*; Joh. Ant. fr. 218e, Nic. *Brev.* 3, Theoph. AM 6100, Nic. Call. *HE* xviii 55, Zon. xiv 14.

Perhaps in 608, with encouragement from highly placed persons at Constantinople (see Priscus 6), Heraclius rebelled against the emperor Phocas, sending his son Heraclius 4 with a naval force direct to Constantinople in 610 after Nicetas 7, son of Gregoras, had captured Egypt in 609–610; Joh. Ant. fr. 218e, Nic. *Brev.* 3 (οἱ περὶ τὴν Λιβύην τηνικαῦτα ἡγεμονεύοντες, ἅτε τῷ μεγίστῳ διαστήματι τὸ θαρσεῖν ἔχοντες καὶ ἅμα παρὰ Μαυρικίου τὰ τῆς στρατηγίδος ἀρχῆς ἐγκεχειρισμένοι – δύο δὲ ἦσθη ἀδελφῶ, Ἡράκλειος καὶ Γρηγόριος), Paul. Diac. *Hist. Lang.* iv 36 (= Agnellus, *Lib. Pont. Eccl. Rav.* 106), Theoph. AM 6100, 6101, Cedr. I 711, Zon. xiv 14, Nic. Call. *HE* xviii 55, Mich. Syr. x 25, *Chron.* 1234, lxxx, Bar Hebr., *Chron.*, p. 87, Agapius, p. 449, Sebeos xxi, p. 56, xxiv, p. 64, Joh. Nik. 107.1, 109.24–5, 110.10–11 (pp. 541, 551, 553 Zotenberg). According to John of Nikiu 110.13 (p. 553 Zotenberg) Heraclius died in Carthage at about the time of the overthrow of Phocas.

Heraclius 4

Augustus 610–641

A native of Cappadocia; Joh. Nik. 109.27 (p. 551 Zotenberg), cf. 106.2 (p. 541). The family in fact was Armenian; Theoph. Sim. III 1.1 and cf. Heraclius 3.

Son of Heraclius 3; Theoph. Sim. II 3.2, 5.10, 10.6, III 6.2, Joh. Ant. fr. 218e (*FHG* v 37), *Chron. Pasch.* s.a. 610, Nic. *Brev.* 3, Sebeos xxiv, p. 64, Theoph. AM 6078, 6100, 6101, Zon. xiv 14. His mother was Epiphania 1; Theoph. AM 6102, cf. Joh. Ant. fr. 218f. He was born c. 575; see below.

Nephew of Gregoras 3 and cousin of Nicetas 7; Nic. *Brev.* 3. Brother of Theodorus 163; Nic. *Brev.* 7, 23, Theoph. AM 6117, 6119, 6125. He had a sister, Maria 12; Nic. *Brev.* 14, 24. He married twice. His first wife was Eudocia, whom he married on the same day as his coronation, Oct. 7, 610; *Chron. Pasch.* s.a. 610, 611, Joh. Ant. fr. 218f, Nic. *Brev.* 7, 21, Theoph. AM 6102, 6103, Zon. xiv 14, 15. He had two children by his first marriage, Epiphania *quae* et Eudocia (born July 7, 611), *Chron. Pasch.* s.a. 611, 624, Nic. *Brev.* 16, Theoph. AM 6102, 6104; and Heraclius Constantinus (born May 3, 612), *Chron. Pasch.* s.a. 612, 624, Sophronius, *V. Ioh. El.* 6, Nic. *Brev.* 5, 9, 17, 22, 23, 27, Theoph. AM 6103, 6104, 6108, 6119, 6121, 6132, *Anth. Gr.* ix 655. After Eudocia's death (Aug. 14, 612), he married his niece (by his sister) Martina; Nic. *Brev.* 14, 23, 27, Theoph. AM 6105, *Chron. Pasch.* s.a. 624. Their first

child was Constantinus 34 (born in 615); Theoph. AM 6106, Cedr. I 715. His other children by Martina were Flavius (Fabius), Nic. *Brev.* 14; Theodosius 44, Nic. *Brev.* 14, 21; Heraclius Constantinus (Heraclonas), Nic. *Brev.* 15, 23, 27, Theoph. AM 6106 (born c. 615), 6108, 6121, 6132, Cedr. I 715, 753, Zon. xiv 15, 18, Sebeos xxxii, p. 103; David 8, Theoph. AM 6122 (born Nov. 7, 630), Zon. xiv 15, Nic. *Brev.* 27, Joh. Nik. 116.5 (p. 564), 120.52 (p. 580); Marinus 12, Nic. *Brev.* 27, Joh. Nik. 116.5 (p. 564), 120.52 (p. 580); and two daughters, Augustina and Martina 2, Nic. *Brev.* 27. He had one son by a mistress, Ioannes 260 *qui et* Athalaricus, Nic. *Brev.* 17, Sebeos xxix, p. 93. Uncle of Theodorus 171 (son of his brother Theodorus), Nic. *Brev.* 25, Sebeos xxix, p. 93; and of Stephanus 60 (by Maria), Nic. *Brev.* 17, 24. See stemma 6.

In 610 he led a naval expedition from Carthage to Constantinople for his father, after Nicetas 7 had first secured Egypt, and overthrew Phocas; *Chron. Pasch.* s.a. 610, Joh. Ant. fr. 218f, Nic. *Brev.* 4, Theoph. AM 6100, 6101, 6102, Zon. xiv 14, Joh. Nik. 107.2–5 (pp. 541–2 Zotenberg), 109.25ff. (p. 551).

AVGVSTVS a. 610 Oct. 7–641 Feb. 11; invited to become emperor by the senate after the overthrow of Phocas, he was crowned on Oct. 7, 610, by the patriarch Sergius, *Chron. Pasch.* s.a. 610, Nic. *Brev.* 5, Theoph. AM 6102, Zon. xiv 15, Sebeos xxiv, p. 64, Joh. Nik. 110.9 (p. 553), cf. Theoph. Sim. II 3.2, 5.10, 10.6, III 6.2 (became emperor). He allegedly intended to return to his father in Africa once Phocas was overthrown but yielded to the senate's wishes and accepted the throne himself; *Chron. Pasch.* s.a. 615 (citing a letter supposedly sent by the senate to the Persian king Chosroes).

CONSVL a. 611: he held the consulship from Jan. 14, 611, until the end of December, *Chron. Pasch.* s.a. 611.

For the reign of Heraclius, see Pernice, *L'imperatore Eraclio* (1905).

Heraclius died in 641, aged sixty-six, possibly on Feb. 11; Nic. *Brev.* 27 (aged sixty-six, he reigned thirty years, four months, six days; Phocas was overthrown on Oct. 5, 610), Joh. Nik. 116.2 (p. 563 Zotenberg) (Feb. 641), Theoph. AM 6132 (March 641), Sebeos xxx, p. 99. He was buried in the church of the Holy Apostles at Constantinople; Nic. *Brev.* 27. For the date Jan. 11 for Heraclius' death, see Grierson, *Tombs and Obits*, p. 48 (citing the *Catalogus sepulchrorum*).

Heraclius Constantinus

Heraclonas (Heraclius)

= Heraclius II, Augustus 641

His name was Heraclius but he was known in many sources as Heraclonas (Heraclonas) to distinguish him from other members of the

family. Ἡρακλωνᾶς (or similar); Theoph. AM 6121, 6132, 6133, Cedr. 1 753, Vardan, p. 85, Mich. Syr. xi 3, *Hist. Nest.* II 107, *Chron.* 1234, xcvi, cxv, Bar Hebr., *Chron.*, pp. 93, 96, cf. Zon. xiv 15 (Φάβιον, ὄν καὶ Ἡρακλωνᾶν ὠνόμασε). Heraclius; *elsewhere*.

Son of the emperor Heraclius by his niece and second wife Martina 1; Nic. *Brev.* 15, 23, 27, Const. Porph. *de cer.* II 27, 28, Theoph. AM 6121, 6132, Cedr. 1 753, Zon. xiv 15, 18, Sebeos xxxii, p. 103, Joh. Nik. 119.19 (p. 572 Zotenberg), Mich. Syr. xi 3, *Chron.* 1234, xcvi, cxv, Bar Hebr., *Chron.*, p. 96, *Hist. Nest.* II 107, Vardan, p. 85. He was born during the campaigns of Heraclius in the east; Nic. *Brev.* 15, cf. Zon. xiv 18 (ten years old in 641!), Joh. Nik. 119.18 (p. 572) ('an infant'). See stemma 6.

CAESAR c.a. 630–638: proclaimed Caesar in c. 630, Nic. *Brev.* 23, cf. Const. Porph. *de cer.* II 27 (promoted in 638 from Caesar to Augustus).

AVGVSTVS a. 638 July 4–641: promoted to Augustus on July 4, 638, Const. Porph. *de cer.* II 27 (a description of the ceremony), Nic. *Brev.* 26. He is recorded as ὁ δεσπότης on Jan. 1, 639, and acclaimed as Augustus on Jan. 4, 639; Const. Porph. *de cer.* II 28, 29.

CONSVL: proclaimed consul by Heraclius, Nic. *Brev.* 27 (μετὰ τοῦτο – i.e. after the exile of Cyrus 17 in late 640 – ἐδικαίου τὸν υἱὸν Ἡράκλειον ὑπατεῦσαι). The dating is not reliable in Nicephorus; in the same passage he records the elevation of David 8 and Marinus 12 (or Martinus) to Caesar, but David became Caesar on July 4, 638, when Heraclonas became Augustus, and Marinus was only *nobilissimus*.

He became (junior) emperor jointly with his older half-brother Constantine on the death of Heraclius in early 641 and sole emperor, perhaps in April 641, on the death of Constantine; real power was apparently in the hands of Martina and the opposition to her (cf. Valentinus 5) succeeded first in securing the appointment as co-emperor of Heraclius' grandson Heraclius Constantinus (= Constans II) and then the overthrow, mutilation and banishment of Heraclonas and Martina, with David and Marinus, to Rhodes; Nic. *Brev.* 29, Theoph. AM 6121, 6132, 6133, Cedr. 1 753, Zon. xiv 18, Sebeos xxxii, p. 103, Vardan, p. 85, Joh. Nik. 119.18 (p. 572), 120 (pp. 579–80), *Chron.* 1234, cxv, Bar Hebr., *Chron.*, p. 96, *Hist. Nest.* II 107, Agapius, p. 478. His reign is said to have lasted eight months (Agapius, *Hist. Nest.*).

He probably died not long afterwards and was buried with his mother in a monastery; Cedr. 1 753. Supposedly killed by Valentinus; Sebeos xxxii, p. 103, Vardan, p. 85.

Herchenfreda mother of Desiderius of Cahors L VI/E VII

A native of Albi, she married Salvius and was mother of Desiderius 5,

Rusticus 6, Syagrius 3, Avita and Selina; she was still alive in c. 630; *V. Desid. Cadurc.*, 1, 8, 9–11 (*MGH, Scr. Rer. Mer.* iv, pp. 563ff.). Cf. Stroheker, no. 187.

Herena gloriosa femina (in Italy) 599

Gloriosa filia nostra Herena; she complained to pope Gregory that some of her servants (quosdam de suis) were being unjustly detained by *actores* of the Roman church; Gregory instructed the *rector patrimonii* in Campania, Anthemius, to put the matter right; Greg. *Ep.* ix 192 (a. 599 July).

Hereneus (*CIL* vi 7969 + p. 3439) V/VI: PLRE II.

Hermagenes landowner (Egypt) ?VI

A papyrus from Oxyrhynchus dated 572 mentions boats of the οἶκο[υ Ἐ]ρμαγένου; *Stud. Pal.* viii 774. Hermagenes was once owner of a *domus*, presumably at Oxyrhynchus; he was not necessarily still alive in 572. Cf. also Theon 1 and Timagenes.

Hermaos praepositus (Egypt) M VI

Recorded in a papyrus from Aphrodito; *P. Cairo Masp.* 67143, verso 7 Ἐρμαώτ(ου) πραιποσ(ίτου).

Hermegisclus king of the Varni M VI

On the name, see Schönfeld, p. 134.

KING of the Varni (who lived on the east bank of the Rhine as neighbours of the Franks); father of Radigis by a first wife, he then married the sister of the Frankish king Theodebert (533–547) (Theodechildis); at his death he arranged that Radigis should marry Theodechildis; Proc. *BG* iv 20.11–21.

Hermeias 1 philosopher 531/532

A native of Phoenicia, a pagan and a philosopher, one of the group (from Athens) which visited Persia under Chosroes with Damascius (in 531/532); Agath. II 30–1 (= Suid. II 2251). See further Diogenes 1.

Hermias 2 ?vir spectabilis (in Egypt) M VI

Father of Fl. Magister, he died before Oct./Nov. 588; *P. Lond.* v 1897 (Φλαυίω Μαγίστερι τῷ εὐδοκίμ[ωτάτῳ υἱῷ τοῦ τῆς περιβλέπτου]/μ[ν]ήμης Ἐρμίου) (dated a. 588 Oct./Nov.). The provenance is unknown but the document mentions Antinoopolis (line 7 ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀντι...). This is all of the text that is quoted in *P. Lond.* and so no evidence is available to support the restoration περιβλέπτου.

Fl. Hermias 3

doctor (Egypt) VI

Ἰατρός; son of Acacius τῆς λαμπρῆς μνήμης; witness to a deed at Hermopolis; *P. Lond.* III, p. 254, no. 1044 Hermopolis.

Herminefridus: king of the Thuringians E/M VI; *PLRE* II.

Hermitzis

Avar commander 626

Ἑρμίτζις ἕξαρχος τῶν Ἀβάρων; during the siege of Constantinople in 626 he protested that the capture and execution by the Romans of Persian envoys on their way back from a mission to the Avars was an insult to the khan; *Chron. Pasch.* s.a. 626.

Hermogenes I

Mag. Off. 529-533, 535; honorary consul; patricius

Probably a native of the province of Scythia (ὁ Σκύθης); *Joh. Mal.* 445, *Theoph. AM* 6021. He had a son called Saturninus I; *Proc. Anecd.* 17.32.

ASSESSOR of Vitalianus a. 513/518, ?a. 514-515; Βιταλιανῶ παραῆδρευε πρότερον ἠνικά βασιλεῖ Ἀναστασίῳ πολέμιος ἦν; *Proc. BP* I 13.10. Vitalianus was at odds with Anastasius from 513 to 518 but held the post of MVM *per Thracias* in 514 and 515; cf. Vitalianus (*PLRE* II, pp. 1172-4).

MAGISTER OFFICIORVM a. 529 May 12-533 Nov. 17: first attested on 12 May 529; *Theoph. AM* 6021, *Joh. Mal.* 445. Styled ὁ μαγίστρος; *Joh. Mal.* 445 (ὁ ἀπὸ μαγίστρων), 447-8, 449, *Theoph. AM* 6021 (all in 529), *Theoph. AM* 6022 (in March 530), *Proc. BP* I 13.10 (τὸ τοῦ μαγίστρου ἀξίωμα ἔχων, in 530), *Joh. Mal.* 461, 462, 465, 466, 471, 472 (a. 531), *Chron. Pasch.* s.a. 532, *Zach. HE* IX 7, 17 (a. 532), *Proc. Anecd.* 17.32 (undated). Magister officiorum (in 532); *Marcell. com.* s.a. 532, *Jord. Rom.* 365, *Jac. Ed.*, p. 319 = p. 241. Last attested in this post on Nov. 17, 533; *CJ* I 3.53+V 17.11+VII 24.1+IX 13.1+XI 48.24 (all addressed 'Hermogeni magistro officiorum'). Hermogenes had been replaced as *magister officiorum* by Tribonianus I by Nov. 21, 533; Tribonianus still held the post on Jan. 3, 535.

In 529 Hermogenes was sent as envoy to Persia to discuss peace at about the time when Belisarius was made MVM *per Orientem* (in April); *Joh. Mal.* 445, *Theoph. AM* 6021. He arrived in Antioch on his journey on May 12, 529; *Theoph. AM* 6021. He bore gifts to announce the accession of Justinian and delivered them to Cavades in July 529; *Joh. Mal.* 447-8, *Theoph. AM* 6021. He then returned with Cavades' reply, offering a one-year truce; *Joh. Mal.* 449 (the statement in *Theoph. AM* 6021 that Cavades refused peace because of promises from fugitives from

the Samaritan revolt refers to events in the following year; see *Joh. Mal.* 455-6 and *PLRE* II, p. 955).

In March 530 Hermogenes and Rufinus (*PLRE* II, pp. 954-7) were sent as envoys to Persia; *Joh. Mal.* 452, *Theoph. AM* 6022. They left Antioch in March for Dara, where they informed Cavades of their arrival; *Theoph. AM* 6022. Cavades postponed meeting them while his forces were invading Roman territory and Hermogenes remained at Dara with Belisarius with instructions to help him to organise the Roman army while Rufinus apparently remained at Hierapolis to await further orders; *Joh. Mal.* 452, *Theoph. AM* 6022, *Proc. BP* I 13.10-11. During the ensuing military preparations and the battle of Dara, Hermogenes remained with the army and shared the command jointly with Belisarius; see Belisarius, pp. 184 for details. After the Persian defeat at Dara, Cavades invited to meet him only the envoys Rufinus and Alexander I; *Theoph. AM* 6022, *Joh. Mal.* 453, and cf. *Proc. BP* I 16 *passim* (Rufinus). Hermogenes returned to Constantinople in late 530 or early 531; *Proc. BP* I 16.10 (after Rufinus had reported to Justinian that Cavades no longer wanted to make peace, in late 530; see *Joh. Mal.* 454-6).

He was sent back to the eastern front when news came of the Persian invasion in 531; *Joh. Mal.* 461, *Proc. BP* I 18.16 (he went as an envoy - ἐπὶ πρεσβείᾳ; cf. I 21.1, cited below). He went to Hierapolis and from there joined Belisarius at Barbalissus, where he resolved a quarrel between Belisarius and Sunicas; *Joh. Mal.* 462. He accompanied the army past Sura to Callinicum, in April 531, where he agreed with the wish of Belisarius to avoid battle and allow the Persians to withdraw homewards; *Proc. BP* I 18.16. After the Roman defeat at Callinicum (on April 19, *Joh. Mal.* 463) Hermogenes reported the circumstances to the emperor; *Joh. Mal.* 465. He also went immediately to see Cavades to fulfil his embassy (ἐπὶ πρεσβείᾳ) and discuss peace, but returned with nothing achieved since Cavades was still furious with the Romans; *Proc. BP* I 21.1. When Constantiolus arrived to investigate the reasons for the defeat at Callinicum, Hermogenes was one of his informants; *Joh. Mal.* 466.

He now apparently returned to Constantinople, before again being sent as envoy to the east; *Proc. BP* I 21.10 (αὐθις ἐπὶ πρεσβείᾳ ἐκ Βυζαντίου ἦκων). The date was probably in late summer 531, after June; cf. *Joh. Mal.* 466 (June). He perhaps accompanied Rufinus and Strategius (cf. *PLRE* II, pp. 955-6), although this is only conjecture. He reported to Justinian a Roman victory over a Persian army some six thousand strong which was heavily defeated near the river Nymphius while marching against Martyropolis; *Joh. Mal.* 468. When subse-

quently a much larger Persian army invested Martyropolis, Hermogenes accompanied Sittas 1 and the Roman army as far as Attachas, a few miles away, where they halted for a time; Proc. *BP* I 21.10. The Persians appear then to have withdrawn and allowed the Romans to enter the city; cf. Joh. Mal. 470 (at the approach of Sittas the Persians withdrew). In Martyropolis Hermogenes and Sittas, uncertain of their ability to defend the city against the Persians, contacted the Persian commanders and urged them to withdraw from Roman territory to allow Roman envoys to begin negotiations with the Persian king; Proc. *BP* I 21.23-5. At this point news came that Cavades had died and Chosroes was king (Sept. 531); Proc. *BP* I 21.26, cf. Joh. Mal. 471 for the date. Chosroes wrote to Justinian via Hermogenes (διὰ Ἑρμογένους μαγίστρου) inviting talks on peace; Joh. Mal. 471. Justinian refused on the grounds that he had not yet officially been informed of the accession of Chosroes, who then replied and offered a three-month truce; Joh. Mal. 471-2. Hermogenes was instructed by Justinian to accept the truce and exchange hostages, while the envoys Rufinus and Strategius (who had been waiting for some time at Edessa, cf. *PLRE* II, p. 956) were recalled to Constantinople (presumably for fresh instructions); Joh. Mal. 472. The Persian army then withdrew after an exchange of hostages (on the Roman side they were Martinus 2 and Senecio); Proc. *BP* I 21.27. Hermogenes was joined by Rufinus, Alexander 1 and Thomas 4 and the four envoys met Chosroes near the Tigris, whereupon the hostages were released; Proc. *BP* I 22.1-2. Terms for ending the war were provisionally agreed and Hermogenes and the other envoys remained with Chosroes while Rufinus returned to secure the emperor's approval; seventy days were allowed for his return (possibly this was what remained of the truce); Proc. *BP* I 22.2-7. These negotiations finally broke down and his fellow-ambassadors, presumably including Hermogenes, accused Rufinus of enjoying suspiciously great influence over Chosroes (cf. Alexander 1); Proc. *BP* I 22.15.

Hermogenes was probably still away engaged on these negotiations in January 532 when Basilides deputised for him in Constantinople; *Chron. Pasch.* s.a. 532.

Shortly afterwards Hermogenes and Rufinus were again sent to Chosroes and after further discussions the terms of the peace known as the 'Eternal Peace' were agreed (in September 532; *Chron. Edess.* 104); Proc. *BP* I 22.16-19, Joh. Mal. 477, *Jord. Rom.* 365, *Marcell. com.* s.a. 533, *Jac. Ed.*, p. 319 = p. 241, *Zach. HE* IX 7, 17 (ratified in summer 533, and cf. also *CJ* I 17.2.23), *Evagr. HE* IV 13.

It was probably while Hermogenes was engaged in these final negotiations that Strategius deputised for him as *magister officiorum* at

Constantinople; cf. Innocent of Maronea, *Epist. de coll. cum Sev.* 4-5 (= *ACOec.* IV 2, p. 169) and *PLRE* II, p. 1035 (Strategius 9).

MAGISTER OFFICIORVM (II) a. 535 March-April: in office a. 535 March 16, Just. *Nov.* 2 (addressed Ἑρμογενεῖ τῷ ἐνδοξοτάτῳ μαγίστρῳ τῶν θείων ὀφφικίων, ἄπὸ ὑπάτων καὶ πατρικίῳ; the Latin version is dated March 22, but this law is referred to in Just. *Nov.* 22, ch. 46, as having been addressed πρὸς Ἑρμογένην τὸν τῆς ἐνδόξου μνήμης μάγιστρον τῶν θείων ἡμῶν γενόμενον τάξεων and as dated, in words not numbers, to March 16); a. 535 April 15, Just. *Nov.* 10 (same address as *Nov.* 2); undated, Just. *Nov.* 138 (Hermogeni magistro officiorum).

HONORARY CONSVL and PATRICIVS a. 535 March 16, Just. *Nov.* 2 (cited above), cf. *Nov.* 10 (above). Ἀπὸ ὑπάτων; Theoph. AM 6022.

Hermogenes evidently died between April 15, 535 (Just. *Nov.* 10) and March 18, 536 (Just. *Nov.* 22, ch. 46, cited above). His death is also alluded to in Proc. *Anecd.* 17.32 (see Saturninus 1).

Described as an ἀνὴρ σοφός; Joh. Mal. 445, Theoph. AM 6021.

See also Claus, pp. 159-60.

Hermogenes 2 ?tribunus (in Africa) 545

In late 545 he and Taurus led rebel troops under Stotzas against Ioannes 27 (son of Sisinniolus) in the battle of Thacia; *Coripp. Ioh.* IV 162-4 (crimenque Latini nominis Hermogenes pariter Taurusque feruntur. Hos sequitur Romana manus, non nostra, rebelles). Possibly a *tribunus*, who had deserted with Stotzas.

Hermogenes 3 scholasticus (Egypt) VI

Addressee of a letter concerning the release of a woman; *P. Cairo Masp.* 67202, lines 1-2 ... καὶ τῷ θαυμασιωτάτῳ]/σχολαστικῷ Ἑρμογένει, cf. line 5 τοῦ σοφοτάτο(υ) σ[χολ]αστικ(ου). The document probably came from Aphrodito.

Hermolaus grammaticus (at Constantinople) M VI or L VII/E VIII

A *grammaticus* at Constantinople and author of the extant epitome of the *Ethnica* of Stephanus Byzantium; he dedicated the epitome to the emperor Justinian; *Suid.* E 3048. It is not certain whether he worked in the reign of Justinian I or Justinian II (685-95, 705-11); see *PLRE* II, Stephanus 24, and *P-W* IIIA 2369ff. (Honigmann).

HERODIANVS 1 ?comes; commander in Italy 535-540, 542-545

In 535 Herodianus was one of four commanders of regular infantry units sent under Belisarius to reconquer Italy (his three colleagues were Demetrius 3, Paulus 4 and Vrsicinus 1); Proc. *BG* I 5.3 (κατα-

λόγων... πεζῶν δε Ἡρωδιανός τε καὶ Παῦλος... sc. ἄρχοντες), cf. *BG* I 14.1 (cited below).

His rank and office are uncertain, but he was possibly a *vir spectabilis, comes* (? *rei militaris*); see *Demetrius* 3 and cf. below.

In late 536, when *Belisarius* left Naples for Rome, Herodianus remained behind with three hundred infantry to guard the city; *Proc. BG* I 14.1 (ἀπολέξας οὖν ἄνδρας ἐκ καταλόγου πεζικοῦ τριακοσίου καὶ Ἡρωδιανὸν ἄρχοντα ἐπὶ τῇ Νεαπόλεως φυλακῇ κατεστήσατο). He may have rejoined *Belisarius* in late 537, when *Procopius* 2 (the historian) assembled all available troops in Naples and returned with them to Rome together with reinforcements from Constantinople under *Ioannes* 46; cf. *Proc. BG* II 4.1-2, 5.2, 7.1, 7.12.

In summer 538 Herodianus was sent with *Vliaris* and *Narses* 2 and a large army under the overall command of *Ildiger* by sea to relieve *Ariminum*; *Proc. BG* II 16.21. At the sight of the fleet, the Goths at *Ariminum*, already alarmed by the numerous campfires lit by *Martinus* 2, panicked and fled; *Proc. BG* II 17.21. *Ildiger* and those with him were the first to enter the Gothic camp, where they collected all the valuables left by the fleeing Goths; *Proc. BG* II 18.1.

In 540 Herodianus was one of the four commanders who returned to Constantinople with *Belisarius* (the others were *Ildiger*, *Martinus* and *Valerianus* 1); *Proc. BG* III 1.1 (the wording of *Procopius* – καὶ οἱ Ἰλδιγέρ τε καὶ Βαλεριανός καὶ Μαρτίνος σὺν Ἡρωδιανῷ εἶποντο μόνοι – implies that Herodianus was lower in rank than the others, who were all *magistri militum*; cf. above).

In 542 he was commander of the Thracian troops sent with *Maximinus* 2 by sea from Constantinople to Italy (his colleague, in command of Armenian troops, was *Phazas*); *Proc. BG* III 6.10 (ἠγεῖτο δὲ τῶν μὲν Θρακῶν Ἡρωδιανός). The expedition delayed first in Epirus and then in Syracuse (cf. *Maximinus*); *Proc. BG* III 6.11, 7.1. Late in the year Herodianus, *Phazas* and *Demetrius* 3 were sent by *Maximinus* with all available forces to the relief of Naples; their fleet was caught in a storm and driven ashore close to the Gothic camp; many were killed or captured by the Goths but Herodianus and *Phazas* escaped because their ships were the furthest from the enemy; *Proc. BG* III 7.3-7.

In 545 he was commander of the garrison of *Spolegium*; *Proc. BG* III 12.12 (ἦρχε δὲ τοῦ μὲν ἐν Σπολιτίῳ φυλακτηρίου Ἡρωδιανός). When the Goths laid siege to *Spolegium* in that year, he agreed to surrender the garrison and the city if no help came in thirty days and to confirm the agreement he handed over his own son as hostage; *Proc. BG* III 12.13-14. On the appointed day he and the garrison surrendered themselves and the city to the Goths; *Proc. BG* III 12.15, cf. 21.15, 23.3 (he surrendered

Spolegium). *Procopius* records the rumour that Herodianus did this because he could no longer stand the pressure for money from *Belisarius*; *Proc. BG* III 12.16, *Anecd.* 5.56.

He was with *Totila* when the latter captured Rome in December 546; *Proc. BG* III 21.15. In 552 he was with the garrison which *Totila* stationed in *Cumae* to guard the greater part of his treasure; *Proc. BG* IV 34.19 (ἄρχοντά τε αὐτοῖς τὸν ἀδελφὸν τὸν αὐτοῦ σὺν Ἡρωδιανῷ ἐπιστήσας sc. *Totila*; in fact the commander was the brother of *Theia*, not of *Totila*, cf. *Aligernus*). He was presumably besieged in *Cumae* by the Romans but his fate after its capture by them is not recorded.

Herodianus 2 envoy to the Turks 571/576

In 576 the embassy of *Valentinus* 3 to the Turks left Constantinople accompanied by some Turks who had gone there with Herodianus; *Men. Prot. fr.* 43. Herodianus was probably one of several envoys sent to the Turks between 571 and 576; cf. *Stein, Stud.*, p. 20, and cf. *Ananastes*, *Euty chius* 2 and *Paulus* 19.

Herodotus brother of *Menander Protector* M VI

Son of *Euphratas* 1 and brother of *Menander Protector*; like his brother he studied law but unlike him he gave it up; *Men. Prot. fr.* 1 = *Suid. M* 591. He perhaps once served on an embassy; see *Whitby, Greek Historical Writing after Procopius*, note 30 (citing *Suidas Π* 421).

Herpinus Frankish comes (in Burgundy) 610

Comes; with *Abbelinus* he led the local Franks against an army of Alamannic raiders near *Avenches* and was heavily defeated; *Fredegar. iv* 37 (in year 15 of *Theoderic*).

(H)erpo 1 dux (of Guntram) 577

Dux *Guntchramni regis*; in 577 he captured *Merovechus* near *Auxerre*, but was fined seventy gold pieces and dismissed from office by the king (ab honore removet) after *Merovech* escaped; *Greg. Tur. III* v 14.

Herpo 2 Frankish dux (under *Chlotharius*) 613

A Frank; *Fredegar. iv* 43.
COMESTABVLVS a. 613: in 613, after *Theoderic II*'s death, he and *Chadoindus* were sent by *Brunichildis* to *Chlotharius II* to ask him to withdraw from *Austrasia*; *Fredegar. iv* 40. Later in 613, in agreement with most of the other Burgundian leaders, he took *Brunichildis* and *Theudila* from *Orbe* (east of the *Jura*) to *Chlotharius* at *Rionne* on the

Vicenne; Fredegar. iv 42 (ab Herpone comestabulo). Probably *comestabulus* in Burgundy under Theoderic II; after Theoderic's death, he remained there with Theoderic's sons and Brunichildis until the overthrow of Brunichildis.

DVX (VLTRAIVRANVS) a. 613: appointed by Chlotharius to succeed Eudela (Herponem ducem, genere Francum, loco Eudelani in pago Ultra-Iurano instituit), he attempted to check abuses in the area but was quickly assassinated by a conspiracy of local people, including Aletheus, Herpo 3 and the bishop of Sedunum (Sion), Leudemund; Fredegar. iv 43.

Herpo 3 Frankish comes (under Chlotharius) 613

Comes, in the district east of the Jura; in 613 he conspired with Aletheus and the bishop of Sedunum (Sion), Leudemund, to murder Chlothar's newly-appointed *dux*, Herpo 2; Fredegar. iv 43.

HESYCHIA (Esychia) ?c.f. (East) 590-c. 597

Named in a letter from pope Gregory to Narses 9 at Constantinople in 590, in which he sent greetings to her; Greg. *Ep.* 16 (cited under Narses).

In 597 she died and Narses informed Gregory, who wrote to console him; Greg. *Ep.* vii 27 (per scripta autem vestra mihi transitum domnae Esychiae nuntiatistis, et magna exultatione gavisus sum, quia illa bona anima feliciter ad suam patriam pervenit, quae in patria laborabat aliena).

She was perhaps the wife of Narses.

Hesychius 'Illustrius'; historian E/M VI; *PLRE* II.

Hesychius ?PVC ?VI/VII

The name occurs on a glass weight (XHCVKIOV); Monneret de Villard, Catalogue D, no. 10a. These weights seem normally to have the names of city prefects of Constantinople. Cf. also Jungfleisch, p. 253 (HCVXIOV).

The first χ of the name represents the letter 'h'; cf. the name Ἰωχάννου on certain seals (Ioannes 133 and 279).

Hezidus Arab chief 536

Arab chief (phylarchus), in 536, on the frontiers of Euphratensis; *Marcell. com. Addit.* ad a. 536. See further Chabus and cf. Batzas I.

The name was perhaps Yazīd.

Possibly identical with Iezidus.

Fl. Hierac officialis of the PVR 432 or 539

Husband of Anatolia; the inscription on his wife's tombstone is preserved in MSS only; he is styled 'Fl. Hierac (or Hierio) urb. matr. ss. defuncte'; the consular date is variously recorded in the MSS and is either 432 ('Aetio v.c.') or 539 ('Appio(ne) v.c.'). Rossi I 677 = *ILCV* 412. He was probably 'urb(anicianus)' and 'mar(i)t(us) s(upra)scrip(tae) defunct(a)e'.

Hieremias comes (Egypt) VI/VII (?c. 590)

A *comes*, he administered a division of the Apion estates; *P. Oxy.* 2244, line 80 (διοίκησις) τοῦ κόμ(ετος) Ἱερημί[ου]), dated VI/VII century.

Probably identical with Hieremias *v.c.*, *chartularius* of the Apion estates in the Cynopolite nome in 590/591; *P. Oxy.* 2243(a), line 93 (μετὰ τοῦ λαμπροτάτου Ἱερημίου χαρτουλαρίου τῆς Κυνῶν πόλεως); dated in years 268 and 237 of the Oxyrhynchite era, in 590, in Hathyr of indiction 10, = Oct./Nov. 591). For the Cynopolite section of the Apion estates, see *P. Oxy.* 127 recto, 1861, 2243(b), 3, *P. Lond.* 776 and see Hardy, *Great Estates*, pp. 81-5.

For another *comes* who was also *chartularius*, see Georgius 55.

Hierocles ?grammaticus; author VI

Author of the *Συνέκδημος*, a list of provinces of the eastern empire, with the titles of their governors and the names of the cities and other units of government in them; the order of names is geographical, not official; cf. Honigmann, *Le Synekdèmos d'Hiéroklès* (1939). The cities include only one founded by Justinian, very few of those founded by his immediate predecessors, but many founded by members of the Theodosian dynasty, while the provincial organisation described points to a date before the reforms of Justinian in 535/536. Possibly the work was compiled in its present form early in the reign of Justinian but drew much of its material from an earlier, perhaps official, compilation; see Jones, *CERP*, Appendix III, pp. 514-15, and cf. Honigmann, *op. cit.*, pp. 5ff.

The work was known to Constantine Porphyrogenitus, who cited it at *De Them.* II 1 ('Ἱεροκλῆς ὁ γραμματικὸς ὁ γράψας τὸν Συνέκδημον).

Hierodoxus (*BCH* 1833, p. 261, n. 3 = *IGC* 309) V/VI; *PLRE* II.

Hierotheus ?philosopher and astrologer M VI

One of three Athenian philosophers and astrologers who supposedly persuaded Justinian to pave Hagia Sophia with silver; *Narr. de aed. S.*

Soph. 19. The other two were Maximianus 1 and Symbulus. The source is late and unreliable and all three φιλόσοφοι καὶ ἀστρολόγοι are probably fictitious.

Fl. Higo (*CIL* v 4369) IV/VI: *PLRE* II.

Hilara (illustris femina) M VI

A woman of senatorial rank, whose property was fraudulently acquired by Justinian and Theodora through a forged will; *Proc. Anecd.* 12.5. See Tatianus 3. She presumably died between 527 and 548.

Hilaria in Italy 559

Joint addressee with Ioannes 73 of a letter from Pelagius I; *Pelag. I, Ep.* 26 (a. 559 Feb.; addressed 'Hilariae et Iohanni'). They were perhaps a husband and wife and, as lay correspondents of the pope, possibly of high rank.

Hilarion (*Rev. Bibl.* 70, p. 255 = *SEG* xx 482) V/VI: *PLRE* II.

HILARIVS 1 senator (in Gaul) ?V/VI

Hilarius quidam ex senatoribus; he lived at Dijon with his wife and children; his household was noted for right-living; he and later his wife were buried at Dijon in a large tomb made of Parian marble, still there in Gregory's day; *Greg. Tur. Glor. Conf.* 42. His date is uncertain; possibly fifth century rather than sixth. Cf. Stroheker, no. 194.

Hilarius 2 ?held secular office (in Gaul); (later) priest M/L VI

His epitaph was written by Venantius Fortunatus; *Carm.* iv 12 Epitaphium Hilarii presbyteri. He was of noble and distinguished family (lines 9-10 vir bonus, egregia de nobilitate refulgens, inter honoratos germinis altus apex); he married but his wife died before him (lines 11-12); son-in-law of Evantia (lines 17-18); he was educated in the law and administered justice fairly (lines 13-16 utilis in propriis, doctus moderamine legis, cuius iudicium pondere libra fuit, iustitiam tribuens populis examine recto: vendita res pretio non fuit ulla suo; he presumably therefore had held a secular office with judicial functions). Cf. Stroheker, no. 195.

Hilarius 3 ?Gallo-Roman noble L VI

In 599 he travelled from Rome to Gaul (apparently via Provence to the Austrasian court) with letters from Gregory commending him to the protection (tuitio) of queen Brunichildis, Asclepiodotus 4 and, in a joint letter, Arigius and Vantilonus; he claimed to be unjustly oppressed by

his enemies; *Greg. Ep.* ix 211, 212, 225 (all dated 599 July). In the letter to Brunichildis (ix 212), he is referred to as 'excellendae vestrae famulus'; if this is to be taken literally, he served under Brunichildis.

Hilarus in Sicily L VI

Father-in-law of Sinceris; he died in poverty and debt and his creditors began to harass his daughter for payment; *Greg. Ep.* vi 33 (a. 596 May).

Hildericus: king of the Vandals 523-530; *PLRE* II.

Hildoara Visigothic queen 610

Wife of king Gundemar (610-612), during whose brief reign she died; *Ep. Wisig.* 16 (*MGH, Epp.* III, pp. 684ff.).

Hilmegis Lombard pretender 572

Hilmegis, Hilmaegis; Mar. Avent. Hilmichis; *Origo Gent. Lang. Elmechis; Hist. Lang. cod. Goth.* Helmechis; Paul. Diac. Hilmegis; Agnellus. On the name, see Schönfeld, p. 133.

A foster brother of Alboin, he was a member of his bodyguard in 572; Paul. Diac. *Hist. Lang.* II 28 (Helmechis, qui regis scilpor, hoc est armiger, et conlactaneus erat), *Hist. Lang. cod. Goth.* 5 (spatario suo), cf. Agnellus, *Lib. Pont. Eccl. Rav.* 96 (in ipso erat regis palatio vir fortis).

In 572 he conspired with Rosimunda and Peredeo to assassinate Alboin; he married Rosimunda and tried to obtain the kingship of the Lombards, but was rejected by them; he fled to Longinus 5 at Ravenna with his wife and the Lombard royal treasures, where he was poisoned by her, though before dying he made her drink the poison too; Mar. Avent. s.a. 572, *Origo Gent. Lang.* 5, *Hist. Lang. cod. Goth.* 5, Paul. Diac. *Hist. Lang.* II 28-9, Agnellus, *Lib. Pont. Eccl. Rav.* 96, *Auct. Haun. Extr.* 5 (= *MGH, AA* IX, 337-8).

Hilpingus dux (in Gaul) E/M VI

Dux under Theoderic I, present at the siege of Clermont; *Greg. Tur. V. Patr.* IV 2. The date was either 525/527 or 532; see Sigivaldus 1.

HIMERIVS 1 dux Byzacenae 544

Native of Thrace; *Proc. BV* II 23.3.

ΔΥΧ ΒΥΖΑΚΕΝΑΕ α. 544: τῶν ἐν Βυζακίῳ καταλόγων ἄρχων, *Proc. BV* II 23.3, cf. 23.14 (τῶ πάντων ἄρχοντι τῶν ἐν Βυζακίῳ στρατιωτῶν), *Coripp. Ioh.* IV 8 (at Hadrumetum, = Iustiniana polis; dux erat obsessae servator Himerius urbis), 20.44 (dux).

He was in Hadrumetum when the revolt of Antalas and Stotzas began; in response to a letter supposedly from Ioannes 27 he led his troops out to join forces with Ioannes at Menepesse, only to find the enemy there and to fall into their hands; his troops joined Stotzas, while Himerius was compelled to betray Hadrumetum to the rebels, to save his life; later he escaped and made his way to Carthage; Proc. *BV* II 23.3-17, Coripp. *Ioh.* IV 8-65 (Corippus claims that the supposed letter from Ioannes was actually a trick by the enemy; he only hints at the circumstances in which Hadrumetum fell, cf. 64-5 Iustiniana polis saevis tunc tradita Mauris sorte sub ancipiti).

Possibly identical with Himerius 2.

Himerius 2 joint commander at Rhegium 548-550

In 550 he and Thurimuth commanded the garrison at Rhegium, to which Belisarius had appointed them; they fought off a Gothic assault but were then besieged and later in the year were forced to surrender by starvation; Proc. *BG* III 37.19-23 (ἦρχον δὲ τοῦ ἐνταῦθα φυλακτηρίου Θουριμούθ τε καὶ Ἰμέριος, οὗσπερ Βελισάριος ἐνταῦθα καταστησάμενος ἔτυχεν), 39.1-2.5.

He may be identical with Himerius 1 but Procopius gives no hint of this and it may be doubted whether the man who betrayed Hadrumetum continued with his career; it should also be noted that a garrison commander would rank below a *dux* and so if he was the same man he had suffered demotion, presumably as a result of his treachery.

Hind Arab princess L VI

Sister of al-Nu'mān (Naamanes 4) and Maria 5, granddaughter of Alamundarus, she was a Christian and is recorded at al-Hirah in 594/595 when she buried the *catholicus* Mar Iso'yahb there; *Hist. Nest.* II 42 (*PO* 13, p. 442) (wrongly, daughter of al-Nu'mān), 65 (*ibid.*, p. 478), cf. Noeldeke, *Tabari*, pp. 347, 349.

HIPPOLITVS v.c. (Rome) E/M VI

Yppolitus v.c.; described as 'amator pauperum'; buried at Rome in 554; *CIL* VI 31997 = Rossi 1 1090 = *ILCV* 3866A S. Paolo fuori le Mura.

Hisdreasen Moorish chief 546/547

One of the Moorish chiefs under Antalas in winter 546/547, he fought in the battle in which Ioannes 36 Troglita defeated the Moors; Coripp. *Ioh.* IV 634, v 201-14. Cf. Marcanus 5.

Hoamer Vandal prince E/M VI

Ὅαμερ; Proc. Oamer; Vict. Tonn.

Nephew of the Vandal king Hilderich (*PLRE* II), brother of Euagees; Proc. *BV* I 9.2.9.14. An Asding; Vict. Tonn. s.a. 531.

He was an outstanding general and was known as the Achilles of the Vandals (ὄν δὴ Ἀχιλλέα Βανδύλων ἐκόλου); Proc. *BV* I 9.2.

He and his brother were imprisoned by Gelimer after the overthrow of Hilderich (May 530); Proc. *BV* I 9.9. After a letter of criticism from Justinian, Gelimer had Hoamer blinded; Proc. *BV* I 9.14.17. He died before the expedition of Belisarius to Africa (Sept. 533); Proc. *BV* I 17.13, cf. Vict. Tonn. s.a. 531 (Gelimer... Oamer Asdingum multosque nobilium perimit).

Hocinus Frankish notable E/M VI

A Frank, he invited the king Chlotharius I, members of the royal court (aulicos) and also bishop Vedast of Arras and Cambrai to dine with him; *V. Vedastis* (*MGH, Scr. Rer. Mer.* III, p. 410). He was evidently wealthy.

Hodericus (*CIL* XIII 3683) V/VI: *PLRE* II.

Hodolgan (Ὅδολγάν) commander at Perusia (545-)547

A Hun; commander of the Roman garrison in Perusia in 547 (ἦρχε τότε τῆς ἐν Περυσίᾳ φρουρᾶς) (probably since the death of Cyprianus in 545); in 547 he co-operated with Martinianus and recaptured Spolegium; Proc. *BG* III 23.5-7. Perusia fell to the Goths in early 549; Proc. *BG* III 35.2 and see Belisarius, p. 216; cf. also, on the fall of Perusia, Greg. *Dial.* III 13.

HOLDIGERNVS (Hildigernus) v.c. (in Italy) L VI

V.c.; purchaser of a property (near Ariminum, see below) from Deusdedit *v.h.* for fourteen *solidi* (sex uncias fundi Geniciani cum casale et omnibus ad eandem pertinentibus); Marini, *P. Dip.* 121 = *P. Ital.* 36, lines 8-9 (a ss. Holdigerno v.c. comparatore), 16-17. The date is 575/591. Named as a neighbour in another document recording the sale of part of the same estate and locating it near Ariminum (sex... uncias iuris sui ex fundum Geneciano territorio Ariminensi); Marini, *P. Dip.* 122 = *P. Ital.* 37, line 16 (in reliquis sex unciis Hildigerno) (a. 591 March 10).

HONORATA ?spectabilis femina 568

Clarissima et p. f(emina), coniunx Tzittani com(itis) et trib(uni); she died aged forty and was buried at Albingaunum on Feb. 1, 568 (in a first indiction and the third year of an emperor Justin, i.e. Justin II); *CIL* V 7793 = D 8258 = *ILCV* 3864 Albingaunum (Alpes Cottiae). Her

epitaph is strongly Christian in character (rogo te per d(eu)m omn(i)p(otente)m et 'In(σου)μ Χ(ρ)ι(στον) Nazarenum, ne me tangas nec sepulcrum meum violis (sic), nam ante tribunal aeterni iudicis mecum causam dicis). The letter 'p.' in her titles could therefore stand for 'p(ia)' or it could be an error for '(s)p(ectabilis)'; the titles of her husband suggests that he, and so his wife, were of *spectabilis* rank.

HONORATAVS 1 v.c., schol(asticus?) (in Italy) 541

Witness to a property sale at Ravenna on July 16, 541; Marini, *P. Dip.* 117 = *P. Ital.* 33, line 7: Honoratus v.c. scol(asticus, or ?-arius).

Honoratus 2 v.h., tabellio (at Ravenna) 591

He wrote a deed of sale at Ravenna on March 10, 591, for Rusticiana 1 and Tzitas; Marini, *P. Dip.* 122 = *P. Ital.* 37, line 3 Honoratus v.h. tabellio, line 102 + Honoratus v.h. tabellio Cl(assis) scriptor huius documenti... complibi et absolvi+.

Honorata niece of Claudia ?VI

CIL v 366 = *ILCV* 219b Parentium. See further **Fausta**.

Honorius 1 scholasticus ?M VI

Author of verses addressed to a bishop Iordanes and thanking him for instruction in Christianity; the poem survives in several manuscripts of the historian Jordanes (Iordanes 1); *Anth. Lat.* 1 2, p. 137, no. 666 (rescriptum Honorii scholastici). If the bishop is identical with the historian, the date is mid sixth-century.

Honorius 2 PVR 535/536

Instructed by Theodahad to repair the bronze elephants on the Via Sacra; he had reported to the king on their bad condition; Cass. *Var.* x 30 (addressed 'Honorio praefecto urbis').

HONORIVS 3 senator (in Spain) M/L VI

Styled *senator* (probably a wealthy landowner of Roman ancestry); owner of a *domus* at Parpalines (site uncertain, but in the Rioja) which was relieved of a troublesome demon by St Aemilianus; Braulio, *V. Aem.* 24, 29. The date was probably mid or late sixth-century; see Garcia Moreno, pp. 56-7, esp. 57, note.

Honorius(?) 4 ?governor (at Carrhae) L VI

The name is uncertain; *Chron.* 1234 gives 'Honorius' but Mich. Syr. has 'Iyārios' (? = Jair, 'Ιάριος; cf. Chabot, II, 376, n. 2).

Abandoned by his parents, he grew up near Nicopolis in Armenia Prima, learned to write and became a secretary; he went to Harrān (Carrhae) and became secretary of the governor Acindynus; he then betrayed Acindynus as a pagan and succeeded to his office; Mich. Syr. x 24, *Chron.* 1234, lxxviii ('et eius scriba, laicus qui appellabatur Honorius, episcopo denunciavit eum'; Acindynus was crucified 'et Honorius pro eo principatum in civitatem habuit'). See also Acindynus.

His descendants are recorded by Michael the Syrian; Mich. Syr. x 24 ('it is from him that spring people of the family of Beit Iyār').

Honorius 5 scholasticus VI/VII

A *scholasticus*, whose clever solutions to riddles were recorded in the Codex Salmasianus in the seventh or eighth century; see *P-IV*, Suppl. III, p. 1160, n. 7. For the text, *Codex Salmasianus*, pp. 217-20, see Haupt, *Opusc.* III, pp. 150ff.

Honorius 6 primicerius (at Odessus) VI or later

+ 'Ενθάδε κατάκειται Ὠνώρηις πριμικήριος ἔτελεύτησεν μη(νός) Ἀγούστου ε' ἰνδεκτη(ῶ)νις + ; Beshevliev, *Spätgr. u. spätlat. Inschr. Bulg.*, no. 93 (Odessus). The inscription is probably sixth-century or later.

Honorius 7 pope 625-638

A native of Campania and son of the consul Petronius 2 (and therefore of senatorial family), he was bishop of Rome from 625 to 638; *Lib. Pont.* 72. Nothing further is recorded of his origins.

Venantius Honorius Clementianus Fortunatus

Horion ?dux et augustalis Thebaidis 550/551

The father of the plaintiff in a case is said to have gone blind ἐπὶ Ὀρίωνος τοῦ προηγησαμένου(ν) ἑναγκος τὴν ταξιαρχικὴν τότε ἐπέχοντος ἐξουσίαν; *P. Lond.* v 1708, lines 86-7, cf. line 208 where the date ἀπὸ Ὀρίωνος has been corrected by Dioscorus himself to ἀπὸ Κόνωνος (see Conon 2). The papyrus, from Antinoopolis, was probably written in late 567. Horion held office after Apion 3 (under whom Dioscorus' mother had died) and before Conon, probably in 550/551; cf. *P. Lond.* v, pp. 121-2.

Fl. Ioannes Theodorus Menas Narses Chnoubammon Horion
Hephaestus

Hormisdas IV king of Persia 579-590

Cf. Justi, p. 8, s.n. Ahura-mazdāh, no. 22.

Son (and successor) of Chosroes I Anoushirvan; Joh. Eph. *HE* III 6.22, Men. Prot. fr. 55, Theoph. Sim. III 16.7, Evagr. *HE* V 15, Nic. Call. *HE* XVIII 2, *Hist. Nest.* II 37, Bar Hebr., *Chron.*, p. 81, *Chron.* 1234, lxxiii, Eutychius, *Annales*, col. 1077. His mother was a Turkish princess; cf. Chosroes I.

Father of Chosroes II; Evagr. *HE* VI 17, Theoph. Sim. III 8.12, IV 4.16, Theoph. AM 6080, Zon. XIV 12, Nic. Call. *HE* XVIII 18-19, Sebeos II, pp. 13-14, Thomas Artsruni II 3, Anon. Guidi, p. 15 = p. 15, *Chron.* 1234, lxxx, *Hist. Nest.* II 42-3, Bar Hebr., *Chron.*, p. 85, Eutychius, *Annales*, col. 1080. Another son of his was killed at his overthrow in 590; Theoph. Sim. IV 4.16, 6.2-5. He also had a son called Cavades whose own son was briefly king; see Chosroes III.

KING of Persia a. 579 March 7-590 Feb. 6: successor of Chosroes I (see above), on March 7, 579; cf. Higgins, p. 25. He disdained to inform Tiberius of his accession and scorned the peace moves under way at his father's death; Men. Prot. fr. 55, Theoph. Sim. III 17.1-2, and see Zacharias 2. His reign was marked by constant warfare between Rome and Persia; see Mauricius 4, Ioannes 101, Mystacon, Philippicus, Heraclius 3, Priscus 6, Germanus 6 and Comentiolus 1.

In 589 one of his best generals, Bahram, rebelled against him, and in early 590 (on Feb. 6; Higgins, p. 26), in a palace revolution, he was overthrown (cf. Vindoes) and replaced by his son Chosroes; he was murdered shortly afterwards; Evagr. *HE* VI 16-17, Theoph. Sim. III 8.12, IV 1-7 (cf. IV 3 overthrow by Vindoes, IV 7.3 his murder), Theoph. AM 6080, Zon. XIV 12, Nic. Call. *HE* XVIII 18-19, Sebeos II, pp. 13-14, Thomas Artsruni II 3, Anon. Guidi, p. 15 = p. 15, *Hist. Nest.* II 42-3, *Chron.* 1234, lxxx, Eutychius, *Annales*, col. 1080, Bar Hebr., *Chron.*, p. 85, Agapius, p. 441.

According to the Roman tradition, he was highly unpopular in Persia and was thoroughly disliked by the Romans; cf. Men. Prot. fr. 55 (ἀνοσιουργὸς ὄντως ἀνήρ), Theoph. Sim. III 16.7-13, Evagr. *HE* VI 16. For a more balanced view based on the oriental sources, see Christensen, *L'Iran sous les Sassanides*², pp. 441-4.

In Theoph. AM 6066 he is wrongly named instead of Chosroes I.

Hormisdas V king of Persia 630/632

Grandson of Chosroes II; Sebeos XXVIII, p. 90.

One of the rival kings of Persia in the troubled period of 630/2, about whom the sources are in great confusion. Described as the successor of Caboes (= Cavades II), Nic. *Brev.* 20-1 (gave his son as hostage to Heraclius, then died and was succeeded by his son); of Boran, Theoph.

AM 6120, Cedr. I 736; of Āza.mīdukht, Sebeos XXVIII, p. 90; and of Boran and Chosroes V and the rival of Āzarmīdukht, Thomas Artsruni II 3 ('the troops of Khorem (= Shahrbaraz) installed as king at Mdzouin - Nisibis - a certain Hormisdas'). Also described as a rival of Isdigerdes; *Chron.* 1234, civ, Bar Hebr., *Chron.*, p. 93. The Greek sources, in asserting that he was the last king of Persia, driven from his throne by the Arabs and fleeing to the furthest recesses of Persia, have confused him with Isdigerdes; cf. Theoph. AM 6120, 6131, Cedr. I 736, 752 and see also Bar Hebr., *Chron.*, p. 93. Cf. also Justi, p. 9, s.n. Ahura-mazdāh, no. 32. See also Noeldeke, *Tabari*, pp. 398-9 (note from p. 397).

HORTVLANVS (v.c.) (in Sardinia) L VI

Husband of Nereida, by whom he had a daughter; a great benefactor of the church at Cagliari, he was dead by 598; Greg. *Ep.* VIII 35 (a. 598 Aug.). The rank of his wife indicates that he too was a *clarissimus*.

The *xenodochium Hortulani* is mentioned by Gregory in *Ep.* XIV 2 (a. 603 Sept.).

Hosdas ("Οσδας) Gothic commander 546

On the name, see Schönfeld, p. 141.

During the siege of Rome by Totila in 546, Hosdas commanded a Gothic force some two hundred strong (ὅς αὐτῶν ἦρχε) which was stationed in one of two wooden towers built by Totila on the banks of the Tiber to prevent supplies reaching the besieged in the city (cf. Proc. *BG* III 18.8-10); when Belisarius tried to force a way through, the tower caught fire and Hosdas perished with all his men; he was Γότθων ἀπάντων μαχιμώτατος; Proc. *BG* III 19.20.

Hospiton chief of the Barbaricini 594

A Christian, urged by pope Gregory in 594 to encourage his people, still pagan, also to become Christian; Greg. *Ep.* IV 27 (a. 594 May; addressed 'Hospiton duci Barbaricinorum'). The Barbaricini were Moorish pagans long since exiled to Sardinia by the Vandals; Proc. *BV* II 13.41-5. In 594 a peace treaty had recently been made with them by the *dux Sardiniae* Zabardas, one of the terms being that they should adopt Christianity; cf. Greg. *Ep.* IV 25. The title *dux Barbaricinorum* suggests that Hospiton had received the rank (and salary?) of *dux* under the terms of the peace, but it could simply mean chief of the Barbaricini.

Hunaldus ?Lombard noble E VII

Addressee of verses from St Columbanus; *MGH, Epp.* III, p. 182. From their tone he was apparently wealthy and a prominent person; possibly

a Lombard, to judge by his name. Cf. lines 14-15 aspice, quam brevis est procerum regumque potestas. Lubrica mortalis cito transit gloria vitae.

Hyacinthus cubicularius VII

Ἵακίνθω κουβικουλα[ρ]ίω; Zacos 1146 = Dumbarton Oaks seal 58.106.1448 (seal; obv.: Virgin Hodegetria and child; rev.: +/VAKIN/ΘΩΚΟΝ/ΒΙΚΔΛΑ/[Ρ]ΙΩ+).

Fl. Hypatius: consul 500; MVM praesentalis 503; MVM per Thracias 513; ?MVM praesentalis 513; MVM per Orientem 516-518, 520-525, 527-529; patricius; proclaimed emperor in the Nika riots 532; *PLRE* II.

HYPATIVS I v.c., tribunus (East) 550

On June 17, 550, Hypatius and Paulus 14 were among those present at the synod of Mopsuestia; *ACOec.* IV I, p. 118 (Hypatio et Paulo clarissimis tribunis).

Hypatius 2 ?exceptor of the dux Thebaidis M VI

Addressee of a poem in his praise from Fl. Dioscorus 5; *P. Cairo Masp.* 67185 verso (A), title Εἰς Ἵπατίου ἐξκ' / τῶν ἐπαρχῶν. The poem makes use of the similarity between his name and the word ὑπατος, but in flattery only. He was perhaps ἐξκ(ἐπ)τ(ωρ) τῶν ἐπαρχῶν, less probably ἐξκ(ουβί)τ(ωρ); ἐπαρχοί here denotes the governors of the Thebais, not the praetorian prefects.

Hypatius 3 MVM VII

Ἵπατίου στρατηλάτου; Zacos 850a and b = Dumbarton Oaks seals 58.106.1390 and 2825 (four seals in all, all reading: obv.: V/ΠΑΤΙ/ΟV; rev. CTP/ATHΛA/TOV, or similar).

Hypatius 4 MVM VII

Ἵπατίου στρατ(η)λάτου; Zacos 2879 (seal; obv.: +VΠA/TIΣCT/PATIA/ATΔ; rev.: +ΔΔ/ΛΔΤIC/ΘΕΩ[T]/ΩΚΔ).

Hyperechius

gloriosissimus referendarius et iudex pedaneus M VI/VII

Named in an undated inscription from Sardis - παρὰ Ὑπερεχίου τοῦ ἐνδοξωτάτου ῥεφερε(νδαρίου) κ(αί) θί(ου) δικαστοῦ; *CIG* 8645 = Gregoire, *IGC* 324 Sardis. Presumably after 539 when *iudices pedanei* (θεῖοι δικασταί) were instituted by Justinian (*Nov.* 82); cf. Victor I.

Jabalalah: see Gabalas.

FLAVIVS THEODORVS MENAS IVLIANVS IACOBVS I

comes et praeses Thebaidis 528/529-533/534

[Φ]λ(άουιος) Θεόδωρος Μηνᾶς Ἰο(υ)λιανὸς Ἰάκκωβος ὁ μεγαλο[π]ρε(πέστατος) κόμ(ης) καὶ ἀρχ(ων) τῆς Θεβ(αίδος) ἐπαρχεί[α]ς; sent orders to Aphrodito about the despatch of the *ammona* to Alexandria; *P. Cairo Masp.* 67030 A, line 1 (Antinoe; dated in a tenth indiction under Justinian). [Φ]λάουιος Θεόδωρος Μηνᾶς Ἰουλιανὸς[ς] Ἰάκκωβος ὁ μεγαλοπρε(πέστατος) κόμ(ε)ς καὶ ἀρχ(ων) τῆς Θεβ(αίδος) ἐπαρχ(είας) τὸ I"; sent orders concerning corn for the garrison at Hermopolis; *P. Cairo Masp.* 67321 A, line 1 (Antinoe; dated in a twelfth indiction under Justinian).

Antinoe, Aphrodito and Hermopolis were all in the lower Thebaid, but neither document defines his province as Upper or Lower Thebais; Iacobus was presumably therefore governor of the whole Thebaid and, since it is highly unlikely that the form of words used of him was ever used of the *dux et augustalis Thebaidis* (created in 539), he was probably the *praeses Thebaidis* and held office before Justinian reformed the administration of Egypt in late 538/early 539 (*Just. Ed.* 13; cf. Rhodon for the date). The twelfth indiction, corresponding to his sixth year in office, was therefore 533/534, Iacobus entered office in 528/529 and the tenth indiction was 531/532.

Iacobus 2 advocate of the PPO Orientis (530-533)

Advocate (patronus causarum) at the court of the PPO Orientis and member of the commission which worked on the Digest (from Dec. 530 to Dec. 533); *CJ* I 17.2.9 = *Just. Const.* 'Tanta' (a. 533 Dec. 16; completion of the project). See Leontius I. Iacobus is named ninth of the advocates.

Iacobus 3 comitianus (Egypt) 537

Mentioned in a letter to Andrew (reader at Alexandria) from Severus of Antioch in 537 during Severus' final exile in Egypt; *Sev. Ant. Ep. Sel.* VIII 5 ('If you are obliged to come to us, seek the lord James the man of the Count's retinue(?)'); the text reads: Y'qwb gbra hw dBit qwmis, i.e. either 'κομητιανός' or 'of Beth Kumis'; if the former, he served in the *officium* of a *comes*, in this case the *comes Aegypti*). Iacobus was evidently sympathetic towards Severus and the monophysite cause.

Iacobus 4 son of Macliavus M VI

Son of Macliavus and brother of Warochus; he perished together with his father at the hands of Theodericus 1, possibly in 577; Greg. Tur. *HF* v 16.

Iacobus 5 Persian envoy 573/574

He understood Persian and Greek and was sent by the Persian king (Chosroes) as envoy to Constantinople in late 573/early 574; he delivered the king's letter to Sophia, since Justin was unfit, and she sent Zacharias 2 back with her reply to Chosroes; Men. Prot. fr. 37.

Iacobus 6 ?topoteretes or tribunus (Egypt) L VI

Brother of Abaskirōn and Menas 12, native of Aykelāh; perhaps *topoteretes* or *tribunus*, like Abaskirōn; eventually executed as a rebel with his brothers at Alexandria; Joh. Nik. 97.1-28, esp. 1, 3, 4, 25, 28 (pp. 529-32 Zotenberg). See further Abaskirōn.

IACOBVS 7 comes (Egypt) 604/605

Owner of a vineyard in the Hermopolite nome (ἀμπελος διαφέρουσα ἰακυβίω κόμητι); *P. Ross.-Georg.* III 49, line 8 (Hermopolite nome; dated under Phocas in indiction 8). He is probably not identical with Iacobus son of Iannacius, from Antinoe, who is mentioned earlier in the same line. His property was close to land owned by the *comites* Menas 34 and Isidorus 9.

Fl. Marianus Iacobus Marcellus Aninas Addaeus

Iad (Ἰαδ) (= 'Iyād ibn Ghanm) Arab commander 637-641

Called 'Abbād ibn 'Āṣim (perhaps another person?) by Agapius.

Probably in 637 he commanded Arab forces in the conquest of Syria under Abū 'Ubaydah, taking Aleppo and Cyrrhus; Balādhurī, pp. 146-7 (= Hitti, p. 226), 149 (= Hitti, p. 230), Agapius, p. 476. Described as the conqueror of Syria, sent by Omar ('Umar); Theoph. AM 6127, Cedr. 1 746, *Chron.* 1234, cxxi.

Probably in 638 he accepted a proposal from Ioannes 241 Cataeus and agreed not to cross the Euphrates in return for an annual payment of 100,000 *solidi*; Theoph. AM 6128, Cedr. 1 751, *Chron.* 1234, cxxi, Agapius, p. 476. In the following year, when the tribute was refused (cf. Ptolemaeus 7), 'Iyād invaded and subdued Mesopotamia, capturing Dara and Tella-Constantina and accepting the submission of other strongholds; *Chron.* 819, s.a. 947, *Chron.* 1234, cxxi, Balādhurī, pp. 172ff.

(= Hitti, pp. 269ff.), Agapius, p. 477, Theoph. AM 6130, Cedr. 1 752. The date of the invasion of Mesopotamia is given by Balādhurī as the month of Sha'ban in the eighteenth year of the Hegira, i.e. August 639; Balādhurī, p. 172 (= Hitti, pp. 269-70). This gives the probable dating of the earlier events, which in any event took place after the battle of the Yarmuk (August 20, 636).

After the conquest of Mesopotamia, 'Iyād was appointed its ruler (emir) by 'Umar; Balādhurī, p. 172 (= Hitti, p. 269) (citing al-Wākidi; "'Iyād received a letter from 'Umar, conferring upon him the governorship of Ḥims, Qinnasrīn and Mesopotamia").

Perhaps in 641 he defeated and killed David 6 near Edessa; Mich. Syr. XI 10, *Chron.* 1234, cxxi.

He died, perhaps at Amida, in 641; Balādhurī, p. 176 (= Hitti, p. 275) (in year 20 of the Hegira, = 641), *Chron.* 1234, cxxi (he was killed at Amida and buried there).

Jafnah (Gophna) Arab chief 590

'An Arab chief called Djafnah, who had asked the Greeks for protection; present with the Roman forces in the east in 590 when Chosroes appealed to the emperor for help, he is said to have taken the request to Maurice and returned with a letter for Chosroes; Agapius, p. 442. On the diplomatic transactions of 590, see Theoph. Sim. iv 10.8-11.11, 13.2-26, 14.1-5. If the information in Agapius can be trusted, Jafnah perhaps went with the second mission from Chosroes, which returned with Maurice's decision to support the restoration of Chosroes.

He is evidently identical with the 'dux exercitus Saracenorum, qui habitabat Rosaphae et erat submissus Romanis, Saracenus christianus, cui nomen Abū Guphna Na'man filius Mundari', bearer of Chosroes' request for help to Maurice, recorded in *Chron.* 1234, lxxx. Possibly he was one of the Ghassānid princelings who ruled in the aftermath of the overthrow of Alamundarus and Naamanes 3; perhaps, to judge by his name, a son of the former.

The name Jafnah (Djafna) is the same as Gophna, and is a Ghassānid name. This man is perhaps identical with Gōphna.

Ialdas Moorish leader 546/547

One of the Moorish leaders under Antalas in winter 546/547; he fought in the battle in which Antalas was defeated by Ioannes 36 (Troglita) and was killed by Ziper; Coripp. *Ioh.* iv 634, v 199, 293.

Iamblichus doctor M VI

An elderly doctor and teacher (ἔργα δ' ἀκεστορίας ἐπέπων σοφίην τε

διδάσκων), praised for his chastity and honesty (he kept his hands clean even of lawful profit) in verses by Leontius 6 *scholasticus*; *Anth. Gr.* xvi 272 (lemma εἰς εἰκόνα Ἰαμβλίχου ἱατροῦ).

Iannia (Joh. Mosch. *Pratum* 167 (127b)): see Damiane.

Iannulus ex praefectis VII

Ἰαννούλου ἀπὸ ἐπαρχῶν; Zacos 1492, Dumbarton Oaks seal 55.1.508 (seals; obv.: cruciform monogram of Θεοτόκε βοήθει; rev.: +IAN/N8Λ8A/ΠΟΕΠAP/ΧΩN+).

Ianuaría religiosa femina; landowner (in Sicily) 598–599

In 598, through the good offices of Gregory, she obtained the help of Fantinus, *defensor ecclesiae* at Palermo, against three men, Anastasius 18, Bonifatius 5 and Ingenuus, who were trying to expel her from a property which she had long possessed; *Greg. Ep.* ix 39 (a. 598 Oct.).

In 599 she wanted an oratory (of St Severinus the Confessor and Juliana the Martyr) which she had founded on an estate of hers (in massa Furiana iuris sui) to be consecrated, and Gregory instructed bishop Benenatus of Tyndaris accordingly; *Greg. Ep.* ix 180. She also wanted relics for the oratory, for which Gregory wrote to bishop Fortunatus of Naples; *Greg. Ep.* ix 181. Both letters, dated 599 July, call her 'religiosa femina'.

Ianuarius (CIG 8824) V/VI: PLRE II.

Ianuarius I ?archiater; maior populi (at Nola) M VI

[Dep(ositio) sanct(a)e] m(emoriae) Ianuari/[tunc] c(o)nsulatu) Basili/[qui fuit ?archiate]r maior populi; *AE* 1977, 209a Nola (a large stone in the basilica which also contains the epitaph of Anonymus 53). As well as *archiater*, the editors suggested *presbyter*. For *maior populi*, a senior local official perhaps the same as *patronus civitatis*, cf. Brown, *Gentlemen*, p. 18 with n. 35. The date was in or not long after 541.

Ianuarius 2 praefectianus (at Ravenna) M VI

Praefectianus; father of Iohannes *vir strenuus*; dead by 575; Marini, *P. Dip.* 75 = *P. Ital.* 6, line 37.

Iaudas Moorish chief (in Numidia) 535–548

Son-in-law of Mephanias, whom he murdered (cf. Massonas); *Proc. BV* II 13.19. He had a son (name unknown); *Coripp. Ioh.* vii 277.

Ruler of the Moors in Numidia (his stronghold was in the Aurès mountains, see below); *Proc. BV* II 12.29 (in 535), 19.5 (in 540), *BG* IV 17.21 (in 547/548).

In early 535 he plundered Numidia and took captives while Solomon I was preoccupied with fighting the Moors of Byzacena; during this time he encountered Althias; *Proc. BV* II 13.1–17. After the battle of Bourgaon the Moors of Byzacena fled to join him in Numidia; *Proc. BV* II 12.29. He was then attacked by Solomon, accompanied by two Moorish chiefs whom he had angered, Massonas (son of Mephanias, see above) and Ortaias, against whom he had conspired with Mastigas; *Proc. BV* II 13.18–19, cf. 13.28. For the subsequent campaign, see Solomon, pp. 1171–2.

In 537 with other Moorish leaders, including Ortaias, he accompanied Stotzas against the Romans; they held aloof from fighting at the battle of Cellas (Scalas) Veteres until the outcome was clear and then joined Germanus (*PLRE* II, Germanus 4) and the Romans in pursuing the mutineers; *Proc. BV* II 17.8–12, 17.31.

In 540 he was attacked and defeated by Solomon in his stronghold in the Aurès mountains; *Proc. BV* II 19.5–20.22 (see Solomon, pp. 1174–5). He escaped wounded to Mauretania; *Proc. BV* II 20.21. Soon afterwards his wives and his treasures, placed for safety in a tower at the so-called Rock of Geminianus, fell into Solomon's hands; *Proc. BV* II 20.23–8.

His rebellion against Solomon is alluded to in *Coripp. Ioh.* III 302.

In late 545, in collusion with Guntharis 2, he and Cutzinas led the Moors of Numidia against Carthage, while Antalas led the Moors of Byzacena; *Proc. BV* II 25.1–2.

Subsequently he submitted to Ioannes 36 Troglita and became an ally of the Romans; *Proc. BG* IV 17.21. He is recorded among their Moorish allies in winter 547/548, *Coripp. Ioh.* vii 277–8; and in 548, *Ioh.* viii 126.

Idarizius leader of the Antae M VI

Father of Mezamerus and Celagastes; *Men. Prot.* fr. 6.

Jebu Xak'an (Khak'an) leader of the Khazars E VII

Jebu Khak'an; Moses Dasxurançi. Jibla; Juansher. Ζιεβήλ; Theoph. The name in Moses represents two Turkish titles; cf. Dowsett, p. 83, n. 4.

Described as a ruler of the Khazars; Moses Dasxurançi II 11. He was probably the father of Šat and perhaps brother of the khan of the Khazars ('the king of the North' in Moses); Moses Dasxurançi II 12. According to Theophanes, he was second in authority to the khan and was leader of the Khazar forces (στρατηγός of the Τοῦρκοι οὓς Χάζαρες

ὄνομαζουσιν) sent to help Heraclius against Persia; Theoph. AM 6117, cf. Cedr. I 728 and see also Moses Dasxuranċi II 12 ('who was second to him, viz. the khan, in kingship'). Following a request for help from Heraclius a large Khazar army was sent under Ĵebu Khak'an, perhaps in 627; after an unsuccessful attack on Tiflis he returned home but perhaps in the following year returned to Tiflis with his son Šat and put the city to the sword; Moses Dasxuranċi II 12. Juansher, pp. 97-8, Theoph. AM 6117, Cedr. I 728, cf. Agapius, p. 463, Bar Hebr. Chron., p. 89 (both reporting Heraclius' request to the unnamed khan of the Khazars).

See also Dowsett, pp. xiv-xv.

Jeqbārī (Yeqbārī) army officer (Egypt) 640/641

He served with Satfārī under Theodorus 166 against the Arabs in 640/641; Joh. Nik. 114. 3 (pp. 560-1 Zotenberg). See Satfārī. The name is clearly a corruption of a lost original.

Ierna Moorish ruler and high priest (544-?)546/547

He was supreme ruler of the Moorish tribe of the Leuathae and also high priest of the god Gurzil; Coripp. Ioh. II 109 (Ierna ferox his ductor erat Gurzilque sacerdos), V 23-6 (taurus, quem Ierna sacerdos atque idem gentis rectorum maximus auctor finxerat, Ammonii signantem numine Gurzil omina prima suis), 520 (Marmaridum rex ille ferus). For the Marmaridae and the Leuathae (called Ilaguas and Laguantan by Corippus), a tribe from the east of Tripolitana, cf. Corippus, ed. Partsch, intro. pp. xi-xii, and Proc. BV II 21.2, 28.47. The god Gurzil is identified as the son of Ammon in Coripp. Ioh. II 110.

Ierna apparently led the Leuathae at the battle of Cillium in 544, when Solomon I was killed and many captives taken; cf. Coripp. Ioh. V 510-11 (after the Moorish defeat in 546/547, see below, the Romans recaptured the standards of Solomon and released the prisoners of Ierna).

In winter 546/547 he was one of the leading Moorish rulers serving with Antalas; Coripp. Ioh. IV 597 (bellorum... princeps), 631-2 (he was second in command to Antalas). He fought in the battle where the Moors were defeated by Ioannes 36 Troglita; Coripp. Ioh. V 369. After the defeat he fled with the sacred image of Gurzil but was caught and killed and the image destroyed; Coripp. Ioh. V 493-5, 498-502, 519-21.

Iesdem Persian noble E VII

In late 627 Heraclius and his army spent Christmas on the estates of Iesdem (εἰς τοὺς οἴκους τοῦ Ἰεσδέμ) near the Lesser Zab in Persia;

Theoph. AM 6118 (p. 320 de Boor). His sons are recorded in the *Acta Anastasii Persae*, pp. 9 a 17, 10 a 17, 11 a 9, 16.25. One of his sons (see Anonymus 2) was apparently a man of high rank in Constantinople in 639; Const. Porph. *de cer.* II 28.

His family was of Syrian origin and he owned extensive estates at Karkha in the district of Beth Slokh (modern Kirkuk). He held a post as director of the land tax ('vāstryōshānsālār'). He was a Christian who endowed a monastery founded by queen Shīrīn and probably rebuilt churches at Jerusalem damaged in the Persian sack of 614. One of his sons, Shamṭa, conspired with Siroes (Cavadēs) to overthrow Chosroes II in 628. See Pertusi, *Anal. Boll.* 76 (1958), pp. 29-30 with n. 2, and cf. also Christensen, *L'Iran sous les Sassanides*², pp. 451ff.

Iezidus (Yazīd) phylarch of the Arabs of Kinda and Ma'add 531

Brother of Qays (Caisus) and 'Amr (Ambrus); probably in 531 he and 'Amr succeeded to the post of phylarch of the tribes of Kinda and Ma'add on the resignation of Qays; Nonnosus (= Phot. *Bibl.* 3 = *FHG* IV, p. 179). See further Caisus.

Possibly identical with Hezidus.

Ifsidaias Moorish ally of the Romans 546/547-548

Father of Bitipten; Coripp. Ioh. IV 546.

?PRAEFECTVS GENTIS a. 546/547-548: ruler of a Moorish tribe (not identified) and loyal ally of Rome, he was apparently a *praefectus gentis*; Coripp. Ioh. IV 544-9 (esp. 545 gentis praefectus et auctor, 548-9 ingenioque valens fuerat dux ipse fidelis, militiae ducibusque placens magnoque magistro) (a. 546/547), VII 272-6 (a. 548).

In winter 546/547 he fought in the defeat of Antalas; Coripp. Ioh. V 460-2. In late 547/early 548 he quarrelled with Cutzinas but was reconciled to him by Ioannes 42; Coripp. Ioh. VII 242-61. He then joined forces with Ioannes 36 Troglita for the campaign of spring 548, during which he was ready to help suppress a mutiny among the Roman troops and later fought in the battle of the Plains of Cato; Coripp. Ioh. VII 272-6, VIII 125 (the mutiny), 375 (Plains of Cato). For details of the campaign, see Ioannes 36.

Ignatius architect M VI

According to late and unreliable sources he was the leading architect overseeing the construction of Hagia Sophia; *Narr. de aed. S. Soph.* 8 (ὁ πρωτοικοδόμος <Ἰγνάτιος> μηχανικός καὶ λίαν φρονήσεως ἀντεχόμενος καὶ εἰς τὸ ἐγείρειν ναοὺς ἐπιτήδειος), 10 (ὁ προρρηθεὶς Ἰγνάτιος, ὁ πρῶτος τῶν οἰκοδόμων, ὁ μηχανικός; anecdote about his young son), 12

(unnamed πρωτοικόδομος ὁ μηχανικός), *Patr. Const.* iv 31 (recording an unsuccessful attempt to kill τὸν εἰρημένον μαῖστορα τῆς μεγάλης ἐκκλησίας τὸν Ἰγνάτιον). Probably fictional; cf. Anthemius 2, Isidorus 4 and Isidorus 5.

Hasan ?Moorish chief 546/547

A Moor who fought under Antalas in winter 546/547 against the Romans; Coripp. *Ioh.* v 200. Other Moors named with him were all chiefs (cf. Bruten, Hisdreasen, Ialdas and Sinzera).

Ildibadus king of the Ostrogoths 540-541

Ἰλδὶβαδός; Proc. Heldebadus; Marcell. com., Jord., Paul. Diac. Hildivadus; Pelagius. No coins with his name or monogram survive; Kraus, 168-71, and see below. On the name, see Schönfeld, p. 136.

Nephew of Theudis (king of the Visigoths; *PLRE* II); Proc. *BG* II 30.15. He was married with children; Proc. *BG* II 29.41, III 1.1, 1.39-40. Uncle of Totila; Jord. *Rom.* 379, Proc. *BG* III 2.7.

In May 540 (when Ravenna fell) Ildibad was in command of the Gothic troops in Verona; he sent envoys to Belisarius, who had taken his children captive, but did not go in person to Ravenna, nor did he submit to the Romans; Proc. *BG* II 29.41. In a meeting of Gothic leaders at Ticinum he was proposed as king by Vraias, who praised his good qualities and his energy and also suggested that his selection might bring the Visigoths under Theudis to help the Goths; Proc. *BG* II 30.14.

king of the Ostrogoths a. 540-541: summoned from Verona and crowned king; Proc. *BG* II 30.16-17, cf. *Marcell. com. Addit.* ad a. 540 (the Goths, led by Vraias and Ildibad, determined to oppose the Romans and make Ildibad king). The date was after the capture of Ravenna and before Belisarius left for Constantinople (May/June 540). He became king; Jord. *Rom.* 378, Paul. Diac. *Hist. Rom.* xvi 22.

With the approval of the Goths he offered to resign the kingship in favour of Belisarius, an offer refused by Belisarius who then returned to Constantinople, taking with him the children of Ildibad; Proc. *BG* II 30.18-30, III 1.1. Ildibad then began rebuilding his forces from the Goths and from disaffected Romans, aiming to restore Italy to the Goths; at first he held only Ticinum with a thousand men, but gradually his support extended through Liguria and Venetia; Proc. *BG* III 1.25-7. He fought and defeated near Treviso the only Roman commander to take action against him, Vitalis 1; Proc. *BG* III 1.34-6.

After a quarrel between their wives he fell out with Vraias, whom he accused of treachery and then murdered, to the distress of the Goths;

Proc. *BG* III 1.37-42. He himself was afterwards murdered at a banquet by one of his own bodyguards, Velas, according to Procopius because of a personal grudge, Ildibad having married Velas' betrothed to someone else; Proc. *BG* III 1.43-9, *Marcell. com. Addit.* ad a. 541, Jord. *Rom.* 378, Paul. Diac. *Hist. Rom.* xvi 22. His death was probably in May or June 541; Procopius places it last before the end of the sixth year of the war in Italy (June 541; Proc. *BG* III 1.49), and cf. Jord. *Rom.* 378 (he was killed, anni spatio vix emenso).

His successor was Erarichus.

His property, or part of it, seems later to have come into the possession of the church of Rome (patrimonium sanctae Romanae ecclesiae... quod fuit de iure quondam Hildivadi); Pelag. I, *Ep.* 14 (Sept./Oct. 558).

On his coins, cf. also Stein, *Bas-Emp.* II 568, n. 1 from 567.

Ildichis (Hildechis) son of the Lombard king Tato E/M VI

On the name, cf. Schönfeld, pp. 145-6.

Son of Tato (*PLRE* II; Lombard king in c. 507/512); defeated by Vaces (Waccho) after the murder of Tato, he fled into exile among the Gepids, remaining there until his death; Paul. Diac. *Hist. Lang.* I 21 (cited by Paul as the origin of the enmity between the Gepids and the Lombards).

Ildiger ?MVM vacans 534-540; ?dux (in Phoenice) 543

The name is Germanic; cf. Schönfeld, p. 145.

Son-in-law of Antonina (the wife of Belisarius); Proc. *BV* II 8.24, *BG* II 7.15.

?MVM VACANS a. 534-540: there is no direct evidence of his rank and title but his roles and responsibilities suggest that he was one of the higher ranking military commanders; see below and cf. Theodorus 8.

In 534 Ildiger and Theodorus 8 were sent by Justinian from Constantinople with an army to serve in Africa under Solomon 1; Proc. *BV* II 8.24.

In 536, after the mutiny of Stotzas was checked by Belisarius, Ildiger and Theodorus were entrusted by him with the care of Carthage when he had to return to Sicily; Proc. *BV* II 15.49 (Καρχηδόνα Ἰλδίγερί τε καὶ Θεοδώρω παραδούς).

He apparently remained in Africa when Germanus (*PLRE* II) replaced Solomon, and in 537 was with the army which Germanus led against Stotzas; he commanded one of the three divisions (κατὰ λόχους τρεῖς) into which the cavalry were deployed on the right wing of the Roman army at the battle of Cellas (Scalas) Veteres; Proc. *BV* II 17.5-6, cf. 17.16.19 (fought in this battle).

In late 537/early 538 (during the three month truce with the Goths; cf. *Belisarius*, p. 201) Ildiger went to Rome from Libya with a considerable number of cavalry; Proc. *BG* II 7.15. During the winter at Rome it was he and Valerianus 1 who restrained Constantinus 3 when he tried to attack Belisarius; Proc. *BG* II 8.16. Later on during the truce, while on guard at the Porta Pinciana, he foiled an attack on the city by the Goths and routed them; Proc. *BG* II 9.12-15.

As soon as the siege ended (March 538), Ildiger and Martinus 2 were sent by Belisarius with a thousand cavalry to Ariminum, to remove the troops under Ioannes 46 from there and replace them with infantry from Ancona; travelling by the Via Flaminia, they captured and garrisoned Petra and then proceeded via Ancona to Ariminum; when Ioannes refused to leave, they left the infantry and returned to Belisarius bringing only the troops from the bodyguard of Belisarius who had been with Ioannes; Proc. *BG* II 11.4-22 (and cf. *Martinus*).

Later in summer 538 when Belisarius mounted an expedition to relieve Ioannes, now under siege in Ariminum, Ildiger was put in overall command of the fleet (his subordinates were Herodianus 1, Vliaris and Narses 2), with orders not to lose contact with the army of Martinus which was marching along the coast; Proc. *BG* II 16.21-3 (ἀντοκράτωρ δὲ τῶ στόλῳ Ἰλδίγερ ἐφειστήκει). The Goths fled on seeing the fleet, and Ildiger and those with him were the first to reach the abandoned camp of the Goths, capture the few who had been unable to flee and begin looting; Proc. *BG* II 18.1.

In early 540 he was sent in place of Vitalius 1 to guard the river Po so as to prevent supplies from reaching the Goths besieged in Ravenna by that route; Proc. *BG* II 28.24. Later in this year, when Belisarius returned to Constantinople after the fall of Ravenna, Ildiger was one of those who accompanied him (the others were Valerianus, Martinus and Herodianus); Proc. *BG* III 1.1.

Ῥοῦξ (in Phoenice Libanensis) a. 543: in 543 Ildiger and Theoctistus 2 accompanied Martinus to Citharizon during preparations for an invasion of Persia; Proc. *BP* II 24.13. See further *Theoctistus*.

ILDIGISAL ?comes of a schola palatina (550/551-552

Ἰλδίγης; Proc. *BG* III 35. Ἰλδιγισάλ; Proc. *BG* IV 27. The name is Germanic; see Schönfeld, p. 146.

He was a Lombard, son of Risiulphus, and pretender to the Lombard throne; Proc. *BG* III 35.16.19, IV 27.1.

During the reign of Vaces, Ildigisal fled to the Sclaveni; Proc. *BG* III 35.16. After Vaces died and Audoin became king, war broke out between the Gepids and the Lombards (in 548/549) and Ildigisal joined

the Gepids with his Lombard followers and many Sclaveni; the Gepids hoped to place him on the Lombard throne; however the Gepids hastened to make peace when Justinian sent help to the Lombards (in 549; cf. e.g. *Aratius*) and Audoin demanded the surrender of Ildigisal; the Gepids refused but he had to leave their country and he then returned to the Sclaveni with his followers and some Gepid volunteers; he next went to help Totila and the Goths, taking with him an army over six thousand strong; in Venetia he met and defeated a Roman force under Lazarus (perhaps later in 549) but instead of going onwards to join the Goths he recrossed the Danube and returned to the Sclaveni; Proc. *BG* III 35.19-22.

He now went to Constantinople, according to Procopius fleeing from his native land (ἐξ ἠθῶν ἀποδρᾶς τῶν πατρίων); Proc. *BG* IV 27.1. He is unlikely to have returned to the Lombards while Audoin was still king, and presumably he simply left the Sclaveni for Constantinople. He took with him a force of three hundred Lombard warriors, who were settled at Apri in Thrace; Proc. *BG* IV 27.3.8.

COMMANDER (?COMES) of a *schola palatina* a. (550/551-552: he was welcomed by Justinian who gave him the command of one of the *scholae* guarding the palace; Proc. *BG* IV 27.2 (ἄρχοντά τε κατεστήσατο ἐνὸς τῶν ἐπὶ τοῦ παλατίου φυλακῆς τεταγμένων λόχων, οὐσπερ σχολὰς ὀνομάζουσι). He was probably *comes* of a *schola palatina*, a post by this date of ceremonial significance only; cf. Jones, *LRE* II, p. 657. The date of his flight to Constantinople and his appointment was c. 550/551, and he presumably still held it in 552 (cf. below).

His surrender was demanded by Audoin and refused by Justinian; Proc. *BG* IV 27.4-5. Later Ildigisal grew discontented, considering his treatment not commensurate with his rank or with the honour of Rome; Proc. *BG* IV 27.5. He allowed himself to be persuaded by Goar to flee from Constantinople; with a few followers they went to Apri and joined forces with the Lombards settled there; after capturing a large number of horses from the imperial stud-farms in Thrace they advanced through Thrace opposed only by a small force of Huns allied to Rome whom they defeated; in Illyricum they found a Roman army ready to oppose them but after surprising and killing its commanders (cf. *Aratius*, *Arimuth*, *Leonianus* and *Rhecithangus*) met no further opposition and made their way to join the Gepids; Proc. *BG* IV 27.7-18. The date was summer 552; cf. Stein, *Bas-Emp.* II 534-5, with 535, n. 1.

Shortly afterwards both Justinian and Audoin demanded his surrender from the Gepid king Thorisin (*Turisindus*) who found himself unable either to agree or to refuse and resolved the dilemma by having Ildigisal murdered; Proc. *BG* IV 27.22-9.

Iliger Hun leader 556

In spring 556 an infantry force of Sabirian Hun mercenaries (οἱ δὲ ἐκ τῶν Οὐννων μισθοφόροι), some two thousand strong, served with the Roman army in Lazica under three of their leaders, Iliger, Balmach and Cutilzis (ἤγοῦντο δὲ αὐτῶν Βαλμάχ τε καὶ Κούτιλζις καὶ Ἰλιγερ, ἄνδρες τῶν παρὰ σφίσις ὀνομαστοτάτων); they were stationed by Martinus 2 on the plain near Archaeopolis with orders to harass the advance of the Persians under Nachoragan; Agath. III 17.5. For the date, see Agath. III 15.1 and cf. Martinus. Agathias describes how they fought off and routed the Dilimnitae who tried to surprise them; Agath. III 17.6-18.11.

Imnacharius follower of Chramn 555

In 555 Chramn sent Imnacharius and Scaphtharius, 'primos de latere suo', to remove Firminus 1 and Caesaria from sanctuary at Clermont; Greg. Tur. *HF* IV 13.

Impetratus uncle of Gallus E VI

Maternal uncle of Gallus 2 (bishop of Clermont); he was a priest at Clermont in c. 525; Greg. Tur. *V. Patr.* 6.3. He was therefore a brother of Leocadia; see stemma 12. Cf. Stroheker, no. 202.

Importunus palatinus (Rome) before 600 Nov.

He died before Nov. 600 (Importuno quondam palatino) when the *argentarius* Ioannes 175, who had stood surety for him, was in trouble as a consequence; Greg. *Ep.* XI 16 (a. 600 Nov.).

Imus (*JHS* 12 (1891), 259, n. 32) V/VI: *PLRE* II.

Indulf *qui et* Gundulf Gothic commander 549-552

Ἰνδούλφ; Proc. *BG* III 35.23.29, IV 35.37. Γουνδούλφ; Proc. *BG* IV 23.13.38. He was known by both names; cf. Proc. *BG* IV 23.1-2 (Γουνδούλφ, ὅσπερ Βελισαρίου δορυφόρος ἐγεγόνει ποτέ. τινὲς δὲ αὐτὸν Ἰνδούλφ ἐκάλουν). On Indulf, see Schönfeld, p. 146. On Gundulf, Schönfeld, pp. 117-18.

Of barbarian origin; Proc. *BG* III 35.23. Probably a Goth; cf. Proc. *BG* IV 23.1 (cited below). 10.29, 35.37. In Proc. *BG* III 35.25 he is described as Ῥωμαῖος ὢν; in the context this means pro-Roman. Said to be a vigorous and active man; Proc. *BG* III 35.23.

He served in the bodyguard of Belisarius until Belisarius left Italy in early 549, when he remained behind; Proc. *BG* III 35.23 (τῶν τῆς Βελισαρίου δορυφόρων), IV 23.1 (cited above).

He now deserted to the Goths and was immediately sent by Totila with a large army and fleet to Dalmatia where, being known as a supporter of the Romans and a follower of Belisarius (Βελισαρίῳ προσήκων), he easily entered Movicurum, a fortified place near Salona; once inside he turned on the inhabitants, killing them and plundering the town; he then did the same at Laureate, another fortress along the coast; here he routed a Roman force sent against him from Salona by Claudianus, capturing many ships including some laden with supplies, and then after further killing and plundering he returned to Totila in Italy; Proc. *BG* III 35.23-9. The date was now apparently midsummer 549; Proc. *BG* III 35.30.

In 551 he was sent with Scipuar and Gibal to capture Ancona; Proc. *BG* IV 23.1 (they were ἄρχοντες τοὺς ἐν Γότθοις δοκιμωτάτους). With a fleet of forty-seven ships they besieged Ancona by land and sea for a long time; Proc. *BG* IV 23.2-3. Some time in late summer 551 (cf. Stein, *Bas-Emp.* II 598, n. 1) he and Gibal took the fleet against the Romans who were at Sena Gallica under Ioannes 46 and Valerianus 1; Proc. *BG* IV 23.9-12. After the battle of Sena Gallica Gundulf escaped with eleven ships; they landed and destroyed the ships, to prevent them falling into Roman hands, and then went to Ancona to report the disaster before fleeing on from there to Auximum; Proc. *BG* IV 23.38-40.

In 552 after the battle of Mons Lactarius (probably October 30; cf. Narses, p. 919) Indulf was one of the leaders of the thousand or so Goths (ὢν ἄλλοι τε ἤγοῦντο καὶ Ἰνδούλφ) who refused to negotiate peace with the Romans and marched away to Ticinum and north Italy; Proc. *BG* IV 35.37.

Ingeltrudis religiosa (at Tours) M/L VI

Mother of bishop Bertchramnus of Bordeaux, Berthegundis and an unnamed son by whom she had grandsons; Greg. Tur. *HF* IX 33, X 12. A *religiosa* at Tours, where she built a nunnery in the courtyard of St Martin's church; Greg. Tur. *HF* V 22, VII 36, IX 33. At first she wanted her daughter to be abbess, but later (after c. 585) they quarrelled violently over her late husband's inheritance and she made her niece abbess; she died in 590, in her eightieth year as Gregory believed, and was buried on March 8; Greg. Tur. *HF* IX 33, X 12.

Ingenuus ?landowner (in Sicily) 598

Greg. *Ep.* IX 39 (598 Oct.). See Anastasius 18 and Ianuaria.

Ingoberga Frankish queen; wife of Charibert M/L VI

Wife of the Frankish king Charibert (561-567); she had one child, a

daughter, who married the son of a king of Cantia (Kent); Greg. Tur. *HF* iv 26, ix 26 (regina). Her daughter was Bertha who married king Ethelbert of Kent; cf. Greg. *Ep.* xi 35, Bede, *HE* i 25, ii 5. Ingoberga was abandoned by Charibert for one of her attendants, Merofledis; Greg. Tur. *HF* iv 26. She devoted her later life to religion and good works; when she felt death approaching, she discussed the disposal of her property with Gregory of Tours and left legacies to the church of Tours, the basilica of St Martin, and the church of Le Mans; a few months later, in 589, she died aged about seventy; Greg. Tur. *HF* ix 26.

Ingebodus graffio (in Gaul) 613

He lived in Neustria in 613, when Chlotharius II entrusted to him the care of his godson Meroveus; Fredegar. iv 42 (Ingebode graffione commendatur). On *graffio* (= *comes*), cf. Fredegar. iv 74 (cum ducibus et grafionibus), Paul. Diac. *Hist. Lang.* v 36 (cum comite Baioariorum, quem illi gravionem dicunt).

Ingundis I wife of Chlotharius I E/M VI

Sister of Arnegundis; wife of Chlotharius I, to whom she bore five sons, Gunthar, Childeric, Charibert, Guntram and Sigibert, and one daughter, Chlodsinda (Chlodosinda); Greg. Tur. *HF* iv 3.

Ingundis 2 wife of Ermenegild 579-584

Daughter of the Frankish king Sigibert and his Visigothic wife Brunichildis; Greg. Tur. *HF* v 1, 38, viii 21, ix 24, Joh. Bicl. s.a. 579. Sister of Childebert II; Greg. Tur. *HF* v 1, vi 40, viii 18, ix 16, 20, 28, Paul. Diac. *Hist. Lang.* iii 21. Sister also of Chlodosind 2; Greg. Tur. *HF* v 1.

In 579 she travelled to Spain and married Ermenegild, son of the Visigothic king Leovigild; Greg. Tur. *HF* v 38, ix 24. Wife of Ermenegild; Greg. Tur. *HF* v 38, vi 40, viii 28, Joh. Bicl. s.a. 579, Paul. Diac. *Hist. Lang.* iii 21. At her death (in 585, see below) she left an infant son (Athanagildus 2); Greg. Tur. *HF* viii 28, Paul. Diac. *Hist. Lang.* iii 21.

A Catholic, she resisted all attempts by her mother-in-law Goisuintha to convert her to Arianism, and instead she converted her husband to the Catholic faith; Greg. Tur. *HF* v 38. After the revolt of Ermenegild, Ingundis apparently fled with him to the imperial authorities in Spain in 583 (see Ermenegild) and remained in their hands when he was captured by his father (in c. Feb. 584, cf. Thompson, *Goths in Spain*, pp. 72-3 with n. 7); later she died in Africa while en route for Constantinople; Greg. Tur. *HF* vi 40, viii 28, ix 16, Paul. Diac. *Hist.*

Lang. iii 21 (said to have died in Sicily). In 585 it was believed in Gaul that she was in Africa and later that she was in Constantinople, when Childebert agreed to a request from Maurice to attack the Lombards in Italy in the hope of securing her release; Greg. Tur. *HF* viii 18, 21, Paul. Diac. *Hist. Lang.* iii 22. She may therefore have died in 585.

Iniuriosus ex vicario (at Tours) 584

In 584 Iniuriosus *ex vicario* was living in Tours when Armentarius 5 came to collect payment from him and Eunomius *ex comite* for money loaned against the public taxes (propter tributa publica); they undertook to pay and Iniuriosus entertained him to dinner but afterwards Armentarius was murdered and servants of Iniuriosus were blamed; he strongly denied responsibility and swore an oath to that effect in court; the case then went on appeal to Childebert but the accusers failed to appear and after waiting for three days Iniuriosus returned home; Greg. Tur. *HF* viii 23. Cf. also Medardus. Eunomius had been made *comes* of Tours in 580 (Greg. Tur. *HF* v 47) and Iniuriosus was presumably his *vicarius*. Cf. Dalton, I, pp. 203, 212.

INNOCENTIVS 1

?comes; commander in Italy 535-537, 545/546

In 535 Innocentius was one of three commanders of regular cavalry units sent to the west under Belisarius to reconquer Italy (his two colleagues were Valentinus 1 and Magnus 1); Proc. *BG* i 5.3 (καταλόγων δὲ ἰππικῶν μὲν Βαλεντίνος τε καὶ Μάγνος καὶ Ἰννοκέντιος sc. ἄρχοντες).

In Feb. 537, shortly before the siege of Rome began, some barbarian soldiers from the cavalry unit commanded by Innocentius (ἐκ καταλόγου ἰππικοῦ οὐπὲρ Ἰννοκέντιος ἦρχεν) are recorded to have deserted to the Goths; Proc. *BG* i 17.17.

During winter 545/546 Innocentius was in command of the garrison in Portus; Belisarius sent Valentinus and Phocas 2 to reinforce him and to help Bessas in Rome; Proc. *BG* iii 15.1 (ἐφ' ᾧ τό τε ἐν Πόρτῳ φρούριον συμφυλάξουσι τοῖς ἐνταῦθα φρουροῖς, ὧνπὲρ Ἰννοκέντιος ἦρχε), cf. 15.7 (one of the men under him deserted to Totila and betrayed the plans of Valentinus and Phocas).

His rank and office are uncertain, but his colleague Magnus was a *comes*.

Innocentius 2 comes urbis Gabalitanæ 584; bishop of Rodez 584-?

COMES VRBIS GABALITANÆ a. 584; Greg. Tur. *HF* vi 37 (ab Innocentio supradictæ urbis (sc. Gabalitanæ) comite), 38 (Gabalitanorum comes). Gabali was Javols, near Mende, in Aquitania Prima.

In 584 he accused Lupentius, an abbot at Gabali, of insulting Brunichildis; the case was tried (apparently somewhere in north Gaul) and Lupentius acquitted, but Innocentius attacked him on the way home at Ponthion (Ponticonem villam) and then murdered him by the river Aisne (super Axonam fluvium); Greg. Tur. *HF* vi 37. In this same year the bishop of Rodez died and Innocentius was chosen to succeed him, thanks to the support of Brunichildis; Greg. Tur. *HF* vi 38. While canvassing for bishop he granted a claim by Eulalius to property in Rodez in return for Eulalius' son Ioannes, whom he tonsured and brought up in the church; Greg. Tur. *HF* x 8.

Innocentius 3 PPO Africae 600

PPO AFRICAE a. 600 July–October: he received two letters from pope Gregory, both addressed 'Innocentio praefecto Africae'; Greg. *Ep.* x 16 (a. 600 July), xi 7 (a. 600 Oct.). The first letter congratulates him on his appointment but commiserates with him on his hard task; Greg. *Ep.* x 16 (praefecturae autem vos suscepisse cingula cognoscentes, laetitiae se miscuit nostratae tristitia. Nam ex una parte lactati de propectu dulcissimi filii contristati sumus ab altera, quia, quam grave sit confusis temporibus locis maioribus esse praepositos, ex nostro prorsus dolore sentimus). He wrote to Gregory about the oppression of the poor in Sardinia; Greg. *Ep.* x 17 (a. 600 July; alludes to 'eminentissimi filii nostri Innocenti praefecti epistulae'). In October 600 Gregory wrote to him about allegations of excessive taxation and illegal acts by the authorities in Africa; Greg. *Ep.* xi 7. He is styled 'eminentia vestra'; Greg. *Ep.* x 16, xi 7.

Innowales comes (of the Saintois) 639

His name is also spelt 'Aenovales'.

Comes *Sogiontinsis*, in 639 he accompanied Sigibert's expedition against Radulfus; 'cum pagensibus suis', he and Bobo attacked Radulfus' camp and were killed; Fredegar. iv 87.

On 'Sogiontinsis' = the Saintois, see Wallace-Hadrill, *Chronicle of Fredegar*, pp. 23, n. 1, 29, n. 4.

Ino (Job. Eph. *HE* iii 3.8): see Aelia Anastasia.

Ioanna wife of Carellus ?M VI

Wife of Carellus 1; buried at Odessus, possibly in 552; mother of Ioannes 164; Beshevliev, *Spätgr. u. spätlat. Inschr. Bulg.*, n. 87 (ή τής μακαρίας μνήμης), n. 88 Odessus.

See further Carellus.

Ioannacius 1 owner of a domus (Egypt) ?VI

A list of deeds from Oxyrhynchus includes an agreement between τοῦ ἐνδόξου οἴκου τῆς Κυνῶν καὶ τοῦ οἴκου Ἰωαννακίου (καὶ ἄλλων); *P. Oxy.* 2243b. The document is sixth-century but the *domus* may have preserved the name of a former owner. Cf. Theon and Timagenes.

Ioannacius 2 ?v.c. (in Egypt); chartularius E VII

He and Zacharias 11 are named in a receipt for fodder, dated July 21, in a second indiction, apparently early in the seventh century (?614 or 628); *P. Ross.-Georg.* iii 50, line 9 διὰ Ζαχαρίου καὶ Ἰωαννακίου τῶν λαμπρο(τάτων) ὑμετέρων χαρτουλαρίων. Apparently *chartularii* of a private estate.

Ioannes (QSP before 522/523; honorary consul; *patricius*; member of the commission on the *Codex Iustinianus* in 528 and 529); see *PLRE* ii, Ioannes 68. Cf. Tribonianus 1.

Ioannes (Sev. Ant. *Ep. Sel.* viii 4) 519/538: *PLRE* ii.

Ioannes (Cass. *Var.* viii 25) c. 527: *PLRE* ii.

Ioannes (*P. Cairo Masp.* 67104) 530: *PLRE* ii.

Ioannes Lydus: author, E/M VI; *PLRE* ii

Ioannes Philoponus: author, E/M VI; *PLRE* ii.

Ioannes (*CIL* xi 4976 + add., p. 1376) V/VI: *PLRE* ii.

Ioannes (*Anth. Gr.* ix 712) ?V/VI: *PLRE* ii.

Ioannes (Corinth viii 1, 207) V/VI: *PLRE* ii.

Ioannes (*SEG* xx 459) V/VI: *PLRE* ii.

Ioannes (*PSI* 891) (notarius) V/VI: *PLRE* ii.

Ioannes (*PSI* 891) (doctor) V/VI: *PLRE* ii.

Ioannes (*BCII* 1889, 309, n. 17) V/VI: *PLRE* ii.

Ioannes (*Not. Scav.* 1905, p. 115) V/VI: *PLRE* ii.

Ioannes (*MAMA* iii 706) V/VI: *PLRE* ii.

Ioannes (*CIG* 9158) V/VI: *PLRE* ii.

- Ioannes (*CIG* 8869) V/VI: *PLRE* II.
- Ioannes (*CIG* 9253) V/VI: *PLRE* II.
- Ioannes (*AE* 1891, 157) V/VI: *PLRE* II.
- Ioannes (Beshevliev, *Spätgr. u. spätlat. Inschr. Bulg.*, n. 224) V/VI: *PLRE* II.
- Fl. Ioannes (*CIL* xv 7260a-b) V/VI: *PLRE* II.
- Ioannes 1 official of a vicarius (?urbis Romae) E/M VI
 Father of pope Pelagius I; a native of Rome; *Lib. Pont.* 62 (the pope was 'natione Romanus, ex patre Ioanne vicariano').
- Ioannes 2 servant of Caesaria E/M VI
 Husband of Sosiana; they served as *cubicularii* in the household of the *patricia* Caesaria (*PLRE* II); *Joh. Eph. V. SS. Or.* 55.
- Ioannes 3 scholasticus and censor (Egypt) E/M VI
 Ὁ ἐλλογιμώτατος σχολαστικός καὶ κηνσίτωρ; he conducted a property census in Egypt before 524, when it is first cited, and which was still being cited in 566; he was still alive in 524 but had died by 547; *P. Cairo Masp.* 67117 (a. 524 June/July), 67329 (a. 529/530), *P. Michael.* 41 (539 or 554), *P. Cairo Masp.* 67118 (Oct. 547; τοῦ τῆς λογίας μνήμης Ἰωάννου σχο(λαστικοῦ καὶ κηνσίτορος), *P. Lond.* v 1686 (Nov. 565), *P. Michael.* 42 (Dec. 566), *P. Cairo Masp.* 67097 (VI), 67140 (VI), *P. Michael.* 40 (VI), *P. Herm.* 32 (VI). All the documents are from Aphrodito apart from *P. Herm.* 32 from Hermopolis. Cf. *Mammas*.
- Ioannes 4 student of rhetoric E/M VI
 A student of rhetoric, with *Procopius* 1 and *Elias* 1, under *Choricus* of Gaza, who addressed an oration to them on the occasion of their marriages; *Chor. Or.* 6. They were still his students at the time; *Or.* 6.2.27. His father held some dignity, the nature of which is obscure (σχῆματι κοσμεῖται θεοφιλεῖ πρώην μὲν τοῦδε τυχών); *Or.* 6.35. His mother had two brothers who both held office (ξυνωρίς μητρὸς ἀδελφῶν ἀξίων θαυμάσαι... ὅτι φρόνημα μέτριον ἐν ἀξιώμασιν ἤσκηνται); his own bride was of a leading local (?at Gaza) family (πατέρες ἐγένοντο τὰ τέλη τῶν πολιτῶν); *Or.* 6.37.
- Ioannes 5 son of Theodora E/M VI
 Born to Theodora during her earlier days on the stage and taken away

by the father to live in Arabia; when an adolescent he learnt from his father, then on his deathbed, the identity of his mother, and subsequently went to Constantinople to make himself known to her; according to *Procopius*, the empress gave him to one of her most trusted agents and he was never seen alive again; *Proc. Anecd.* 17.16-23.

IOANNES 6

dux Euphratensis 528

Ὁ τῆς Εὐφρατησίας, sc. δούξ; in 528 he was one of the Roman commanders sent to pursue *Alamundarus* III (*PLRE* II) after the murder of *Arethas* the Kindite (*PLRE* II) (the others included *Arethas* the Ghassānid, *Dionysius* 1, *Gnoupas*, *Naaman* 1 and *Sebastianus* 1); they failed to overtake him as he retired southwards, and so attacked his headquarters in Persia and captured many prisoners and much booty there; before returning in triumph to Roman territory, they also took four Persian forts; *Joh. Mal.* 435, cf. *Theoph. AM* 6021 (the same events). For the date, cf. *Gnoupas*.

Ioannes 7

honorary consul 528(-540)

Grandson of *Ioannes* the Scythian (*PLRE* II, *Ioannes* 34); *Theoph. AM* 6020. Son of *Rufinus* (*PLRE* II, *Rufinus* 13); *Proc. BP* II 7.15, *Theoph. AM* 6020, *Cedr.* I 645. He was therefore also grandson of *Silvanus* (*PLRE* II, *Silvanus* 7), nephew of *Timostratus* (*PLRE* II) and cousin of *Rufinus* 7 and *Ioannes* 87.

HONORARY CONSVL a. 528 (-540): ἀπὸ ὑπάτων, in 528; *Joh. Mal.* 432, *Theoph. AM* 6020, *Cedr.* I 645. He never held the ordinary consulship and was therefore honorary consul. The dignity was normally held for life.

COMES ANGVSTIARVM PONTICI MARIS a. 528: in 528 he was made κόμης στενῶν τῆς Ποντικῆς θαλάσσης with his headquarters at *Hieron*; *Joh. Mal.* 432 (cited below). He was presumably in charge of the customs post newly created at *Hieron* by *Justinian*; cf. *Proc. Anecd.* 25.6 (ἐξ οὗ δὲ Ἰουστινιανὸς τὴν βασιλείαν παρέλαβε, τελωνεῖόν τε δημόσιον κατεστήσατο ἐν πορθμῶ ἑκατέρῳ (i.e. at *Abydus* and *Hieron*) καὶ μισθοφόρους ἄρχοντας δύο ἐς αἰεὶ πέμπτων μίσθωσιν μὲν αὐτοῖς παρείχετο τὴν συγκεϊμένην, ἐπήγγελλε δὲ χρήματά οἱ ὅτι πλείστα ἐνθένδε ἀποφέρειν δυνάμει τῇ πάσῃ), and *Stein, Bas-Emp.* II 442 with n. 1.

When he was appointed, news came that the garrison of *Bosporus* in the *Crimea* had been killed by the *Huns* under *Mougel*; *Ioannes* was sent by *Justinian* with a Gothic force by sea, while *Godilas* 1 and *Badurius* 1 went by land; the *Huns* fled at their approach; *Joh. Mal.* 432-3 (καὶ ἀκούσας ταῦτα ὁ αὐτὸς βασιλεὺς ἐποίησε κόμητα στενῶν τῆς

Ποντικῆς θαλάσσης, ὃν ἐκέλευσε καθῆσθαι ἐν τῷ λεγομένῳ Ἰερῶ εἰς αὐτὸ τὸ στομίον τῆς Πόντου, Ἰωάννην τὸν ἀπὸ ὑπάτων, ἀποστειλάς αὐτὸν μετὰ βοήθειας Γοθικῆς), Theoph. AM 6020, Cedr. I 645, cf. Joh. Nik. 90.68 (Justinian 'set Túlilan, a valiant general, over the ships'; cf. Godilas).

In 540 Ioannes was sent with Iulianus 8 as envoy to Chosroes; Proc. BP II 7.15. For the details of the embassy, see Iulianus.

Ioannes 8 ?MVM (honorary); ?dux Palaestinae 529

In summer 529 Ioannes and Theodorus 5, οἱ ἐνδοξότατοι, defeated the Samaritan rebels in Palestine and captured and killed their leader Iulianus 3; Cyr. Scyth. V. Sabae 70.

For his honorific title, see Theodorus. Ioannes and Theodorus were probably colleagues as *duces Palaestinae*; see Theodotus 1. When Theodorus was dismissed and replaced by Irenaeus, perhaps in late 529, Ioannes was probably also dismissed and replaced by Theodotus.

Ioannes 9 advocate of the PPO Orientis (530–)533–534

Advocate (*patronus causarum*) at the court of the PPO Orientis and member of the commissions which worked on the Digest (from Dec. 530 to Dec. 533) and on the second edition of the *Codex Iustinianus* (from 533 to Nov. 534); CJ I 17.2.9 = Just. Const. 'Tanta' (a. 533 Dec. 16; completion of the Digest; Ioannes is named eleventh and last of the advocates; see Leontius 1), Just. Const. 'Cordi' (a. 534 Nov. 16; completion of the *Codex*; see Constantinus 2).

Ioannes 'Maxilloplumacius' 10

?tractator or discussor (in Lydia) 531/541

A native of Cappadocia and a relative of John the Cappadocian (Ioannes 11); cited by John Lydus as an example of the type of agent used by John the Cappadocian during his prefecture (531/541) to extort money from the provinces; Ioannes spent a year in Lydia in which he allegedly ruined the province and impoverished John Lydus' own city of Philadelphia, and then extended his activities into Asia and ruined the *cursus publicus* there by his extortionate demands; described by John Lydus as a large fat man nicknamed Maxilloplumacius by the populace in allusion to his bloated cheeks (John also calls him ὁ πλατύγναθος); Joh. Lyd. *de mag.* III 58–61. Cf. also Petronius 1.

His official status is not certain but he may have been a *discussor* sent to audit accounts or a *tractator* sent to supervise the collection of taxes. Cf. also Ioannes 19 (who could be identical with Ioannes Maxilloplumacius).

Fl. Ioannes 11 ('the Cappadocian')

PPO Orientis (II) 532–541; honorary consul; patricius; consul ordinarius 538

Fl. Ioannes; Rossi I 1064, *CIL* IX 1386, *P. Oxy.* 1974, 1984, *P. Cairo Masp.* I 67252, *P. Flor.* III 284, *PSI* VIII 933, *P. Lond.* III, p. 270, no. 1001. Ioannes; *elsewhere*.

Native of Caesarea, formerly Mazaca, in Cappadocia; Joh. Lyd. *de mag.* II 20, III 57, *Zach. HE* IX 14. Regularly styled 'the Cappodocian' to distinguish him from homonyms; Proc. BP I 24.11, 25.44, II 30.49, *BV* I 10.7, *Anecd.* I.14, 2.15, 17.38, 21.5, 22.1, 23.14, Joh. Mal. 465, 475, 477, 479, 480, fr. 47, *Chron. Pasch.* s.a. 532, *Zach. HE* IX 14. Sometimes alluded to simply as 'the Cappadocian'; Joh. Lyd. *de mag.* II 17, 20, 21, III 57–8, 64–72, cf. Joh. Mal. 475, 480, fr. 47 (Ἰωάννης ὁ ἐπικλην Καππαδόξ). He had a daughter called Euphemia, his only child; Proc. BP I 25.13. Related to Ioannes 10 'Maxilloplumacius'; Joh. Lyd. *de mag.* III 58, 61.

The literary sources, especially Procopius and John Lydus, are very hostile towards him and their accounts are highly prejudiced.

He is said to have received only the most rudimentary education; Proc. BP I 24.12 (λόγων μὲν τῶν ἐλευθερίων καὶ παιδείας ἀνήκοος ἦν. οὐ γὰρ ἄλλο οὐδὲν ἐς γραμματιστοῦ φοιτῶν ἔμαθεν, ὅτι μὴ γράμματα, καὶ ταῦτα κακὰ κακῶς). Procopius goes on, however, to admit that he had great natural abilities which enabled him to rise to a position of very great power (see below).

He was a *scriniarius* on the staff of a *magister militum*; in this post he came to the notice of Justinian for his ideas to help the government (presumably with its finances) and was promoted to a position with financial responsibilities; subsequently he was enrolled among the *illustres* (i.e. he became a senator) and finally rose to the praetorian prefecture; Joh. Lyd. *de mag.* III 57 (τοῖς δὲ τῆς στρατηγίδος ἀρχῆς σκρινιαρίοις συναριθμούμενος, δολερῶς, οἷα Καππαδόκης, παρεισδύς οἰκειοῦται τῷ βασιλεῖ καὶ κρείττονα πίστεως ἐπαγγελιάμενος πρᾶξαι ὑπὲρ τῆς πολιτείας εἰς λογοθέτας προῆλθεν· εἴτ' ἐκεῖθεν, ὥσπερ κατ' ἐπιβάθραν, ἐπὶ τοὺς λεγομένους ἰλλουστρίους ἀνελθὼν καὶ μῆπω γνωσθεῖς, ὁποῖός τις ἐστί τὴν φύσιν, ἀθρόως εἰς τὴν ὑπαρχον ἀνηρπάσθη τιμῆν). He was perhaps on the staff of the MVM *praesentalis* when Justinian himself held the post (a. 520–527). From *scriniarius* he was probably then promoted to *numerarius*; the exact sense of λογοθέτης is not clear; it is often used to mean *discussor* (cf. e.g. CJ X 30.4), but *discussor* is not the title of an office but of a special mission; if the promotion of Ioannes took place within the normal framework, he is most likely to

have become one of the *numeralii*, the heads of the financial departments of the *officium* of a *magister militum*.

PPO ORIENTIS a. 531 Feb. 20/April 30-532 Jan. 14: successor of Iulianus 4 (last attested on Feb. 20, 531); Joh. Mal. 465. Styled ἑπαρχος πραιτωρίων (or similar); Joh. Mal. 465, *Chron. Pasch.* s.a. 532. *Ἐπαρχος τῆς αὐλῆς; Proc. *BP* I 24.11 (in 532). *Υπαρχος; Zach. *HE* ix 14 (in indiction 10 = 531/532). Addressee of numerous laws during this prefecture, calling him 'p(raefectus) p(raetorio)' or ἑπαρχος πραιτωρίων; attested in office a. 531, April 30, *CJ* iv 37.6, vi 27.5, 30.20, 21, 35.11, 37.24, 38.4, 42.31, 46.6; July 29, *CJ* i 3.47, 4.30, 5.21, iii 28.34, vi 22.11, 24.14, 25.8, 9, 10, 26.10, 11, 27.6, 46.7, 61.8; Aug. 23, *CJ* i 3.48, v 37.26; Aug. 30, *CJ* ii 46.3; Sept. 1, *CJ* i 3.49, 50, 5.22, ii 3.29, 41.2, 52.7, 55.6, iii 28.35, 36, 37, 31.12, v 59.5, vi 22.12, 28.4, 43.3, vii 17.2, 47.1, viii 10.13, 39.4, 47.10, 56.4, xii 33.7; Oct. 18, *CJ* i 4.31, iii 33.17, 34.13, iv 1.13, 11.1, 51.7, 54.9, vi 23.30, 49.7, 58.12, vii 31.1, 40.2, 3, viii 40.28, 53.36; Nov. 1, *CJ* i 3.51, ii 3.30, 40.5, iii 1.17, 18, iv 18.3, 27.3, 31.14, 39.9, v 11.7, 14.11, 27.12, 37.27, vi 37.25, 40.3, 50.18, 58.13, vii 6.1, 15.3, viii 37.14, 47.11, 48.6; Nov. 27, *CJ* i 3.52, v 16.27, vi 42.32, 58.14, vii 33.12, 54.3, viii 17.12; a. 531 *sine die*, *CJ* iv 37.7; p(ro)p(osita) on Dec. 1, 531, *CJ* vi 4.4. One undated law, *CJ* v 4.27, must be earlier than *CJ* vi 58.12, which was issued on Oct. 18, 532 (cf. above, and *CJ*, ed. Krueger, p. 197, n. 12).

The first prefecture of Ioannes ended during the Nika riot, when the rioters demanded that Ioannes, Eudaemon 1 and Tribonianus 1 be removed from office and all three were dismissed; Proc. *BP* I 24.17, Zach. *HE* ix 14, Joh. Mal. 475, *Chron. Pasch.* s.a. 532, Joh. Lyd. *de mag.* iii 72. The date was Jan. 14, 532; cf. Joh. Mal. 474-5. His unpopularity was connected with financial measures for which he was held responsible; cf. Joh. Lyd. *de mag.* iii 70 and see further below. His successor was Phocas (*PLRE* II, pp. 881-2).

He was later restored to office (first attested on Oct. 18, 532; see below); Proc. *BP* I 25.1 (he and Tribonian χρόνω ὕστερον ἐς ἀρχάς τὰς αὐτὰς κατέστησαν ἄμφω), Joh. Mal. 477.

A number of laws which were addressed to him as 'p(raefectus) p(raetorio)' are preserved in the *Codex Iustinianus* without a date. They must fall before the publication of the *Codex* in November 534 and may therefore belong either to his first term in office or to the early years of his second; *CJ* ii 7.29 (this law extends a rule concerning the advocates of 'amplissima tua sedes' to those of the Illyrian prefecture; he was therefore PPO Orientis), iv 30.16, 34.12, 35.23, v 3.20 (before Nov. 533; cf. *Inst.* II 7.3), 4.28, vii 2.15, 32.12, 71.8, viii 53.37, xi 48.23, xii 3.5.

PPO ITERVM ORIENTIS a. 532 Oct. 18-541 May 7: a. 532 Oct. 18, *CJ* iii

10.3, 34.14, v 37.28, vi 20.21, 21.18, 31.6, 35.12, 37.26, 38.5, 49.7, 8, 50.19, vii 72.10, viii 4.11, 10.14, 14.7, 25.11, 36.5, 37.15, ix 9.35; a. 534 June 1, Just. *Nov.* 152; July 5, *CJ* vi 23.31; Aug. 11, *CJ* v 17.12 (refers to Osrhoene); Sept. 12, *CJ* i 3.55; Oct. 15, *CJ* vi 58.15. All these laws in the *Codex Iustinianus* are addressed to him as 'p(raefectus) p(raetorio)' or ἑπαρχος πραιτωρίων. He was the addressee also of many novels of Justinian; a. 535 Jan. 1, *Nov.* 1; March 16, *Nov.* 4; April 15, *Nov.* 8; May 18, *Nov.* 24-7; July 16, *Nov.* 28-9; Aug. 13, *Nov.* 15; Aug. 18, *Ed.* 12; a. 536 Feb. 15, *Nov.* 38; March 1, *Nov.* 18; March 17, *Nov.* 19; March 18, *Nov.* 20, 22, 30-1; April 17, *Nov.* 39; May 27, *Nov.* 102; July 1, *Nov.* 103; ?Aug. 18, *Nov.* 46; a. 537 Aug. 17, *Nov.* 44; Aug. 18, *Nov.* 45, 48, 49, 52; Aug. 31, *Nov.* 47; Sept. 1, *Nov.* 51, 54; Oct. 1, *Nov.* 53; Nov. 3, *Nov.* 58, 59; Dec. 1, *Nov.* 60, 61; Dec. 28, *Nov.* 105 epil.; late Dec., *Nov.* 62; a. 538 May 1, *Nov.* 66; May 25, *Nov.* 68; June 1, *Nov.* 70, 71, 72; June 4, *Nov.* 73, 74; Sept. 538/Sept. 539, *Ed.* 13; Oct. 15, *Nov.* 76; a. 539 Jan. 18, *Nov.* 78; March 10, *Nov.* 80, *Nov.* 79 (Lat.) epil.; March 16, *Nov.* 133; April 8, *Nov.* 82; May 18, *Nov.* 83, 84, 87; Aug. 1, *Nov.* 101; Sept. 1, *Nov.* 88, 89; Oct. 1, *Nov.* 90, 91; Oct. 10, *Nov.* 92; Oct. 11, *Nov.* 93, 94; Nov. 1, *Nov.* 95, 96; Nov. 17, *Nov.* 97; Dec. 16, *Nov.* 98; Dec. 20, *Nov.* 99, 100; a. 540 Sept. 7, *Nov.* 106; a. 541 Feb. 1, *Nov.* 107-8 (both addressed to Bassus 4, deputising for Ioannes); April 26, *Nov.* 110; May 7, *Nov.* 109; undated, *Nov.* 151; between April 30, 531 and April 15, 535, *Ed.* 2; a. 535/536, *Ed.* 4. His successor Theodotus 3 was in office by June 1, 541 (cf. below). *Ἐπαρχος τῶν ἱερῶν τῆς ἑω πραιτωρίων τὸ δεύτερον; Just. *Nov.* 1, 18, 19, 22, 24-7, 31, 38, 39, 39 epil., 58, 66, 92, 93, 133, *Ed.* 4. *Ἐπαρχος τῶν ἀνατολικῶν πραιτωρίων τὸ δεύτερον; Just. *Nov.* 60, 61, 68, 70-2, 74, 78, 83, 84, 87-91, 94-6. *Ἐπαρχος τῶν ἀνατολικῶν ἱερῶν πραιτωρίων τὸ δεύτερον; Just. *Nov.* 59. *Ἐπαρχος πραιτωρίων τῆς ἑω τὸ δεύτερον; Just. *Nov.* 51, 53. *Υπαρχος πραιτωρίων τῆς ἀνατολῆς τὸ δεύτερον; Just. *Nov.* 82. *Ἐπαρχος τῶν ἱερῶν πραιτωρίων τὸ δεύτερον (or similar); Just. *Nov.* 4, 6 epil., 8, 15, 20, 28-30, 44-9, 52, 54, 98-103, 105 epil., 106-10, 151, 152, *Ed.* 2 (all give the iteration number except *Nov.* 28, 29, 108, 151, 152 and *Ed.* 2). PPO *per Orientem iterum* (or similar); Just. *Nov.* (Lat.) 1, 38, 39, 46, 52, 53, 60, 61, 66, 70-4, 76, 78, 79 epil., 82-4, 92, 95-101, 105 epil., 106, 108-10. PPO; Just. *Nov.* 62, *Nov.* (Lat.) 4, 6 epil., 15, 18-20, 22, 24-31, 44-9, 51-4, 59, 68, 80, 87, 88-91, 93-4, 102, 103 (the iteration number is recorded in *Nov.* (Lat.) 6 epil., 15, 20, 25, 26, 45-9, 51-4, 59, 68, 80, 87, 89-91, 93-4). *Ὁ τῆς αὐλῆς ἑπαρχος (in 533); Proc. *BP* I 10.7, 13.12. *Ἐπαρχος (in 541); Proc. *BP* I 25.40. *Ἐπαρχος πραιτωρίων (in 532); Joh. Mal. 477. *Ὁ ἑπαρχος τῶν πραιτωρίων, . . . διανύσας τὴν τῶν ἐπαρχῶν ἀρχὴν (in 541); Joh. Mal. fr. 47, cf. Joh. Mal. 480 (δὶς διανύσας τὴν τῶν ἐπαρχῶν ἀρχήν). *Ὁ

ἐνδοξ(ότατος) ὑπαρχ(ος) τῶν ἱερῶν πραιτορ(ίων) τὸ β' κ(αί) πατρικ(ιος) (cf. below); *IGC* 219 Miletus (in 538). Praefectus praetorio; *Marcell. com. Addit. ad a.* 544.

In spring 533 Ioannes opposed Justinian's plans for war against the Vandals because of the problems of financing it and he spoke out openly against the enterprise as too dangerous and uncertain; *Proc. BV* 1 10.3.7-17, cf. *Evagr. HE* iv 16 (summarising Procopius). Later he tried to reduce costs by making special arrangements for baking the expedition's bread, using the fires of the public baths of Achilles, but the bread was not properly prepared and went mouldy; when it was distributed to the troops many fell ill and over five hundred died; the matter was reported by Belisarius, but the emperor took no action against Ioannes; *Proc. BV* 1 13.15-20.

His administration of the prefecture and his personal conduct (see further below) were strongly criticised by Procopius and John Lydus. Both disapproved of his financial measures and John Lydus was further angered by changes introduced under Ioannes affecting the staff of the prefecture. Ioannes increased the financial responsibilities of the office but chose to employ members of his own personal following in place of regular officials of the prefecture; he also reduced the judicial activities of the prefect's own court, so that the staff there suffered in consequence (see below). Ioannes, however, who had to meet the considerable financial demands made by the policies of Justinian, seems to have aimed to increase the efficiency of tax-collection, to abolish abuses, to limit state expenditure where possible, and, in the judicial sphere, to increase the efficiency of the appeals system. In the process he also amassed great personal wealth and enriched himself; cf. *Proc. BP* 1 24.14 (χρόνου γοῦν ὀλίγου χρήματα μεγάλα περιβαλλόμενος).

Referring to his prefecture as a whole, Procopius describes Ioannes as harsh and oppressive and ready to resort to any measures necessary to extract money; *Proc. BP* 1 25.3. This charge is also made by another contemporary source, Pseudo-Zacharias, who states that Ioannes raised a large amount of gold for the imperial treasury from the taxpayers by a variety of crafty devices employed against individuals both in Constantinople and in other cities; *Zach. HE* ix 14. Ioannes' skill at devising ways of raising money for the treasury was grudgingly acknowledged by Procopius; *BV* 1 13.12, cf. *BP* 1 24.13 (he shamelessly ruined men's lives and impoverished whole cities κέρδους ἕνεκα). His first prefecture ended abruptly during disorders which, according to John Lydus, arose from his financial policies; Constantinople was filled with crowds of the unemployed who had been ruined by excessive taxation and thronged to the capital; the attempts of the authorities to maintain

law and order were marked by excessive severity and the crowds rose in a revolt (the Nika riot), during which Ioannes was dismissed in response to popular demand; *Joh. Lyd. de mag.* iii 70 (the narrative of John Lydus is not consistent chronologically; he is clearly referring to the Nika troubles of 532 but blames the disturbances immediately on to the newly created police authorities, the praetors and quaesitors; however the praetor τῶν δήμων and the *quaesitor* were not created until 535 and 539 respectively), cf. also *Zach. HE* ix 14 (the circus parties protested against him and the Nika riot occurred). Ioannes used to send men from his own personal staff (διὰ τῶν οἰκείων) out into the provinces to act as *tractatores* and διαψηφισταί, duties hitherto carried out by regular officials of the prefecture in connection with the assessment and collection of taxes; to simplify matters for them he ordered all documents henceforth to be issued in Greek, a move which is said to have produced administrative chaos as more and more documents came to be issued irregularly and without proper control; *Joh. Lyd. de mag.* iii 68, cf. iii 58 (one such agent was his kinsman Ioannes 10 'Maxilloplumacius'). Ioannes is said to have visited the east himself (perhaps in 540/541, cf. Stein, *Bas-Emp.* ii 481, n. 1), publicly displaying his support for the Green faction (cf. below), and to have greatly increased the burden of taxes on Cilicia; on his return he became enormously wealthy and began to elevate his followers to the highest dignities of the state (ἐπὶ τὰ πρόωτα τῶν τῆς πολιτείας ἀξιωματῶν); *Joh. Lyd. de mag.* iii 62. In Asia Minor he sought to economise by cutting the *cursus publicus*; this measure combined with new troop movements left many local farmers with no way any longer of using their surplus produce to pay their taxes and no new markets in which to sell it in order to raise money with which to pay them; *Joh. Lyd. de mag.* iii 61, cf. *Proc. Anecd.* 30.1-11 (on the reduction of the *cursus publicus* in the east and its consequences). Ioannes took control of the corn-supply of Constantinople away from the *praefectus urbi*; *Joh. Lyd. de mag.* iii 38. He made extensive use of compulsory purchase (συνωνή) to raise supplies both for Constantinople and for the armies, a method which again bore hardly on the taxpayers who had to meet the heavy transport and other costs themselves; *Proc. Anecd.* 23.11-14.

In judicial affairs Ioannes abolished much of the traditional ceremonial of the prefect's court; *Joh. Lyd. de mag.* ii 16-17. He is accused by John Lydus of neglecting his judicial duties by appointing special judges to try financial cases while he devoted himself to riotous living; *Joh. Lyd. de mag.* iii 65 (this presumably alludes to the creation of the *iudices pedanei* in 539; see *Menas* 2 and cf. *Just. Nov.* 82). This reduction of work before the PPO led to unemployment among the advocates of his bar and to the ruin of the judicial staff of the prefecture,

especially when they retired; no new recruits came forward to whom retiring staff could sell their posts as by tradition so as to raise money on which to live in retirement; Joh. Lyd. *de mag.* III 66 (this point helps to account for the bitterness of John Lydus against Ioannes, since he himself worked in the judicial department of the PPO; cf. *PLRE* II, pp. 612-14).

Ioannes was greatly feared because of his influence with Justinian and because he used his position to bring accusations against many people, in this being aided by the flatterers and toadies around him; Zach. *HE* IX 14. In the *praetorium*, the prefect's official residence at Constantinople, he constructed a prison in which he had people tortured and killed allegedly in the effort to extract money from them; the death of one such victim was witnessed by John Lydus; Joh. Lyd. *de mag.* III 57.

He also made changes to the living arrangements in the *praetorium*, transferring his own quarters upstairs and giving to his own followers the use of the former living quarters, at the same time treating his official staff disrespectfully, like slaves; he converted the former baths there into stables for horses and built a new elevated bathroom equipped with fountains; in these premises he is said to have given lavish feasts and to have indulged in all manner of debaucheries, after which he would have himself conveyed to his own luxurious new palace; Joh. Lyd. *de mag.* II 21. He is described as spending his mornings working to rob the taxpayers (ληϊζόμενος τὰς τῶν ὑπηκόων οὐσίας) and the rest of the day in unrestrained debauchery; Proc. *BP* I 24.14-15. On his riotous lifestyle, cf. also Joh. Lyd. *de mag.* III 62, 64, 65.

At the height of his power he had a very large bodyguard numbered in thousands, more than any previous PPO; Proc. *BP* I 25.7.

On the prefecture of Ioannes, and further financial and administrative reforms perhaps inspired by him, see Stein, *Bas-Emp.* II 437-49, 463-83.

HONORARY CONSVL: first attested on Jan. 1, 535; Just. *Nov.* 1. Styled ἀπὸ ὑπάτων; Just. *Nov.* 1, 6 epil., 8, 18-20, 22, 24-7, 30, 31, 38, 39, 44-9, 51-4, 58-61, 66, 68, 70-4, 76, 82, 102, 103, 105 epil., *Ed.* 4. Styled *ex consuli* in the old Latin versions of Just. *Nov.* 1, 6 epil., 8, 15, 18-20, 22, 39, 39 epil., 44-9, 51-4, 59-61, 66, 70-3, 76, 78, 80, 82, 105 epil., 106, 107 epil.

PATRICIVS: first attested on Jan. 1, 535; Just. *Nov.* 1. Also styled *patricius* in Proc. *BP* I 25.40 (in 541), *Marcell. com. Addit.* ad a. 544 (referring to 541), *IGC* 219 (in 538), in Just. *Nov.* 1, 6 epil., 8, 18-20, 22, 24-7, 30, 31, 38, 39, 44-9, 51-4, 58-61, 66, 68, 70-4, 76, 78, 80, 82-4, 87-103, 106, 107, 109, 110, *Ed.* 4 and in the old Latin versions of Just. *Nov.* 1, 6 epil., 8, 15, 18-20, 22, 39, 39 epil., 44-9, 51-4, 59-61, 66, 70-4, 76, 78, 79 epil., 80, 82-4, 88-101, 105 epil., 106, 107 epil., 109, 110.

CONSVL ORDINARIVS (East) a. 538 with no colleague: *Fasti*, Rossi 1 1064, *CIL* V 5410, IX 1386, XII 1530, 1729, 2080, 2081, 2191, 2382, 2407, *P. Cairo Masp.* 167252, *P. Oxy.* 1887, 1974, 1984, *PSI* VIII 933, *P. Flor.* III 284, *P. Lond.* III 538, III, p. 270, no. 1001, *IGC* 219, Joh. Mal. 479, Just. *Nov.* 66, 68, 70-4, 76. Ἀπὸ ὑπάτων ὀρδιναρίων; Just. *Nov.* 78, 80, 83, 84, 87-101, 106, 107, 109, 110. Ex consule ordinario; *Marcell. com. Addit.* ad a. 544, and in the old Latin versions of Just. *Nov.* 68, 74, 79 epil., 82-4, 88-101, 109, 110. Ἐς τῶν ὑπάτων ἀναβεβηκότα τὸν δίφρον; Proc. *BP* I 25.40. See also Bagnall and others, *Consuls*, pp. 610-11.

His downfall came in the tenth year of his prefecture (in 541); Proc. *BP* I 25.3, 25.44. After the return of Belisarius from Italy in 540, Ioannes is said to have been jealous of his popularity and to have plotted against him; Proc. *BP* I 25.12. There was moreover deep hostility between Ioannes and the empress, whom he made no attempt to conciliate or appease; on the contrary he began to make accusations against Theodora to the emperor, and she was unable to take her revenge on him because of the high regard in which Justinian held him; Proc. *BP* I 25.4-5, cf. 25.10 (his influence over Justinian). According to John Lydus, no-one dared to criticise him to the emperor until Theodora took up the matter, and even then Justinian hesitated and took no action; Joh. Lyd. *de mag.* III 69. Finally she contrived his downfall, not for the wrongs which he had committed but because he had opposed her wishes and then accused her to Justinian, and in so doing had almost created a rift between them; Proc. *Anecd.* 17.38. Her instrument was Antonina, the wife of Belisarius; Proc. *Anecd.* 1.14, 2.15-16. Ioannes agreed to a suggestion from Antonina to meet and discuss a plot against Justinian; in spite of a warning supposedly from Justinian himself not to hold secret meetings with Antonina, he met her at Rufiniana, where their conversation was overheard by Narses 1 and Marcellus 3, present by arrangement with Antonina; they attacked Ioannes who escaped in the darkness with his bodyguards and fled back to Constantinople where he sought sanctuary in church; Proc. *BP* I 25.13-30. He was then dismissed from office; Proc. *BP* I 25.31, Joh. Mal. 480, Joh. Mal. fr. 47 (accused of conspiring with Antonina). According to Joh. Mal. 480, he was dismissed in August 541, but the evidence of the Novels shows that it was in May; Ioannes is last attested as PPO on May 7, 541 (Just. *Nov.* 109) and his successor Theodotus was in office by June 1 (Just. *Nov.* 111, *Ed.* 5, Proc. *Anecd.* 22.1-2, 22.6). Possibly August 541 was the date when he was accused of the murder of Eusebius and exiled to Egypt (see below).

He was first transferred to a church at Artace, a suburb of Cyzicus, where he was ordained into the priesthood, much against his will; he was unwilling to practise lest it ruin his chances of an eventual return to

office; Proc. *BP* I 25.31-2, cf. Joh. Mal. 480, Joh. Mal. fr. 47 (exiled to Cyzicus and ordained deacon at Artace). His wealth was confiscated, but a large portion was soon restored to him by Justinian who was reluctant to treat him harshly; Procopius remarks that Ioannes could now have lived a life of luxury and ease, had he so chosen; Proc. *BP* I 25.32-5, cf. Joh. Mal. 480, Joh. Mal. fr. 47 (the confiscation of his property). Shortly afterwards (perhaps in August, see above) he was accused of involvement in a plot to murder the bishop of Cyzicus, Eusebius, to whom he was known to be hostile; although he was imprisoned and beaten to make him confess, his guilt was not established; Proc. *BP* I 25.39-41, Joh. Mal. 480, Joh. Mal. fr. 47. Nevertheless his wealth was again taken from him and he was exiled to Egypt on Justinian's orders; he was placed on board ship, with nothing but one cheap cloak, and conveyed into exile at Antinoe; en route he was forced to beg for food and money at each port of call; Proc. *BP* I 25.42-3 (at the time when Procopius wrote this account, Ioannes was in the third year of his exile in Egypt, i.e. 543/544), *Anecd.* 17.40 (imprisoned in Egypt), 21.5 (deprived of his accumulated wealth), *Marcell. com. Addit.* ad a. 544 (exiled), Joh. Mal. 480-1, Joh. Mal. fr. 47 (exiled to Antinoe). His *domus* (presumably his palace at Constantinople) was given to Belisarius; *Marcell. com. Addit.* ad a. 544.

Even in exile, Ioannes is said to have retained ambitions for imperial power (cf. below) and he also brought accusations against some citizens of Alexandria of owing money to the state; Proc. *BP* I 25.44. Four years after he was exiled to Egypt (in 545), Theodora attempted to suborn two members of the Green faction at Cyzicus to accuse Ioannes of the murder of Eusebius, without success; Proc. *Anecd.* 17.41-4 (clear evidence that the attempt to incriminate him in 541 had failed).

Shortly after the death of Theodora he was recalled to Constantinople by Justinian (in 548) but was not restored to his former dignities (ἐξιώματα), remaining a priest; Proc. *BP* II 30.49-50, cf. Joh. Mal. 480, Joh. Mal. fr. 47 (recalled, he was μὴ ζωσθεὶς ἄλλὰ ὦν παρανόσ). He died in Constantinople; Joh. Mal. 481.

He is described as a very able man, adept at identifying problems and devising solutions; Proc. *BP* I 24.12-13 (= Suid. I 469), cf. *BV* I 10.7 (θρασύτατός τε ὦν καὶ δεινότατος τῶν κατ' αὐτὸν ἀπάντων). He is also described as a very wicked man who employed his talents recklessly to make money at whatever cost to others; Proc. *BP* I 24.13 (= Suid. I 469), *BV* I 13.12, cf. Joh. Lyd. *de mag.* II 20 (an evil man). Said to have been even readier to squander money than to steal it; Proc. *BP* I 24.15.

He is also alleged to have entertained imperial ambitions as a result of listening to sorcerers and astrologers who foretold imperial power for

him; Proc. *BP* I 25.8, 25.19, II 30.52, cf. Joh. Lyd. *de mag.* III 62 (he aimed at the throne and enjoyed great popular support among the worst elements in the population, especially among supporters of the Green faction of the circus). The prophecy was considered to be fulfilled after his downfall in 541 when he was clad in the cloak of a priest called Augustus; Proc. *BP* II 30.52-4.

In religion he evidently passed for a Christian, but is said by Procopius to have dressed for nocturnal vigils in church in a manner more befitting an old-style pagan than a Christian and to have spent the time there mumbling magic spells to bring the emperor under his control; Proc. *BP* I 25.10.

Ioannes 12 bodyguard of Belisarius (533-534)

One of Belisarius' bodyguards, with him in Africa (τῶν οἰκείων ὑπασπιστῶν ἓνα); sent in early 534 to Gadira to occupy the fortress of Septem (modern Ceuta, on the straits of Gibraltar opposite Spain); Proc. *BV* II 5.6. Cf. Belisarius, p. 192. Justinian's regulations establishing troops at Septem under a *tribunus* were issued soon afterwards, on April 13, 534; cf. *CJ* I 27.2.2. Possibly Ioannes remained at Septem as *tribunus* of the troops stationed there.

Ioannes 13 liquatarius (!) at Ravenna 533/534

He received orders from Athalaric, written by Cassiodorus, concerning the barring of access to Ravenna from the direction of Mons Caprarius (apparently in growing use as a secret shortcut by persons seeking to avoid detection) by the construction of pitfalls; Cass. *Var.* XII 17 (addressed 'Iohanni liquatario Ravennati'). The date, under Athalaric and when Cassiodorus (*PLRE* II) was PPO, must be Sept. 1, 533/Oct. 4, 534. The word *liquatarius* is otherwise unknown and its meaning is obscure; it may be an error for *siliquatarius*, i.e. tax-collector (cf. Cass. *Var.* II 12, 26). Cf. Stein, in *Klio* XVI (1919), p. 64 (= *Opera Minora Selecta*, p. 25).

Ioannes 14 optio of Belisarius 533

Native of Armenia; Proc. *BV* I 17.2, II 2.1, 4.9.

He was *optio* of the household of Belisarius in 533; Proc. *BV* I 17.1 (ὅς οἱ ἐπεμελεῖτο τῆς περὶ τὴν οἰκίαν δαπάνης· ὀπίσθια τοῦτον καλοῦσι 'Ρωμαῖοι).

In 533 he went with Belisarius on the Vandal expedition. After the landing at Caput Vada Ioannes was sent ahead of the main army on the march to Carthage with three hundred picked men from Belisarius' bodyguard (τῶν ὑπασπιστῶν) in order to give warning of any sign of

the Vandals; Proc. *BV* I 17.1-2, 18.3. As they neared Carthage he encountered and killed Ammatas, the brother of Gelimer, at Ad Decimum and pursued his Vandals as far as the city gates, inflicting heavy losses; his own men scattered to plunder the dead but he returned with them at dusk to join Belisarius at Ad Decimum; Proc. *BV* I 18.5-11, 19.14.27.30.33.

Later, after the Romans had occupied Carthage and the city came under threat from Gelimer, Ioannes was sent out with most of the expedition's cavalry together with Belisarius' bodyguards and his standard with orders to avoid fighting except for skirmishes; Proc. *BV* II 2.1. He found the Vandals at Tricamarum and himself made camp at a safe distance; Proc. *BV* II 2.4-5. When the armies drew up in battle array, Ioannes occupied the centre of the Roman army, with the bodyguards and standard, where Belisarius later joined him; during the battle (mid December) he led three attacks on the Vandal centre, finally killing Tzazon and causing the Vandals to withdraw to their camp; Proc. *BV* II 3.3-18, cf. 3.28 (for the date).

After the victory at Tricamarum Ioannes was sent with two hundred men in hot pursuit of Gelimer; Proc. *BV* II 4.9. Five days later he overtook him but was then accidentally wounded by one of his own men (cf. Vliaris 1) and died soon afterwards; Proc. *BV* II 4.14-22. By his dying wish no harm came to Vliaris whose action was not intentional; Proc. *BV* II 4.25. His death was widely lamented, especially by Belisarius who honoured his tomb and endowed it with a regular income; Proc. *BV* II 4.19.23-4.

Procopius describes him as very brave and very shrewd, and also as very kindly; Proc. *BV* I 17.2, II 4.20.

Ioannes 15 commander of foederati (in Africa) 533

In 533 he was one of the nine commanders of the *foederati* (ἄρχοντες...φοιδερᾶτων) on the expedition of Belisarius against the Vandals; Proc. *BV* I 11.5-6. For the others, see Althias. At the battle of Tricamarum (Dec. 533) he was one of the ἄρχοντες φοιδερᾶτων on the left wing of the Roman army under Ioannes 14; Proc. *BV* II 3.4. For his presence at Ad Decimum (on Sept. 13, 533), cf. Althias.

He may possibly be identical with Ioannes 36 Troglita, who went on the Vandal expedition but is not identified with him by Procopius.

Ioannes 16 ?MVM vacans 533-?536

A native of Epidamnus (Dyrrachium); Proc. *BV* I 11.8.

?MVM VACANS (in Africa) a. 533-?536: in 533 he was given overall command of the infantry forces sent with Belisarius on the expedition

against the Vandals (τοῖς τῶν πεζῶν ἡγεμόσιν ἄπασιν ἐφειστήκει); Proc. *BV* I 11.8. For the infantry commanders under him, see Theodorus 6. Since Ioannes was succeeded in this post by a *vir illustris* (see below), he presumably had the same rank and may therefore have been MVM *vacans*.

Probably identical with Ioannes whom Belisarius sent in early 534 with his own infantry regiment to occupy Caesarea in Mauretania; Proc. *BV* II 5.5 ('Ιωάννην σὺν λόχῳ πεζικῷ οὗ δὲ αὐτὸς ἡγεῖτο ἔπεμψεν), cf. *BV* II 20.31-2 (for the occupation of Caesarea).

He remained in overall command of infantry forces in Africa until his death, which occurred of illness, probably in 536, when Dominicus 3 was sent (under Germanus, *PLRE* II) to succeed him; Proc. *BV* II 16.2 ('Ιωάννης γὰρ ἐτελεύτα ἤδη νοσήσας, ᾧ δὲ ἐπέκειτο ἡ τιμὴ αὐτῆ, viz. τῷ πεζῷ στρατῷ ἐπιστατήσων).

Ioannes 17 canonicarius Tusciae 534/535

Instructed by the PPO Cassiodorus Senator (*PLRE* II) to pay a sum of *solidi* out of the third instalment of taxes to a *subadiuwa*, to be recorded in the accounts of the thirteenth indiction (a. 534/535); Cass. *Var.* XI 38 (addressed 'Iohanni canonicario Tusciae'). For *canonicarii*, see Jones, *LRE* I 450 with n. 98.

IOANNES 18 praerogativarius (of the PPO Italiae) 534-535

Appointed by the PPO Italiae Cassiodorus Senator (*PLRE* II) as his *cancellarius* for the twelfth indiction (from Sept. 1, 533, when Cassiodorus became PPO); Cass. *Var.* XI 6 (addressed 'Iohanni cancellario'), 27 (cited below). After his year's service he was appointed *praerogativarius* in late 534; Cass. *Var.* XI 27 (title: de praerogativario) quis Iohannem non aestimet merito esse promovendum, qui nostro iudicio cancellorum olim sumpsit officium et tunc iam praerogativam conscientiae meruit, quando secreti munus iudicialis accepit? Fruatur itaque gaudio et ordinis et honoris, qui moribus noscitur placuisse laudatis. Hunc igitur praerogativarium sententia nostra confirmat, ut gradu potitus emeriti devotioribus animis publicae pareat iussioni. For this post, see Stein, *Untersuchungen*, pp. 34-6, with p. 34, n. 1.

Ioannes 19 scriniarius (of the PPO Orientis) 535

A *scriniarius*, sent in 535 to Hellespontus to audit the accounts of civic revenues (ἐδιδάχθη τὸ ἡμέτερον κράτος 'Ιωάννην σκρινιᾶριον {πεμφθῆναι} κατὰ τὴν 'Ελλησποντον ὡς δὲ τύπους τινὰς ἐγχειρισμένον προφάσει λογοθεσιῶν πολιτικῶν πόρων ἦτοι τῶν καλουμένων σολεμίων); he used the opportunity to enrich himself by extortion and returned to

Constantinople a wealthy man (χρυσίου μεστός), leaving the province impoverished; Just. *Ed.* 12 (a. 535 Aug. 18; the edict tries to curb such activities). He was probably a *scriiniarius* of the PPO Orientis sent to Hellespontus as *discussor* or λογοθέτης; cf. *CJ* 1 4.26.4, x 30.4.

He may be identical with Ioannes 10 'Maxilloplumaciūs', but the name is very common and this man was only concerned, apparently, with Hellespontus, not with Lydia.

Ioannes qui et Tzibus 20 ?MVM (vacans) (in Lazica) 535-541

Full name; Proc. *BP* II 15.9 ('Ιωάννης, ὃν Τζίβον ἔκαλοῦν), 29.21 ('Ιωάννης ὁ Τζίβος).

Of humble origins, he rose to the rank of MVM; according to Procopius, he owed his advancement to his villainous character and his outstanding skill at discovering unjust ways of raising money; Proc. *BP* II 15.9 (ἄνδρα ἐξ ἀφανῶν μὲν καὶ ἀδόξων ἀρχὴν γεγονότα, ἐς στρατηγίαν δὲ ἀναβεβηκότα κατ' ἄλλο οὐδὲν ἢ ὅτι πονηρότατός τε ἦν ἀνθρώπων ἀπάντων καὶ πόρους χρημάτων ἀδίκους ἰκανώτατος ἐξευρεῖν). In spite of his post in Lazica, it would seem that his career had not been military (note the word ἀπόλεμος in Proc. *BP* II 17.11), but may in some way have been financial.

?MVM (VAGANS), COMMANDER in Lazica a. 535-541: for his rank, cf. Proc. *BP* II 15.9 (cited above). He is styled ὁ στρατηγός; Proc. *BP* II 15.21, 17.10. Sent to Lazica by Justinian as governor; Proc. *BP* II 15.9 ('Ιουστινιανὸς ἄλλους τε ἐς Λαζικὴν ἀρχοντας ἔπεμψε καὶ 'Ιωάννην). He was in command of the Roman troops stationed in Lazica, but he exercised his authority at the expense of the king of the Lazi (cf. Proc. *BP* II 15.21). He persuaded Justinian to build the city of Petra on the coast and then made it his seat of government; Proc. *BP* II 15.10. Petra already existed as a city bearing the name of Justinian in 535; Just. *Nov.* 28 praef. (dated 535 July 18). Ioannes was presumably therefore already in office in Lazica by 535 at the latest. He is charged by Procopius with responsibility for wrecking relations between the Romans and the Lazi; Proc. *BP* II 15.9, 29.21. He set up a monopoly of trade in Petra under his own absolute control; all imported goods were purchased by him from the traders and resold to the Lazi for the highest prices which he could obtain; Proc. *BP* II 15.11, 29.21. Said (in a speech supposedly delivered to Chosroes by Lazi envoys) to have compelled the Lazi to buy Roman surplus goods not wanted by the Lazi at high prices and to sell Lazic products needed by the Romans at low prices; Proc. *BP* II 15.24-5. In 541 the Lazi, outraged by this and by the stationing of Roman troops in their land, invited Persian aid; Proc. *BP* II 15.12-35, cf. Theoph. *AM* 60.16 (διὰ τὰς 'Ιωάννου τοῦ ἀρχοντος αὐτῶν φιλαργυρίας καὶ ἀδικίας).

Ioannes was in Petra with the Roman army when the Persians invaded in 541; Proc. *BP* II 17.4. By a stratagem he outwitted the Persians on their first attack on Petra and killed many of the attackers; Proc. *BP* II 17.5-10. During the siege which followed he was shot in the neck and killed; Proc. *BP* II 17.16. After the fall of Petra, the large treasure which he had accumulated in the city was carried off by Chosroes; Proc. *BP* II 17.28.

He is variously alluded to, in speeches attributed to the Lazi and Chosroes respectively, as a tradesman governor (ἀρχων κάπηλος) and as an unwarlike tradesman (κάπηλος τε καὶ ἀπόλεμος τὸ παράπαν ἀνὴρ); Proc. *BP* II 15.25, 17.11.

(Fl.) Petrus Paulus Ioannes 21 ?advocate or governor of Caria c. 536

His name appears in Latin in a fragmentary Greek inscription from Miletus recording proceedings about a grant of asylum ([Fl.].../[Pe]l[tr]us Paul(us) Iohann(es)); *IGC* 220² Miletus. His function is unknown, perhaps an advocate or the provincial governor. The date was c. 536 (the bishop of Miletus at the time was Hyacinthus, attested in 536).

See also Fl. Marianus Ioannes 22.

Fl. Marianus Ioannes 22 ?patricius c. 536

His name appears in Latin in a fragmentary Greek inscription from Miletus recording proceedings about a grant of asylum (Fl. Ma[r]i-an[us].../[I]ohann(es) patricius); *IGC* 222² Miletus. For the date, see Ioannes 21.

The word 'patricius' could be a name, not a dignity; moreover, in view of the damaged state of the inscription, it is possible that this man is identical with Ioannes 21.

Ioannes 23 satrap (in Armenia) 536/537

Son of Appianus of Amida, brother of Ephraem (patriarch of Antioch) (*PLRE* II); in 536/537 he was satrap of Armenia (?Balabitene) when the persecution of monophysites began; Joh. Eph. *V. SS. Or.* 21 (*PO* 17, p. 294) ('this man's (sc. Ephraem's) brother therefore was in the district of Armenia and Syria, holding the office of the satrapy previously held by the blessed Thomas himself'), Ps.-Dion. *Chron.* II, p. 40, Mich. Syr. IX 19. Cf. Thomas 17.

Ioannes Cottistis 24 rebel (at Dara) 537

An infantry soldier at Dara (ἐν καταλόγῳ τεταγμένος πεζῶν), he led some troops in rebellion but was killed after only four days; Proc. *BP* I

26.5-12 (τυραννίδι ἐπιθέμενος), *Marcell. com. Addit. ad a.* 537 (Iohannes Cottistis arripiens tyrannidem).

Ioannes 25 vir gloriosissimus; dux Thebaidis 537

Vir gloriosissimus; son of Cometas (*PLRE* II, p. 306); he had sent all the corn required for Constantinople and Alexandria from the Thebaid to Alexandria before the end of October 537 (October of the first indiction); *Just. Ed.* 13. 24 (Ἰωάννης ὁ ἐνδοξότατος Κομήτου {τοῦ} τῆς μεγαλοπρεποῦς μνήμης παῖς πρὸ τῆς συμπληρώσεως τοῦ αὐτοῦ μηνὸς (i.e. October; rather than τοῦ Αὐγούστου μηνός, rightly rejected by Stein, *Bas-Emp.* II 476, n. 1) τῆς ἄρτι παρελθούσης πρώτης ἐπινεμήσεως). He was the *dux Thebaidis* (see also Orion); he was also a *vir gloriosissimus* (ἐνδοξότατος), which implies that he had an (unrecorded) honorary dignity entitling him to that status.

IOANNES 26 v.c., comes (East) 538

In April/Aug. 538 he was v.c., comes and *pater civitatis* at Miletus; *IGC* 219 Miletus (πατερεύοντος Ἰωάννου τοῦ λαμπροτάτου) κόμητος); he was in office when a gate was built; for the date, cf. Nonnus 1).

Ioannes 27 ?MVM vacans (in Africa) 539-545

Son of Sisiniolus; *Proc. BV* II 19.1, 22.3, 23.2, 24.6, *Anecd.* 5.31.

?MVM VACANS a. 539-545: one of the ἀρχοντες sent to Africa in 539 with Solomon 1 (the others included the brothers Leontius 2 and Rufinus 2); *Proc. BV* II 19.1 (= Theoph. AM 6026, p. 205, ed. de Boor). His title and office are uncertain. He is given no title in Procopius; in Corippus he is called simply 'dux'; *Coripp. Ioh.* IV 15-16, 106, 150, 154, 157, 219. He was under the authority of *magistri militum* (Solomon 1, Sergius 4 and Areobindus 2, see below) and superior to *tribuni* (cf. e.g. *Coripp. Ioh.* IV 108-9); he was therefore either an MVM *vacans* (cf. Leontius) or a *vir spectabilis*, perhaps with the title of *comes rei militaris*.

He is not mentioned again by Procopius until after the death of Solomon at the battle of Cillium in 544, and apparently took no part in Solomon's expedition against the Moors of Numidia in 540; cf. Solomon, p. 1174. He then came under the authority of Sergius 4, whom he and other officers found so rude and ungrateful and unworthy of respect that they declined to take action against the marauding Moors of Antalas (in late 544); *Proc. BI* II 22.3-4, *Anecd.* 5.30-1. Later he yielded to the urgent entreaty of the inhabitants and led an army against Antalas and Stotzas, but his plans to join forces with the *dux Byzaceniae* Himerius 1 went wrong; Himerius fell into enemy hands, and Ioannes after this continued to do nothing, in spite of the Moorish raids, because of his

quarrels with Sergius; *Proc. BV* II 23.2-5.32, cf. *Coripp. Ioh.* IV 8-17 (according to whom the orders to Himerius to leave Hadrumetum and rendezvous with Ioannes, purporting to come from Ioannes, were in fact forged by Antalas and Stotzas to draw him into a trap).

After the arrival of Areobindus 2 (probably spring 545) Ioannes was under the joint authority of Areobindus and Sergius; *Coripp. Ioh.* IV 100-3. During 545 he was ordered by Areobindus to take the pick of the troops and advance (from Carthage) against Antalas and Stotzas who were at Sicca Veneria; *Proc. BV* II 24.6. His own forces were quite small and, when Sergius, contrary to Areobindus' request, refused to join forces with him, he was compelled to engage an enemy army which far outnumbered his own; *Proc. BV* II 24.8. Between him and Stotzas there existed, according to Procopius, a deep personal enmity, each desiring the death of the other; during the ensuing battle (of Thacia), which ended in a Roman defeat, Ioannes inflicted a mortal wound on Stotzas but was himself overtaken and killed during the flight; *Proc. BV* II 24.9-14, *Marcell. com. Addit. ad a.* 545, *Coripp. Ioh.* IV 103-200 (account of the battle) with IV 35-8 and 382 (death of Ioannes), *Vict. Tonn. s.a.* 545, and cf. *Jord. Rom.* 384 (Stotzas et Iohannes invicem singulari certamine corruunt). The news of his death is said to have distressed Justinian; *Proc. BV* II 24.16. For the date of the battle, autumn 545, cf. Areobindus 2.

Procopius describes him as a good soldier of good reputation and highly regarded among the Moors; *Proc. BV* II 22.3, 23.32, 24.14.

Ioannes 28 Armenian noble 539

An Armenian, of the Arsacid family, father of Artabanes 2 and Ioannes 34 and father-in-law of Bassaces; *Proc. BP* II 3.29-30, *BV* II 24.2. In 539 he tried to negotiate on behalf of the Armenian rebels with Buzes, formerly a close friend, but was assassinated by him; *Proc. BP* II 3.28-31.

Ioannes 29 'Sanguinarius' MVM (in Italy) 540

According to some sources he pursued and captured the Ostrogothic king Vitigis and took him to Belisarius and Vigilius at Rome; *Lib. Pont.* 61 (insecutus est eum Iohannis magister militum, cui cognomento Sanguinarius), *Paul. Diac. Hist. Rom.* XVI 19. This version is inconsistent with the contemporary account of Procopius. Unless Ioannes is fictitious, he is presumably identical with one or other of Belisarius' generals of that name (perhaps Ioannes 64 the 'Glutton').

Ioannes 30 rich citizen of Edessa 542

Son of Basilius 1 and member of the wealthiest and noblest family in

Edessa; in 542 he was sent against his will by Belisarius as hostage to Chosroes to secure the withdrawal of Persian forces pending the despatch of Roman envoys; Proc. *BP* II 21.27-33 (= Cedr. 1655), *Anecd.* 12.6. Chosroes refused to release him when the envoys failed to appear but agreed to a ransom; however the attempt by the grandmother of Ioannes to send two thousand pounds of silver for him was prevented by Justinian; then Ioannes fell ill and died, and the governor of Edessa (Anonymus 52) produced a letter supposedly from him declaring his wish to leave his property to the emperor (cited by Procopius as an example of Justinian's fraudulent acquisition of property); Proc. *Anecd.* 12.7-10.

IOANNES *qui et* LAXARION 31

dux et augustalis Alexandriae c. 542

Ioannes, nicknamed Laxarion, was a native of Egypt; Proc. *Anecd.* 29.1 (cited below). He was nephew of Eudaemon 2; Proc. *Anecd.* 29.4.

DUX ET AVGVSTALIS ALEXANDRIAE c. a. 542: appointed to succeed Liberius (*PLRE* II); Proc. *Anecd.* 29.1 ('Ιωάννην ἀντ' αὐτοῦ κατεστήσατο Αἰγύπτιον γένος, ἐπίκλησιν Λαξαρίωνα). For the date, cf. Stein, *Bas-Emp.* II 752-3 with n. 1. The date is after the reform of the administration of Egypt and so the post held by Liberius and Ioannes was that of *dux et augustalis Alexandriae* (cf. Just. *Ed.* 13. 22.1).

The appointment was opposed, on behalf of Liberius, by Pelagius (the future pope) and the emperor gave orders cancelling it; but Eudaemon then intervened on behalf of Ioannes and Justinian confirmed it; Proc. *Anecd.* 29.2-6. Confusion followed at Alexandria, where Ioannes, on the strength of his imperial letter, ordered Liberius to leave office and Liberius, on the strength of his, refused; an armed struggle between their respective followers ensued and many perished, among them Ioannes himself (καὶ Ἰωάννης αὐτὸς ὁ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἔχων); Proc. *Anecd.* 29.7-9.

Ioannes ('governor of Alexandria'; Severus, *Hist. Pat.* 1 13): see Dioscorus 2.

Ioannes 32 (ὁ Νικήτου) military commander (in the East) 543

Son of Nicetas; Proc. *BP* I 13.21, II 19.36, 24.15.

In 530 he was one of the commanders of the cavalry stationed on the right wing of the Roman army under Belisarius at Dara (his colleagues were Cyrillus 2, Marcellus 2, Germanus 1 and Dorotheus 1); Proc. *BP* I 13.21, 14.28. For events in this part of the battlefield, cf. Proc. *BP* I 14.44-51.

In 541 he was one of the commanders (οἱ ἄρχοντες) of the expedition led by Belisarius against Persia; after the capture of Sisauranon, when

Belisarius summoned the officers to discuss their next move, Ioannes spoke out for an immediate return to Roman territory in view of the present condition of the army, weakened as it was by the absence of some of the best troops and afflicted by sickness in the summer heat; his advice was accepted and the Romans withdrew; Proc. *BP* II 19.35-46.

In 543 he was again one of the Roman commanders (οἱ Ῥωμαίων ἄρχοντες) serving on the eastern front; before the campaign of that year he camped at Phison near Martyropolis with Domnentiolus, Iustus 2, Ioannes 64 (the Glutton) and Peranius; Proc. *BP* II 24.15. They crossed the Persian frontier at the nearest point when they heard that the other Roman generals had begun the invasion (cf. Petrus (*PLRE* II, p. 870), Philemuth, Verus, Martinus 2 and Valerianus 1) but failed to unite with them; Proc. *BP* II 24.20. They invaded the district of Taraunitis, took a small amount of plunder, and then withdrew to Roman territory; Proc. *BP* II 25.35.

Ioannes 33 advocatus (?at Antioch) 544

Συνήγορος τῆς ἐπὶ χώρας ἀγορᾶς; he was asked by Thecla, one party to an inheritance dispute, for a judgement on the law relating to it; having ruled in her favour, he was chosen by her to act as one of the two judges in the case (τῆς ὑποθέσεως δικαστής; the other, for her opponent, was Asclepius 4, cf. below), but then he revised his opinion and ruled in favour of her opponent; Just. *Nov.* 158 (a. 544 July 14; the ruling was again reversed after appeal to the emperor). The location of these events is not recorded, but Asclepius was a *scriniarius* of the MVM *per Orientem*, which suggests Antioch as the place; if so, Ioannes was presumably an advocate at the court of the *comes Orientis*. The words describing him probably mean simply 'advocate of the local court'.

Ioannes 34 military commander (in Africa) 545

An Armenian, of the royal family of the Arsacidae, son of Ioannes 28 and brother of Artabanes 2; Proc. *BV* II 24.2.15.

Possibly in 542, he was one of the Armenians who deserted the Persians and joined the Romans; Proc. *BV* II 24.2, and cf. Artabanes and Bassaces.

COMMANDER of Armenians in Africa a. 545: sent with Artabanes to Africa in 545 in command of some Armenians (ὧν Ἀρταβάνης τε καὶ Ἰωάννης ἦρχον) accompanying Areobindus 2; Proc. *BI* II 24.1-2. For the date (?spring 545), see Sergius 4.

He was killed in the battle of Sicca Veneria (late summer 545, see Areobindus); Proc. *BV* II 24.15.

Ioannes 35 (Stotzas iunior) rebel leader (in Africa) 545-546

After the death of Stotzas (in autumn 545, see Arcobindus 2) Ioannes

was elected by the rebels as their new leader; *Marcell. com. Addit. ad a. 545*, *Jord. Rom.* 384, *Proc. BV* II 25.3, 27.7.25, 28.5. They numbered about one thousand, namely five hundred Romans, some eighty Huns and the rest Vandals; *Proc. BV* II 27.7-8. As the successor of Stotzas, Ioannes was apparently given the nickname Stotzas iunior; *Marcell. com. Addit. ad a. 545* (in qua tyrannide Iohannes quidam electus Stotias iunior vocitatur), *ad a. 547* (Iohannem id est Stotiam iuniorem), *Jord. Rom.* 384 (Iohannes qui Stotzas iunior dicebatur).

In late 545 he encouraged the revolt of Guntharis; *Jord. Rom.* 384. He and his men accompanied the Moors of Antalas in their march on Carthage; *Proc. BV* II 25.3. Then, when Carthage fell to Guntharis, Ioannes co-operated with him in the murder of Areobindus 2; *Marcell. com. Addit. ad a. 547*. Antalas subsequently decided to abandon Guntharis and support the emperor's cause, whereupon Ioannes and his men made haste to join Guntharis (in Carthage); *Proc. BV* II 27.7. He and Vlitheus 2 accompanied Artabanes 2 into Byzacena against Antalas but remained in camp near Hadrumetum with part of the army while Artabanes and Cutzinas pursued Antalas; *Proc. BV* II 27.25-27. Back in Carthage he happened to be dining in the house of Pasiphilus on the evening when Guntharis was murdered; at the news he sought sanctuary with some Vandals in a nearby church; *Proc. BV* II 28.5-39. He came out only after Artabanes gave pledges of his safety, to be arrested and sent off in chains to Constantinople; *Proc. BV* II 28.40, *Marcell. com. Addit. ad a. 547*, *Jord. Rom.* 384. According to Jordanes, he was then crucified in Constantinople; *Jord. Rom.* 384. The date was presumably spring 546, not long after the death of Guntharis.

Ioannes qui et Troglita 36

MVM (per Africam) 546-551/552; patricius; ?honorary consul

Probably a native of Thrace; *Proc. BV* I 11.10. His home district may have been Trogilos in Macedonia (cf. below).

Nicknamed Troglita; *Jord. Rom.* 385 (Iohannem . . . cognomine Troglitam). The name is unknown; the word may derive from Τρώγιλος, the name of a district in Sicily and of another in Macedonia (cf. Steph. Byz. s.v. Τρώγιλος), and so indicate his place of origin; cf. Partsch, *MGH, AA* III, intro., p. xxv.

Son of Evanthes; *Coripp. Ioh.* VIII 576-7. Brother of Pappus; *Proc. BV* II 17.6, 28.45, *Coripp. Ioh.* I 390-404. Father of Petrus 8; *Coripp. Ioh.* I 197-207, 305, V 410-11, VII 209-18, VIII 577-8. His wife was the daughter of a king (filia regis); *Coripp. Ioh.* I 202. She was presumably therefore of barbarian royal family.

In 533 Ioannes went to Africa with the Vandal expedition under

Belisarius, landing at Caput Vada; he was one of the army commanders; *Coripp. Ioh.* I 375-91, especially 378-80 (hoc litore primus ipse solum tetigi fretus iuvenilibus armis: ex ducibus namque unus eram) and cf. also III 13-20, 281-9 (he served under Belisarius when Africa was freed from the Vandals and the Moorish rulers sought peace). Ioannes is not identified by Procopius in the narrative of the Vandal expedition, but he may be identical with Ioannes 15, one of the commanders of *foederati*.

?DVX of either BYZACENA or TRIPOLITANA ?a. 534-537: after the Vandal war Ioannes remained in Africa under Solomon 1, the successor of Belisarius, and fought in wars against the Moorish tribes (cf. below); he apparently held the post of *dux* in either Byzacena or Tripolitana; *Coripp. Ioh.* I 469-72 (tu nempe, Iohannes, quem novit Massyla manus Solomonis iniqui tempore, dux nostris fueras qui proximus oris vicinaeque maris quondam servator harenae; the speaker is delivering a message from Antalas, ruler of the Moors in Byzacena; Ioannes seems to have been *dux* of coasts and of territory adjacent to Antalas, suggesting either Byzacena or Tripolitana). He was still in Africa in c. 537 (see below) and so perhaps held office from 534 to 537.

Under Solomon he fought successfully in various actions against the Moorish tribes; *Coripp. Ioh.* III 294-300 (at Leucada, an unknown site), 300-1 (ornasti, magne, decorans et Solomonicos auxisti saepe triumphos), 302-4 (apparently he fought against Iaudas). These battles were probably fought in 534 and 535; cf. Solomon. In 536 he took part in the rout of Stotzas at Membressa by Belisarius; *Coripp. Ioh.* III 305-16. Probably in 537 he fought under Germanus (*PLRE* II) at Cellas (Scalas) Veteres and also in another Roman victory at an unknown site called Autenti; *Coripp. Ioh.* III 316-19. At the battle of Cellas (Scalas) Veteres under Germanus, Ioannes with three other officers commanded one of the three divisions of cavalry stationed on the right wing of the Roman army; *Proc. BV* II 17.6. During the battle Ioannes and his men were routed by Stotzas and lost all their standards; *Proc. BV* II 17.14-17.

Some time after this Ioannes left Africa and by 541 had taken up a post on the eastern front; cf. *Coripp. Ioh.* III 28-31 (he left Africa peaceful and prosperous) and see below.

DVX MESOPOTAMIAE a. 541-?545/546: in office in 541, *Proc. BP* II 14.12 (ὁς τῶν ἐν Μεσοποταμίᾳ στρατιωτῶν ἦρχεν), 18.16 (τῶν ἐν Μεσοποταμίᾳ καταλόγων ἀρχῶν). He perhaps held this post until his departure from the east in 545/546 (see below). In 541 near Constantina he arrested the man who had accompanied the envoys of Vitigis to Persia as interpreter and, taking him to the city, learnt from him the details of the embassy; *Proc. BP* II 14.12. According to Corippus,

Ioannes was victorious in his encounters with the Persians, Coripp. *Ioh.* I 56-9; he defeated Nabedes near Nisibis and pursued him to the gates of the city, *Ioh.* I 60-7; he relieved Theodosiopolis when it was besieged by Mermeroës, *Ioh.* I 70-5; and when Mermeroës then made for Dara, Ioannes' headquarters (cf. I 77 ductor qua signa regebat), Ioannes inflicted on him a severe defeat and apparently took him captive, *Ioh.* I 75-98. The events near Nisibis are also recorded by Procopius, whose version is less flattering to Ioannes; during the campaign of 541, Ioannes and Petrus (*PLRE* II) disobeyed Belisarius and made camp too close to Nisibis, where they were caught unprepared and routed by a sudden Persian attack; only the timely arrival of Belisarius saved them and although the Romans then forced the Persians back inside Nisibis, they suffered the loss of Petrus' standard; Proc. *BP* II 18.16-23. The other two incidents are not recorded in Procopius and cannot be dated. Presumably Theodosiopolis is the town on the river Aborras, formerly called Resaina, and not the one in Armenia, which does not appear to have been in the vicinity of any Persian military activity during the war of 540 to 545; Resaina-Theodosiopolis was much closer to Dara.

For his exploits, Ioannes received the praises of Vrbicius, sent by Justinian to observe events on the eastern frontier; Coripp. *Ioh.* 199-109. Perhaps the recommendation of Vrbicius led to Ioannes' next appointment, in Africa. His service in Persia is alluded to at Coripp. *Ioh.* VI 33.

Ioannes was chosen by Justinian to take command in Africa (in succession to Artabanes in 546, see below); he was summoned from the east to Constantinople where he reported to the emperor on the situation on the eastern front and was then ordered to Africa; Coripp. *Ioh.* I 110-24.

MAGISTER MILITVM PER AFRICAM a. 546-551/552: appointed to succeed Artabanes 2 in 546 as supreme commander in Africa; Proc. *BV* II 28.45 ('Ἰωάννην τὸν Πάππου ἀδελφὸν Λιβύης στρατηγὸν μόνον αὐτὸν κατεστήσατο), *BG* IV 17.20 (στρατηγός in Africa), *Marcell. com. Addit.* ad a. 547, *Jord. Rom.* 385, Coripp. *Ioh.* I 48-51 (iamque pius princeps volvebat pectore curas pensans et nostras meditans quem vellet in oras ductorem mandare ducum summumque magistrum militiae). Magister; Coripp. *Ioh.* I 127, 131, II 193, III 60, IV 263, 306, 310, 400, 549, V 11, 389, VI 8, 25 and passim, VII 52, 73 and passim, VIII 107, 135 and passim. He was still in office there in late 551/early 552; Proc. *BG* IV 24.33 ('Ἰωάννης... ὃς τοῦ ἐν Λιβύῃ Ῥωμαίων στρατοῦ ἦρχε).

The expedition left Constantinople probably during late summer 546 and sailed via Sicily to reach Africa at Caput Vada; from there Ioannes sailed on immediately to Carthage which he reached on the third day;

Coripp. *Ioh.* I 128-30 (good sailing conditions to start, suggesting summer-time), 159-231 (the voyage to Sicily), 232-374 (the voyage from Sicily to Caput Vada, troubled by bad weather), 413-16 (he sails on to Carthage). He quickly left Carthage and marched into Byzacena, where he made camp first at Antonia Castra (site unknown); Coripp. *Ioh.* I 417-39 (departure from Carthage), 460-3 (Antonia castra). Here envoys arrived from the Moorish leader Antalas, whose requests Ioannes rejected before placing the envoys under detention; Coripp. *Ioh.* I 463-99. At dawn Ioannes struck camp and set off in search of the Moors who had withdrawn into the woods and hills; Coripp. *Ioh.* I 509-19, II 1-10, 162ff. His advance guard under Geisirith and Amantius clashed with the enemy, who broke off the engagement when Ioannes came up with assistance; Coripp. *Ioh.* II 187-264. He then made camp close to the enemy positions; Coripp. *Ioh.* II 270-1. On the advice of Recinarius he sent an envoy (Amantius) to tell Antalas that he must either submit or face battle; Coripp. *Ioh.* II 342-416. Antalas rejected his terms and Ioannes ordered his men to prepare for battle; Coripp. *Ioh.* IV 304-92, 454-6. The commanders under him were Gentius, Putzintulus, Gregorius 2, Geisirith, Marcianus 5, Senator, Ioannes 37 (the elder), Fronimuth, Marcentius, Tarasis, the *tribuni* Marturius, Liberatus and Vlitian and the Moorish allies Cutzinas and Ifisdaias; Coripp. *Ioh.* IV 472-563. Ioannes himself commanded the centre of the army; Coripp. *Ioh.* IV 564-9. The battle which followed is described in Coripp. *Ioh.* V passim. The location is unknown except that it was somewhere in Byzacena. The date was in late 546 or early 547; cf. Partsch, *MGH, AA* III, intro., p. xxvi, n. 132. The result was an overwhelming victory for the Romans, who succeeded in killing Ierna, one of the leading Moorish chiefs, and in recovering the standards of Solomon 1, lost at Cillium in 544; Coripp. *Ioh.* V 493-527, Proc. *BV* II 28.46.

After the victory Ioannes took measures to restore the administration of Africa and returned in triumph to Carthage; Coripp. *Ioh.* VI 38-103. However the Moors of Tripolitana reassembled under the leadership of Carcasan and began to overrun Tripolitana and to threaten to march on Carthage itself; news of these events was sent to Ioannes by Rufinus 2; Coripp. *Ioh.* VI 104-229, 238-42. This occurred probably in spring and summer 547. In high summer 547 Ioannes set out with his troops and with his Moorish allies under Cutzinas to meet the enemy before they could enter Byzacena; Coripp. *Ioh.* VI 242-75 (for the season, cf. 270-3). At his approach the Moors withdrew before him, drawing him into the sandy desert wastes; he followed but his supplies ran short and his men and horses suffered so much from the conditions that he was forced to return to the coast; he made camp there and ordered supplies by sea, but

adverse winds made this impossible; Coripp. *Ioh.* vi 282-388. The Moors now appeared nearby making for a water supply and Ioannes gave orders to march to the site first, reluctantly according to Corippus since he wanted to avoid battle but yielding to the demands of his troops; he made camp now at a place called Marta, in the district known as Gallica; Coripp. *Ioh.* vi 437-92, cf. iii 74-83 (for Marta) and Partsch, *MGH, AA* iii, intro. pp. xxxi-xxxiii. The battle of Marta, described by Corippus, *Ioh.* vi 497-773, ended in total defeat and rout for the Romans; cf. also Proc. *BV* ii 28.47-8 (the Moors defeated Ioannes, who fled to Laribus; cf. below). Corippus tries to minimise Ioannes' responsibility by emphasising his reluctance to fight (vi 478-81) and blaming the troops for disobeying orders and beginning to fight before they were ranged in order of battle (vi 496-505). The commanders with Ioannes at Marta were Fronimuth, Ioannes 37 (the elder) and the Moor Cutzinas on the right, Putzintulus, Geisirith and Sinduit on the left, and Tarasis with the infantry in front; Ioannes himself was in the centre; Coripp. *Ioh.* vi 516-27.

After his defeat Ioannes first escaped to a small town nearby and then went to Iunci (on the coast) where many survivors had already fled; there he began to reassemble and reorganise his forces; Coripp. *Ioh.* vii 1-3, 110-11, 136-9. He then went to Laribus to collect a fresh army; Coripp. *Ioh.* vii 140-9, Proc. *BV* ii 28.48. Here he was joined by his Moorish allies under Bezina, Cutzinas, Ifisdaias and Iaudas; Coripp. *Ioh.* vii 262-80, Proc. *BV* ii 28.50. Probably in spring 548 (cf. Partsch, *MGH, AA* iii, intro., pp. xxxv-xxxvi) he marched out against the Moors who under the leadership of Carcasan and Antalas were plundering in southern Byzacena; Coripp. *Ioh.* vii 281-7. The enemy again withdrew before him and Ioannes again pursued them, although it was apparently high summer (cf. vii 320-5), but this time he stopped when he found a good site with fresh water and made camp there; Coripp. *Ioh.* vii 310-12, 333-4. He sent the *tribunus* Liberatus to spy on the enemy and learnt from him that the enemy strategy was to exhaust his army by continually retreating until its supplies failed; Coripp. *Ioh.* vii 374-5, 524-30. Ioannes therefore chose to make camp in the open plains near Iunce, close to the harbour of Lariscus (site unknown) where he could import supplies; Coripp. *Ioh.* viii 20-32, 41-2, 45-7. A sedition among his Roman soldiers was suppressed with the help of his Moorish allies; Coripp. *Ioh.* viii 50-163. He now moved his camp onto the Plains of Cato (site unknown, cf. Partsch, *MGH, AA* iii, intro., p. xxxvii, n. 214) where the enemy already were and by a policy of studied inaction induced a sense of confidence in the Moors which caused them to abandon a safe camp and move out onto the open plain; Coripp. *Ioh.* viii 164-79. The

battle of the Plains of Cato which followed, described by Corippus, *Ioh.* viii 378-656, resulted in a decisive victory for the Roman forces and the death of the Moorish leader Carcasan; in all seventeen Moorish chiefs were killed; Coripp. *Ioh.* viii 627-36, Proc. *BV* ii 28.50-1, *BG* iv 17.21, Jord. *Rom.* 385 (death of seventeen chiefs), Paul. Diac. *Hist. Lang.* i 25. The commanders under Ioannes were Putzintulus, Geisirith, Sinduit, Fronimuth and the Moors Cutzinas and Ifisdaias; Coripp. *Ioh.* viii 370-7. Following this victory Ioannes reduced the remaining Moors of Byzacena and Numidia to subjection and brought to Africa a period of peace; Proc. *BV* ii 28.52, *BG* iv 17.21-2, Jord. *Rom.* 385.

The military achievements of Ioannes in Africa were celebrated in verse by the African poet Fl. Cresconius Corippus, whose book the *Iohannis* (*Iohanneis*, *Iohannias*) seu de bellis Libycis ends with a break in the manuscript at the end of the battle of the Plains of Cato after the death of Carcasan; cf. Coripp. *Ioh.* praef. 3-4, 13-18.

Ioannes was still in Africa in late 551 when Totila seized Sardinia and Corsica; he sent an expedition to recover the islands, but it was repelled by the Goths and returned to Carthage to winter and make another attempt in spring 552; Proc. *BG* iv 24.33-7.

PATRICIVS: Jord. *Rom.* 385. Since no evidence of this title occurs in Corippus, it was probably conferred following the victory of the Plains of Cato in 548.

PEX CONSVLE: Paul. Diac. *Hist. Lang.* i 25. This title is uncertain since the evidence is late, but it could well be correct.

The closest adviser and colleague of Ioannes in Africa was Recinarius.

IOANNES 37 ?v.sp.; military commander (in Africa) 546-547

In 546 he was elderly but still vigorous; Coripp. *Ioh.* iv 517-18 (cited below). He was married (cf. below).

He was one of the army officers who served under Ioannes 36 Troglita in Africa in 546 and 547. In winter 546/547 he was on the left wing of the Roman army in the battle in which Antalas was defeated; Coripp. *Ioh.* iv 515-24 (cf. 515-18 at parte ex alia, cornu fulgente sinistro, nomine ductoris ductor ruit ille Iohannes iam senior grandisque annis. cui cruda senectus et virtus iuvenilis erat), cf. *Ioh.* v 449 (in the thick of the fighting). He also fought in the battle of Marta, when he was one of the commanders on the Roman right wing; Coripp. *Ioh.* vi 519-20 (et dux ille potens, felici nomine comptus duc[toris], senior (sic Partsch)] felix non sorte Iohannes). In the flight after the Roman defeat in this battle, he drowned in quicksands; *Ioh.* vi 697-773, cf. vii 174-5 (alluding to the manner of his death in vi 769-70).

His death was lamented in Carthage by his widow; Coripp. *Ioh.* vii 154-94.

Styled 'dux' and 'ductor'; Coripp. *Ioh.* iv 516, vi 697, 719, 764, vii 155. For his rank and post, cf. Putzintulus.

Ioannes 38 bodyguard of Ioannes Troglita 546-548
Armiger, with Ioannes 36 Troglita in Africa from 546 to 548; Coripp. *Ioh.* vi 650, viii 630. In summer 547 he fought with Ioannes in the battle of Marta; Coripp. *Ioh.* vi 650. In summer 548 he again fought with Ioannes in the Roman victory on the Plains of Cato and was himself responsible for killing the Moorish leader, Carcasan; Coripp. *Ioh.* viii 630-6. Possibly identical with Ioannes named among the fighters in winter 546/547 at the defeat of Antalas; Coripp. *Ioh.* v 346, and see Germanus 2.

Ioannes 39 CSL 546/548

Native of Palestine; appointed CSL (ἄρχων τῶν θησαυρῶν) in c. 546/547 (and cf. Victor 3), he held office for a few months only before he was replaced by Petrus 9 Barsymes; according to Procopius, who is hostile to Petrus, Ioannes was a kindly and gentle person who never hurt a soul and had no notion of how to raise extra taxes (οὔτε πορίζεσθαι χρημάτων ἀδίκων πόρους εἰδώς, probably referring to money for the state rather than for his private profit); he was therefore very popular with the people but not with Justinian and Theodora, and so was replaced; Proc. *Anecd.* 22.33-5. The date of his dismissal was after May 1, 546, when Petrus was still PPO, and before the death of Theodora in June 548.

Ioannes 40 envoy to the Franks 547

He and Missurius were sent by Justinian as envoys to congratulate Theodebald on his accession in 547 (accidentibus ad nos legati vestri Iohannis et Missurius, sic); *Ep. Austras.* 18 (= *MGH, Epp.* iii, p. 131). See further Missurius.

Ioannes *qui et* Dandax 41 547

In 547 he and Andreas 5 were tried and convicted of the murder of the bishop of Cyzicus and their right hands were amputated; Joh. Mal. 483 (Ἰωάννης ὁ ἐπίκλην Δάνδαξ).

Ioannes 42 envoy to the Moors in Africa 547/548

A native of Africa; son of Stephanus; endowed with outstanding gifts of persuasion, he was sent by Ioannes 36 Troglita as envoy to reconcile the Moorish allies of the Romans, Cutzinas and Ifisdaias, when they

quarrelled, and to persuade them to fight for the Romans; Coripp. *Ioh.* vii 242-61 (cf. 243 Stephanides iuvenis discreta mente Iohannes, and 260 pro patria libuit tot saeva pericula ferre).

IOANNES 43 v.c., comes 547/548

Ioannes and Theodorus 16 are named in acclamations on an inscription recording the construction of a fortress by Justinian in 547/548 (year 859 of the Seleucid era) near Ma'an (a village in the Jebel 'Ala, east of Antioch); *IGLS* iv 1809 Ma'an (Ἰωάννου τοῦ λαμπροῦ (στάτου) κόμητος καὶ φιλοκτί(σ)του πολλά τὰ ἔτη). The two men were presumably responsible for the work. The word φιλοκτίστης (if that is correct) suggests that Ioannes was involved in much other building activity in the area and was possibly therefore a wealthy inhabitant rather than an imperial official.

Ioannes *qui et* Guzes 44 military commander (in Lazica) 548/549-551

An Armenian; Proc. *BP* ii 30.4, *BG* iv 8.15, 11.57. Son of Thomas 2; Proc. *BP* ii 30.4, *BG* iv 8.15-38, 9.13, 10.7, 11.57.64. He was still a young man (νεανίας τις) in 548/549; Proc. *BP* ii 30.4, cf. *BG* iv 11.57 (νεανίας ἀνὴρ, in 551). For the nickname Γούζης, cf. Proc. *BP* ii 30.4, *BG* iv 8.15, 11.57 (ὄντιερ ἐπίκλησιν ἐκάλουν Γούζην). On the name Guzes, see Justi, p. 124.

During the siege of Petra by Dagisthaeus in 548/549 he led a force of fifty volunteers from the Roman army who succeeded in entering the city but withdrew for lack of support; he was wounded in the fighting; Proc. *BP* ii 30.3-4.6.

In 549 at the battle of the river Hippis (in Lazica) he and Philegagus commanded the Roman cavalry; Proc. *BG* iv 8.15. At the start of the battle they dismounted with their men and fought on foot; Proc. *BG* iv 8.30. In an act of individual bravery after the battle was won, Ioannes slew an Alan who was barring entrance to the Persian camp; Proc. *BG* iv 8.38.

In 550 he and Vligagus were sent by Bessas against the Abasgian rebels; they captured the stronghold of Trachea and brought the revolt to an end; Proc. *BG* iv 9.13-30. Also in 550 he was sent by Gubazes with a thousand Romans to end the revolt of the Apsilii; he won them back to their allegiance to the Lazic king without a fight; Proc. *BG* iv 10.7.

He was present during the final attack on Petra by Bessas (in March/April 551); together with some of his Armenian followers he gained a foothold on the fortifications, and after brave fighting was killed; Proc. *BG* iv 11.57.64.

Procopius called him a good soldier (διαφερόντως ἀγαθὸς τὰ πολέμια, a stock phrase); Proc. *BG* IV 8.15.

Ioannes qui et Coccorobius 45

PVC 550

In office on April 16, 550, when the factions fought and there was looting; Joh. Mal. *frag. Tusc.* (*PG* 85.1820B) (ἐπάρχου τὸ λοιπὸν τοῦ Ἰωάννου τοῦ ἐπικλην Κοκκοροβίου, on April 16 of indiction 13), Theoph. *AM* 6042 (ἐπάρχου ὄντος Ἰωάννου τοῦ ἐπιλεγομένου Κοκκοροβίου), cf. Joh. Mal. 484 (recording the event but not naming Ioannes).

The district later known as τὰ Κοκκοροβίου was perhaps named after this man; cf. Janin, *Const. Byz.* 345, *Églises et monastères*², 282–3.

Ioannes 46

MVM per Illyricum (?549–) 550 (–?553)

Nephew of Vitalianus (rebel under Anastasius; *PLRE* II); Proc. *BG* II 5.1, 7.25, 28.33, III 3.2, 5.4, 34.41, 39.10, 40.10, IV 23.4, 34.22, *Anecd.* 5.7. Procopius distinguishes this man from homonyms by this relationship; twice he calls him ἀνεψιός of Vitalianus (*BG* III 12.1, 13.20) and four times simply ὁ Βιταλιανοῦ (*BG* IV 21.4, 26.24, 33.18, 35.34). Also called ὁ Βιταλιανοῦ by Agathias (I 11.3, 15.8). Cousin or uncle of Bonus 2; *BG* III 10.14. He married Iustina 1, the daughter of Germanus (cousin of the emperor Justinian; in *PLRE* II); Proc. *BG* III 12.11, 39.10, 40.10, 40.27, IV 26.11, *Anecd.* 5.11–12 (and cf. below).

By 537 he was already, according to Procopius, a famous and successful soldier, known for his courage and for the severe austerity of his life; Proc. *BG* II 10.9–10. He was a close friend of Narses 1; Proc. *BG* II 16.5.

MAGISTER MILITVM (VACANS) a. 537–549: magister militum; *Marcell. com. Addit.* ad a. 538, 544, 547, 548. Στρατηγός (in a speech attributed to Narses); Proc. *BG* II 16.10 (a. 538). He was presumably already *magister militum* when sent to Italy in 537 (see below). In 549 he probably became MVM *per Illyricum* and may have held that post down to 553 (see below).

In 537 Ioannes sailed from Constantinople with eight hundred Thracian cavalry as part of the army sent to reinforce Belisarius in Italy; after landing at Hydruntum with Alexander 2 and Marcentius, he marched to Campania, taking with him a large number of wagons from Calabria; with these laden with corn he then followed the coast road, planning to unite with Paulus 5 and Conon 1 and the fleet at Ostia; Proc. *BG* II 5.1–3, *Marcell. com. Addit.* ad a. 538. He reached Ostia safely and made camp, surrounding it with wagons for security; there he was visited by Belisarius during the night, and on his instructions conveyed the provisions by boat to Rome; Proc. *BG* II 7.1–12, *Marcell. com. Addit.*

ad a. 538. The date was now mid December; Proc. *BG* II 7.12. According to the *Marcellini comitis Additamenta* Ioannes made camp in Portus and remained there until he went into Samnium (cf. below); however it is clear from Procopius that at this time Portus was still held by the Goths, who only vacated it later on, during the three-month truce which was not made until after the arrival of Ioannes (cf. Belisarius); only when they withdrew was Portus occupied by Paulus, who had remained in Ostia when the rest of the army (including presumably Ioannes) had moved to Rome after conveying the supplies there; cf. Proc. *BG* II 7.11–12.16.

After the three-month truce was made, Ioannes was sent by Belisarius to winter at Alba in Picenum; he had his own eight hundred cavalry, together with four hundred of Valerianus's men under the command of Damianus 2 and also eight hundred men from Belisarius' own bodyguard commanded by Suntas and Adegis who were ordered to follow Ioannes wherever he might lead them; Ioannes was ordered to remain quiet so long as the Goths observed the truce, but should they break it he was to overrun Picenum, avoiding unnecessary risks, and to take slaves and plunder from the Goths there while not injuring the Romans; all the booty which he acquired was to be kept intact for division among the whole army; Proc. *BG* II 7.25–34, cf. *Marcell. com. Addit.* ad a. 538 (cited below).

After the Goths tried to break into Rome during the truce, Ioannes was ordered to begin operations; with his two thousand cavalry he plundered Picenum and enslaved many women and children of the Goths; Proc. *BG* II 10.1, 17.1–2. He defeated and killed Vlitheus, the uncle of Vitigis, and most of his army; Proc. *BG* II 10.2. He captured Aternum, defeating the Gothic commander Tremo, and then took Ortona before moving north through Picenum, still plundering as he went; he left Auximum and Urbinum with their Gothic garrisons in his rear as they were too difficult to take and occupied Ariminum at the invitation of the Roman inhabitants; his plan was to threaten Ravenna and so induce the Goths to abandon the siege of Rome, which they did; for this exploit Ioannes won great acclaim; *Marcell. com. Addit.* ad a. 538 (Ioannes vero in Portu quae posuerat castra deserens Samnitum regionem ingressus est Aternoque oppido expugnato Tremonem Gothorum ducem cum suis prosternit, Ortonam quoque similiter invadit, Picenum depraedans Ariminum occupat), Proc. *BG* II 10.3–9, 19.8. The date was around mid March 538; Proc. *BG* II 10.13. In Ariminum he is said to have received secret messages from the Gothic princess Matasuentha, offering her hand in marriage and proposing to betray Ravenna; Proc. *BG* II 10.11–12.

Belisarius now sent Ildiger and Martinus 2 to Ariminum, to install infantry from Ancona there in place of Ioannes and his men; Proc. *BG* II 11.4. Ioannes however refused to go and remained in Ariminum with his own men and the troops under Damianus together with the infantry from Ancona; Ildiger and Martinus left taking the bodyguards of Belisarius with them; Proc. *BG* II 11.22. Soon afterwards Vitigis arrived and laid siege to the city; Proc. *BG* II 12.1. When the Goths tried to bring up a siege engine, with only a narrow trench between them and the walls, Ioannes took a party of Isaurians (troops from Ancona; *BG* II 11.5) out by night and widened the trench, piling the earth up into a barrier; Proc. *BG* II 12.6-9. Later, when the Goths tried to withdraw the engine, Ioannes fought hard to prevent them but in vain; he did however inflict such casualties that they abandoned their plans to take the city by assault and chose instead to starve it into surrender; the besieged were already in distress because they had no source of fresh supplies; Proc. *BG* II 12.13-25.

By midsummer 538 there was apparently much hostility to Ioannes among the army commanders with Belisarius and Narses 1 (now together in Picenum); he was accused of ruining the strategy of Belisarius by his recklessness and greed; Proc. *BG* II 16.4. Narses is represented by Procopius as defending him; Proc. *BG* II 16.5-13. Ioannes now sent a letter to Belisarius declaring that he would be forced to surrender Ariminum in seven days if no relief came; Proc. *BG* II 16.14-16. Belisarius therefore mounted a relief expedition, and Ariminum was saved with the defenders on the brink of surrender from starvation; to Belisarius, who pointed to Ildiger, the first to enter the city, as his saviour, Ioannes retorted that he really owed his life to Narses, for persuading Belisarius to come to the rescue; Proc. *BG* II 18.2-3.

He accompanied Narses (now unwilling to co-operate with Belisarius) when Narses followed Belisarius to Urbinum; there they made camp apart from Belisarius; Proc. *BG* II 19.1-2. After Narses decided to leave Urbinum, Ioannes accompanied him to Ariminum and then was sent by him with their whole army against Caesena; he failed to capture this but moved on with Iustinus 2 and took Forum Cornelii by surprise, and then, as the Goths continually withdrew before him avoiding battle, he took possession of the whole of Aemilia; Proc. *BG* II 19.10.19-22. The date was Dec. 538/early 539; cf. Proc. *BG* II 20.1.

While he and Iustinus were in Aemilia, their help was requested by Martinus whom Belisarius had sent to raise the siege of Milan; they refused to obey the orders of Belisarius to go to Milan and would accept orders only from Narses; Narses therefore issued the order and shortly

afterwards Ioannes set off to the coast to obtain boats for crossing the river but fell ill before he could do anything; Proc. *BG* II 21.14-24. This was around February/March 539; Proc. *BG* II 22.1.

In summer 539, after the recall of Narses (Proc. *BG* II 22.4), Ioannes and Martinus were sent by Belisarius to contain Vraias in Milan; they occupied Dertona, where their presence helped deter Vitigis from marching to the relief of Auximum; later they checked the advance of Vraias near Dertona; when the Franks invaded Italy, Ioannes and Martinus were forced to flee to Tuscany, but returned after the Franks withdrew; they were still there in the following year, when they captured a number of forts in the Cottian Alps and relieved Sisigis and Thomas 8; Proc. *BG* II 23.3-5, 24.12, 24.21-4, 25.13-15, 25.19, 26.1, 28.33-5. For further details on these events, see Martinus.

He apparently now joined Belisarius at the siege of Ravenna. Ioannes was one of the commanders whom Belisarius sent away from Ravenna shortly before entering the city (in May 540, Agnellus, *Lib. Pont. Eccl. Rav.* 62) because he doubted their loyalty to himself (the others were Aratius, Bessas and Narses 2); Proc. *BG* II 29.29.

When Belisarius was recalled to Constantinople, Justinian entrusted Italy to Ioannes, Bessas and the other commanders; Proc. *BG* II 30.2. Their conduct of affairs during the revival of Gothic power under Ildibad, Eraric and Totila in 540 and 541 was strongly criticised by Procopius, who contrasts them unfavourably with Belisarius; according to him their actions were motivated by personal gain and failed to meet the needs of the situation; moreover they were hampered in their effectiveness because they were all of equal rank and because their troops were reluctant to fight; Proc. *BG* III 1.16-24, 1.33-4, 2.14. Procopius is here again concerned to defend the reputation of Belisarius.

Only after the accession of Totila in 541 did Justinian begin to criticise their inaction, whereupon Ioannes and the others, leaving garrisons in the cities, assembled in Ravenna and decided to take Verona and then to march against Totila in Ticinum; Proc. *BG* III 3.1-3. Ioannes was presumably one of the eleven commanders who led the Roman army against Verona (probably in spring 542); Proc. *BG* III 3.4. They failed to take Verona (cf. Constantianus 2 and Artabazes) and then moved south to Faventia, where they delayed, because they could not agree how to act against Totila; Proc. *BG* III 3.15-22, 4.9. Totila was therefore able to cross the Po, and when they advanced to meet him, they were defeated and scattered, fleeing for refuge to various cities; Proc. *BG* III 4.20-32. Ioannes apparently fled to Ravenna with Bessas and Cyprianus (see below).

Soon afterwards an appeal for help from Iustinus 2, besieged in

Florence by a strong Gothic army, reached Ravenna addressed to the Roman commanders (πρὸς τοὺς τοῦ Ῥωμαίων στρατοῦ ἄρχοντας); a considerable Roman army therefore set out immediately, under the command of Ioannes, Bessas and Cyprianus; at the news the Goths abandoned the siege and withdrew to Mucellis (Mugello) and the relieving army joined forces with Iustinus and pursued them; Proc. *BG* III 5.1-6. En route the commanders decided to cast lots to choose one of their number to go ahead with the pick of the whole army and engage with the Goths first; the lot fell on Ioannes, but the others then declined to co-operate and he had to go ahead with only his own troops; Proc. *BG* III 5.7-9. He met the Goths on a hill in a hard fought battle but the Romans began to give way after one of his bodyguards was killed; they then turned and fled back to the rest of the army, now drawn up in battle array on the plain; a rumour spread that Ioannes was dead, killed by one of his bodyguards, and the whole army broke up and fled in disarray; after wandering for many days they sought refuge in whatever strongholds they came upon, reporting everywhere that Ioannes was dead; Proc. *BG* III 5.10-18, *Marcell. com. Addit.* ad a. 542. The date was in early summer 542; Proc. *BG* III 5.19.

Ioannes himself escaped to Rome; Proc. *BG* III 6.8. He apparently remained in command there for the next two years; Proc. *BG* III 9.20 (cf. below), *Marcell. com. Addit.* ad a. 544 (cf. below). He presumably joined the other commanders in supporting the letter sent to Justinian by Constantianus explaining the impossibility of continuing the war in Italy; Proc. *BG* III 9.5-6 (a. 543). He refused to allow the senators of Rome to reply to overtures from Totila and expelled Arian priests from Rome on suspicion of favouring the Gothic cause; Proc. *BG* III 9.20-1 (a. 543/544[?]). Probably in spring 544 Ioannes was in Rome when Totila moved into the vicinity to threaten the city; *Marcell. com. Addit.* ad a. 544 (*Roma vero obsidetur a longe, in qua praeerat Iohannes magister militum*), cf. Proc. *BG* III 9.22, 10.19-23 (Totila close to Rome). In early 545 Rome was under the command of Bessas, sent by Belisarius to replace Ioannes; *Marcell. com. Addit.* ad a. 545 (*qui, sc. Belisarius, veniens Romae dirigit Bessam, Iohannem mittit ad imperatorem*; cf. below), Proc. *BG* III 11.37.

In 545 he was sent to Constantinople by Belisarius to ask the emperor for substantial reinforcements and for money, arms and horses; Belisarius bound him with powerful oaths to return as quickly as possible; Proc. *BG* III 12.1, *Anecd.* 5.9, *Marcell. com. Addit.* ad a. 545 (cited above). He remained in Constantinople for a long time but achieved none of the things for which he had been sent; Proc. *BG* III 12.11. While there, however, he married Iustina, the daughter of Germanus (*PLRE* II), a

marriage which was above his station and met strong opposition from the empress Theodora who threatened to destroy him; Proc. *Anecd.* 5.9-12, *BG* III 12.11.

Probably in early 546 Ioannes and Isaac I were sent with an army of Romans and barbarians to join Belisarius at Epidamnus; Proc. *BG* III 13.20-1, 18.1, cf. *Marcell. com. Addit.* ad a. 547 (*Iohannes magister militum ad Italiam properat*). The statement in *Jord. Rom.* 380 that he and Valerianus I were in Epirus together in 545/546 is an error; cf. Stein, *Bas-Emp.* II 580, n. 1 and Valerianus. Ioannes advised Belisarius to transport all their troops to Italy and to march with united strength against the enemy; he was overruled and, while Belisarius took most of the army, including apparently Isaac and his men, by sea to Portus, Ioannes was ordered to go to Calabria, to reoccupy the provinces of south Italy, and then to rejoin Belisarius at Rome; Proc. *BG* III 18.1-5, *Marcell. com. Addit.* ad a. 547 (sent to Calabria). After the departure of Belisarius, Ioannes crossed to Calabria and landed unobserved by the Goths who were encamped near Brundisium; aided by a captured scout, he seized their horses at pasture, mounted all of his men who were still on foot and attacked the Gothic camp, taking it by surprise and killing most of the enemy; Proc. *BG* III 18.11-16. He then took steps to win over the inhabitants of Calabria to the imperial cause; Proc. *BG* III 18.17. Leaving Brundisium he made a sudden attack on Canusium and took it; there he was met by Tullianus from whom he received the submission of Lucania and Bruttium in return for promises to treat the inhabitants fairly; most of southern Italy had now given its allegiance to the emperor; Proc. *BG* III 18.18-23.

Totila now sent a small force to Capua to follow the movements of Ioannes; Ioannes feared a trap and instead of rejoining Belisarius at Rome he moved into Lucania and Bruttium; Proc. *BG* III 18.24-5. There he took Rhecimundus and his army by surprise, attacking them between Rhegium and Vibo and putting them to flight before capturing Rhecimundus and the survivors; Proc. *BG* III 18.26-8. He then stayed for a time in that area, ignoring the reproaches of Belisarius for not going on to Rome, and later on withdrew to Cervarium in Apulia where he remained inactive; Proc. *BG* III 18.29. He left a force of three hundred Antae in Lucania to help Tullianus guard the passes; Proc. *BG* III 22.3. According to Procopius, Ioannes refused to join forces with Belisarius after his return to Italy because he feared that Antonina, wife of Belisarius, was plotting to assassinate him, on orders from Theodora following his marriage; Proc. *Anecd.* 5.7, 5.13-14, cf. *BG* III 25.22 (allusion to the suspicion between Belisarius and Ioannes, made in a speech attributed to Totila).

Shortly after the capture of Rome (Dec. 546), Totila marched against Ioannes and the defenders of Lucania; Proc. *BG* III 22.6, 22.18. At the news, Ioannes hurriedly withdrew from Apulia back to Hydruntum; Proc. *BG* III 22.20. The three hundred Antae in Lucania withdrew to rejoin forces with him; Proc. *BG* III 22.21. South Italy quickly fell to the Goths, who grew careless, scattering over the countryside; Ioannes therefore sent a large force against them and inflicted such losses that Totila gathered his followers together and remained in camp on Mons Garganus in Apulia; Proc. *BG* III 22.22-4. Ioannes now visited Tarentum at the invitation of the inhabitants, leaving most of his men to garrison Hydruntum; he fortified the isthmus at Tarentum and left a garrison there, so that the inhabitants of the city and the neighbourhood had a stronghold against the Goths; Proc. *BG* III 23.12-17.

Later, he laid siege to Acherontia; Proc. *BG* III 26.1. The date was probably in late spring/early summer 547, when Belisarius had occupied Rome and Totila was engaged in trying to recover it; cf. Proc. *BG* III 23.18, 24.1, 24.34, 26.2 and Stein, *Bas-Emp.* II 586 with n. 3. When the siege of Acherontia made no progress, Ioannes decided to raid Campania and liberate the senators whom Totila had imprisoned there; selecting his best cavalry he therefore made all haste into Campania to take the enemy by surprise; Proc. *BG* III 26.1-2. At Capua he defeated a detachment of Gothic cavalry, which had been sent ahead of their main force; the Goths were joined in their flight by the main army and they all returned to Totila at Rome; Proc. *BG* III 26.6-9. Ioannes was now joined by seventy Roman soldiers who had formerly deserted to the Goths and who wished now to return to their allegiance; he was able to free only a few captive senators but found many of their womenfolk, whom he liberated and sent to Sicily together with the seventy soldiers; Proc. *BG* III 26.10-14, cf. *Marcell. com. Addit.* ad a. 548 (Iohannes magister militum in Campania praedans Gothos nonnullas liberat senatrices). Totila now marched against him in person; Ioannes was in camp in Lucania with a thousand men and had sent out scouts but Totila traversed the mountains and launched a surprise night attack; however in the confusion Ioannes and most of his men escaped under cover of darkness; Proc. *BG* III 26.15-23, cf. *Marcell. com. Addit.* ad a. 548 (said to have been betrayed by the Bulgars under him - qui postea patitur nocturnum Totilae superventum Bulgarum suorum proditione).

Ioannes escaped with his men back to Hydruntum; Proc. *BG* III 26.28. He was still there when Verus reached Italy with reinforcements; Proc. *BG* III 27.4 (late 547). Soon afterwards he took his whole force to Tarentum; Proc. *BG* III 27.11. He was joined by three hundred men sent by Valerianus (probably in Dec. 547); Proc. *BG* III 27.15. It was perhaps

at this time, if not earlier, that he garrisoned Rusciane with three hundred Illyrian cavalry under Chalazar and Gudilas; Proc. *BG* III 28.8, 30.6.

In 548 he was summoned to Hydruntum by Belisarius and accompanied him and Valerianus by sea to the relief of Rusciane; the attempt was a failure (cf. Belisarius) and they sailed on to Croton; Proc. *BG* III 30.9-14. At Croton, in a council of war, it was decided that he and Valerianus should disembark their men and horses and march overland to Picenum, to harass the enemy who were besieging various places there; Ioannes obeyed his orders, taking with him his own troops, numbering about a thousand, but Valerianus chose to go by sea and join him in Picenum; Proc. *BG* III 30.15-17. Totila sent a further two thousand cavalry to Picenum against them; Proc. *BG* III 30.18.

Ioannes later returned from Italy to the east, where in summer 549 he was in Illyricum; Proc. *BG* III 34.41. Although then ordered to return to Italy with his troops, he seems not to have gone (cf. below).

MVM PER ILLYRICVM a. (?549-) 550 (-?553): στρατηγός... τῶν ἐν Ἰλλυριοῖς καταλόγων; Proc. *BG* III 39.10 (a. 550; in Illyricum). Perhaps already MVM *per Illyricum* in 549 when he commanded troops in Illyricum (see below). He may have retained this post when sent to Italy with Narses (cf. Artabanes), but could have become *vacans* again. He was one of the στρατηγοί under Narses I in 553; Agath. I 11.3.

In spring 549 (on the date, see Aratius) Ioannes was one of the commanders sent to aid the Lombards against the Gepids; he was ordered to return to Italy with his followers as soon as a decisive battle should have been fought with the Gepids; Proc. *BG* III 34.41. In fact the campaign came to an abrupt end when the Gepids and Lombards made peace, but the Roman commanders remained in Illyricum because of the threat from the Gepids and their Herulian allies, reporting on the situation to the emperor; Proc. *BG* III 34.45-7.

In 550 Ioannes was in Illyricum; Proc. *BG* III 39.10. He is not mentioned by Procopius, however, in connection with the invasion of the Slavs, who defeated all opposition and raided widely in Thrace and Illyricum in early 550; cf. Proc. *BG* III 38.3-4 (all the Roman generals - στρατηγοί - who met the raiders either fled or were killed). Later in the year, when Justinian sent Germanus (*PLRE* II) to raise troops in Thrace and Illyricum for the Italian campaign, Germanus was ordered to take Ioannes with him from Illyricum to Italy; Proc. *BG* III 39.9-10. After the death of Germanus, Ioannes was given command of the Italian expedition jointly with Iustinianus 3, the son of Germanus; they went to Salona in Dalmatia where they planned to winter, since it was too late in the year to go round by land and they had no ships to ferry them over

to Italy; Proc. *BG* III 40.10-11, cf. 40.27 (in Dalmatia in late 550). He reached Salona with the imperial army in late 550 and wintered there, intending to march on Ravenna in the spring; Proc. *BG* III 40.30, IV 21.4.

However, in the following year, when ready to march, Ioannes was ordered by Justinian to wait at Salona for Narses I, whom the emperor had decided to put in command of the expedition; Proc. *BG* IV 21.5-6. Procopius records a suspicion that other commanders would have refused to obey orders from Ioannes, since they would not accept him as their superior in rank; Proc. *BG* IV 21.7-9. He therefore remained in Salona in 551 awaiting the arrival of Narses; Proc. *BG* IV 22.1 (see Narses for the delays which ensued).

During the summer Ioannes acted promptly, in spite of Justinian's orders to remain at Salona, when Valerianus asked him to help the Romans besieged in Ancona; he equipped a fleet of thirty-eight warships and with picked soldiers on board sailed from Salona to Scardona where he was met by Valerianus with twelve ships; after a conference they sailed across to Sena Gallica, near Ancona; Proc. *BG* IV 23.4-9. The Gothic fleet, consisting of forty-seven ships, came out against them and a battle was fought at sea off Sena Gallica which ended in a decisive victory for the Romans; Proc. *BG* IV 23.10-38. The Goths then abandoned their camp at Ancona and the Romans occupied it and re-supplied the garrison at Ancona before sailing away, Valerianus to Ravenna and Ioannes back to Salona; Proc. *BG* IV 23.39-42. For the date, after June 551, cf. Stein, *Bas-Emp.* II 598, n. 1.

In 552, when Narses left Salona with the expedition against Italy (Proc. *BG* IV 26.5), Ioannes accompanied him with both his own troops and those assembled by Germanus (σύν τε τῷ οἰκείῳ στρατεύματι καὶ τῷ πρὸς Γερμανοῦ τοῦ κηδεστοῦ ἀπολελειμμένῳ); Proc. *BG* IV 26.11. With his local knowledge Ioannes advised Narses on the technique of transporting armies across rivers by building bridges of small boats and so enabled the expedition to march along the coast to Ravenna; Proc. *BG* IV 26.24-5. He presumably accompanied the army on its march south to Busta Gallorum; cf. Narses. At Busta Gallorum Ioannes and Narses held the left flank with the best troops; in addition to the regular troops they each had their own following of bodyguards and Huns (ἐκατέρῳ γὰρ τῶν ἄλλων χωρὶς στρατιωτῶν, δορυφόρων τε καὶ ὑπασπιστῶν καὶ βαρβάρων Οὐννων εἴπετο πλῆθος ἀριστίνδην συνειλεγμένων); Proc. *BG* IV 31.2-3. Later in 552 he and his followers (σύν τοῖς οἱ ἐπομένοις) took part in the attack on Rome (cf. Narses); Proc. *BG* IV 33.18. After the occupation of Rome, he and Philemuth were sent by Narses into Tuscany to prevent Theia reaching Campania and relieving Cumae; when Theia bypassed them, they were recalled to rejoin the

main army and to march into Campania; Proc. *BG* IV 34.21-4. Ioannes evidently took part in the battle of Mons Lactarius (in October 552; cf. Narses); when the Goths offered terms to end the battle Ioannes advised Narses to accept them; Proc. *BG* IV 35.34-5.

In summer 553 (cf. Valerianus) Ioannes was sent by Narses to north Italy with Artabanes, Valerianus, Fulcaris and other commanders to prevent the Frankish and Alamannic invaders from crossing the Apennines, or at least to harass their advance; Agath. I 11.3-4. Their campaign began well (Agath. I 14.2-3), but after the death of Fulcaris at Parma Ioannes and Artabanes judged the enemy too strong for them and withdrew towards Ravenna, stopping at Faventia; Agath. I 15.8-10. They only agreed to return to Parma after Narses sent fresh orders via Stephanus 12, who also resolved difficulties with their supplies; Agath. I 18.1-3. For further details, see Artabanes.

Nothing further is recorded of his career. He may, however, be identical with Ioannes 71 or 72.

Like other commanders, he had his own personal following of armed retainers, recruited in part at least from barbarians; Proc. *BG* II 18.6 (δορυφόροι τε καὶ ὑπασπισταί), III 5.12-14 (αὐτοδότης), 18.29 (he had βαρβάρους ἀριστίνδην συνειλεγμένους), 30.6 (Chalazar the Hun, a δορυφόρος), IV 31.3 (bodyguards and Huns; cited above).

Ioannes 47

brother of Rusticus 4 M VI

Brother of Rusticus 4; Agath. III 3.1, IV 7.3.

He was sent from Lazica to Constantinople in 555 by Rusticus and Martinus 2 to accuse Gubazes of pro-Persian activities; Agath. III 3.1. He tricked Justinian into writing a letter to them so phrased that it could be cited as justifying the murder of Gubazes; he then returned with the letter to Lazica; Agath. III 3.2-7, 4.5, 14.5, IV 2.2 (the letter is cited in IV 2.3-6). When Gubazes was murdered, Ioannes struck the first blow; Agath. III 4.5. He fled when Athanasius 2 came to investigate the murder (in 556) but was caught by Mestrianus, delivered to Athanasius and sent to join Rusticus in custody in Apsarus to await trial; Agath. III 14.5-6. For the trial and execution of Rusticus and Ioannes, see Rusticus.

Ioannes 48

comes sacri stabuli ?M VI

...Ιωαννης vir excellentissimus comis sacri stabuli; named at the beginning of a fragment of papyrus from Italy, now in Geneva (Geneva Ms. Lat. 75), apparently containing his decision in a property dispute; Marini, *P. Dip.* 72 (pp. 108 and 245) = *Chartae Latinae Antiquiores* 1, no. 5, p. 8 (ed. A. Bruckner and R. Marichal, 1954) (with photograph) = Jan-Olof Tjäder, *Eranos* 58 (1960), pp. 159-89, esp. p. 179. The

document is assigned by Tjäder, p. 177, to the mid sixth century and he proposed identifying Ioannes (if the name is correctly so restored; other editors suggest '[do]miñus', improbable in a formula of this type where a name is required at this point) with Ioannes 46 (nephew of Vitalianus). This is possible since it is not recorded what title Ioannes held while in Italy with Narses 1 in the 550s. For a *comes sacri stabuli* in Italy (in 536), see Constantianus. Belisarius ceased to hold the title in 549 (cf. Belisarius, p. 216) and no other holders of the title are known. Cf. also Ioannes 71 and 72.

Ioannes 49 architect M VI

Native of Constantinople and an architect (μηχανοποιός); a contemporary of Isidorus 5 (the Younger); the two men both worked on the rebuilding of Zenobia (on the Euphrates) under Justinian; they are described by Procopius as two very talented young men who flourished in their craft at the same time through the experience of working on the building projects of Justinian; Proc. *Aed.* II 8.25.

Ioannes Malalas 50 rhetor and chronicler M VI

Author of a chronicle (*Chronographia*) of the world from Adam to his own times. The main manuscript of the work breaks off in the year 563 but additional material from fragments in the *Excerpta de Insidiis* of Constantine Porphyrogenitus and from the Chronicle of Theophanes, who used Malalas heavily for the reign of Justinian, takes the work down at least to the death of Justinian. The chronicle initially ended with the death of Justin I and the earthquake of 526 which devastated Antioch; cf. Evagr. *HE* IV 5 (alluding to this as concluding Malalas' narrative). A continuation (Book Eighteen) (not known to Evagrius) was added describing the reign of Justinian and was certainly written after Justinian's death; cf. Joh. Mal. 425 (giving the exact length of Justinian's reign). Whether or not the work continued into the reign of Justin II is unknown; cf. Joh. Mal., tr. E. Jeffreys et al., pp. 306-7. Since Malalas could use oral sources from the reign of Zeno (Joh. Mal. 5), he was probably born late in the fifth century and perhaps died in the reign of Justin II.

Ioannes was a rhetor, perhaps an advocate; the name Malalas is derived from the Syriac 'malal', meaning 'rhetor', and the historian Evagrius always styles him 'Ἰωάννης ὁ ῥήτωρ' (*HE* I 16, II 12, III 10, 28, IV 5). That he lived and worked, as rhetor and historian, at Antioch, and may have been a native of the city, is suggested by the great quantity of local material from Antioch which he included in his work, at least down to c. 532; from this point on (Joh. Mal. 473) the focus moves sharply to

Constantinople, suggesting that in the 530s the author left Antioch to live and work in Constantinople.

He is certainly not to be identified with the later historian Ioannes of Antioch. He is probably not identical with the patriarch of Constantinople, John III scholasticus (Ioannes 78) (their origin and dates coincide, but the failure of Evagrius to identify John the rhetor with the patriarch is against the identification). See B. Croke (below), p. 17.

See further Hunger, *Prof. Lit.* I, pp. 319-26, and E. Jeffreys, with B. Croke and R. Scott, *Studies in John Malalas* (Byz. Austral. 6) (1990).

Ioannes 51 doctor (in Italy) M VI

Doctor, in the Marsian region of the province of Valeria; father of pope Bonifatius IV; *Lib. Pont.* 69 (Bonifatius natione Marsorum, de civitate Valeria, ex patre Ioanne medico). On Valeria, cf. Paul. Diac. *Hist. Lang.* II 20.

Ioannes 52 patricius (Egypt) M VI

Father of Fl. Christodote and Cometas 7, dead by 574/578 (θυγάτηρ τοῦ τῆς εὐκλεοῦς μνήμης Ἰωάννου γενομένου πατρικίου); *PSI* I 76 Oxyrhynchus (dated 574/578).

Ioannes 53 cubicularius under Justinian M VI

Brother of Theodorus 3; they served first under Misacl and then under the emperor Justinian; both were 'chamberlains of the king' (i.e. *cubicularii*); both were ardent monophysites and fasted and prayed and gave to charity for many years during Misacl's life and long after his death; Ioannes outlived Theodorus by many years; Joh. Eph. *V. SS. Or.* 57.

Fl. Ioannes 54 ?v.c. (in Egypt) M VI

Φλ' Ἰωάννης ὁ λαμπροτάτος πολ(ιτευόμενος) τῆς Ἀνταιοπολιτῶν; sent receipt to Apollos, son of Fl. Dioscorus 5; *P. Cairo Masp.* 67327, lines 13, 19 (Aphrodito; dated probably 539).

Ioannes 55 former scholaris; later a monk M VI

Ἀπὸ σχολαρίων, he became a monk in the Great Laura and was appointed head of the New Laura by bishop Eustochius of Jerusalem in 554; Cyr. Scyth. *V. Sabae* 90. On the date, cf. Anastasius 12.

Ioannes 56 vir illustris (in Egypt) M VI

In a list of accounts, dated c. 555, from an estate which was certainly that of the Apions, occurs a payment of barley εἰς τροφ(ήν) τῶν ὀρνιθ(ων) τοῦ ἐνδοξ(οτάτου) ἰλλουστρ(ίου) Ἰωάννου; *P. Oxy.* 1913.

Ioannes 57 doctor (Egypt) M VI

Ἀρχίατρος; father of Fl. Marcus 3; dead by 572; *P. Oxy.* 126 (cited under Marcus). His son married Fl. Stephanous, daughter of the *scholasticus* Ioannes 58.

Ioannes 58 scholasticus (Egypt) M VI

Father of Flavia Stephanous; *P. Oxy.* 126, lines 5–6 (Φλ. Σ[τ]εφανουῦς θυγάτηρ τ[οῦ] σ[ο]φωτάτου σχολαστικοῦ Ἰ[ω]άννου) (dated May 10, 572, when Ioannes was evidently still alive). His daughter was a native of Iustinopolis (? = Oxyrhynchus).

Ioannes 59 patricius; dux (et augustalis) Thebaidis M VI

Addressee of a verse panegyric written by Fl. Dioscorus 5 of Aphrodito; *P. Cairo Masp.* 67055 = Heitsch 2 (= *Pap.* 1). Also addressee of a petition (written and composed by Dioscorus) on behalf of Aphrodito, shortly after he assumed office (*Pap.* 2, line 29, cited below); Heitsch 3 (= *P. Cairo Masp.* 67317 + *P. Berl. Zill.* 10580) (= *Pap.* 2).

A native of the Thebaid; *Pap.* 1, line 26 (χρῦσεον ἄνδρα φέρουσα (sc. Thebes), τέον ῥυτῆρα πόληων), cf. *Pap.* 2, lines 1, 39–40. He had a wife and children; *Pap.* 1, line 30, *Pap.* 2, line 52. Dioscorus alludes to his baptism in the name of the Trinity; *Pap.* 2, lines 40–1 (ἀεὶ δὲ παροῦσαν ἀρωγὴν ἀχράντου Τριάδος μον[ο]ειδ[έ]ος ἑ[λ]λαχε δῶρον).

He had apparently held office before he took up his post in the Thebaid; *Pap.* 2, lines 36–8 (ἐγγύθ[ι] κοιρανικ[οῦ] σ[θ]έθεν ο[ῦ]νομα λ[ά]μψεν Ἰ[Ὀλ]ύμπου, Αἰγύπτου Φαέθων νέος, [ὡς] π[ά]ρος ἐν χθονὶ [ἄ]λλῃ, ἄστεα κ[ο]υρίζων διε[λ]ή[λυ]θες).

PATRICIUS (ET) DVX (ET AVGVSTALIS) THEBAIDIS M VI: he was a *patricius*, *Pap.* 1, line 29 (πατρίκιε κλέος). *Dux* of the Thebais; *Pap.* 1, lines 2 (Θήβης καὶ Φαρίης γέρας), 6 (στρατιάρχον), 13 (Θήβης ὡς στρατιάρχος ἔχων κλέος), 24–5 (he had raised Thebes from the dust), 28 (τοῦ πολυκυδέητος Ἰωάννου στρατιάρχου), *Pap.* 2, lines 9–12 (a new Solon, bringing peace to the Thebais), 15–16 (τὸν εὐτυχεῖτερον κλυτὸν ἡγεμόνα, ἀρχο[ν]τ[ῶ]ν π[ά]ντων [δικαιοτάτ]ον πάντων), 29 (τὸν νέον ἡγεμόνα), 32 (τὸν κλυτὸν Ἰωάννην ἱκελ[ο]ν ἑ[παρ]χο[ν] ἀν[άκτ]ων), cf. 42–50 (bringer of prosperity to Egypt and successful in war). The petition from Dioscorus invited him to end the oppression and abuses at Aphrodito which had flourished under Victor (= Victor 4) and to end the threat from the Blemmyes; cf. *Pap.* 2, lines 53–84.

Ioannes 60 law student M VI

Possibly a native of Caria, like Aemilianus, and a law student with

Aemilianus 2, Agathias and Rufinus 4; *Anth. Gr.* 1 35. See further Aemilianus.

Ioannes 61 grammaticus M VI

Author of a poem included in the *Cycle* of Agathias; *Anth. Gr.* ix 628 (Ἰωάννου γραμματικοῦ). Perhaps not identical with Ioannes 62 Barbucallus; see Averil and Alan Cameron, *JHS* 86 (1966), p. 12.

Ioannes Barbucallus 62 poet M VI

Author of a number of poems included in the *Cycle* of Agathias; *Anth. Gr.* vi 55, vii 555, 555b, ix 425–7, 629, xvi 38, 218–19, 327 (all either Ἰωάννου τοῦ Βαρβουκάλλου, Ἰωάννου ποιητοῦ or Ἰωάννου ποιητοῦ τοῦ Βαρβουκάλλου). Three poems, ix 425–7, lament the destruction of Berytus by a great earthquake, probably that of 551, and are therefore no earlier than that year; one, xvi 38, on a statue possibly set up in Berytus (cf. Synesius), would then be earlier than 551. Cf. Averil and Alan Cameron, *JHS* 86 (1966), pp. 11–12. For the author of the poem *Anth. Gr.* ix 628, see Ioannes 61.

Ioannes 63 husband of Praeiecta M VI

Son of Pompeius 1 and grandson of Hypatius (see *PLRE* II, p. 1314, stemma 9); in 546/548 he married Praeiecta 1; Proc. *BG* III 31.14. The date was after the return of Artabanes 2 to Constantinople in 546 and before the death of Theodora in June 548; cf. Proc. *BG* III 31.7–16.

His death, which occurred before 566/567 (when the *Cycle* of Agathias was published), was commemorated in verses by the poet Iulianus 11 in which he is alluded to as of the family of the emperor Anastasius (γενεῆς ἄνθος Ἀναστασίου) and the son-in-law of a queen (γαμβρὸς ἀνάσσης – referring to his wife's mother Vigilantia, sister of Justinian); *Anth. Gr.* vii 590. The poem was included in the *Cycle* of Agathias. The lemma attached to it identifies him as son-in-law of the empress Euphemia, an error. See Alan Cameron, *GRBS* 19 (1978), pp. 267–9.

Ioannes 'the Glutton' 64 military commander (Italy) 552

Nicknamed 'the Glutton' (ὁ Φαγᾶς τὴν ἐπὶ κλησῖν or similar); Proc. *BP* II 19.15, 24.15, *BG* II 23.3, III 13.23, 40.34, IV 26.13, 31.4, *Anecd.* 4.4.

In 539 he commanded an army in Italy under Belisarius (στρατεύματα ἄλλω οὐπὲρ Ἰωάννης ἡγεῖτο); with it he was sent with Martinus 2 and

ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἄρξοντά τε ἀπάντων καὶ ἡγησόμενον ἄνδρα Καππαδόκην μὲν τὸ γένος, ἀξιώματι δὲ στρατηγικῶ ἐκ πλείστου τετιμημένον, ᾧ δὴ ὄνομα ἦν Ἰωάννης, Δακνᾶν δὲ αὐτὸν προσεπωνόμαζον). He pressed the siege hard and organised a successful night attack after one of his men discovered a way up to the fort; Agath. iv 17.4-7. Soon after this victory (cf. Agath. iv 18-19), Ioannes was approached by the surviving Misimiani seeking to make peace; Agath. iv 20.7. He accepted their submission, taking hostages and sending them back to their homes after recovering all the money which they had formerly taken from Soterichus 1 and seizing much booty; he then returned in triumph with his army to Lazica, having lost only thirty men; Agath. iv 20.8-10.

IOANNES 67 v.c. (in Italy) 557

Hic requiescit in somno pacis Iohannis clarissimus (a)dultus; he died aged seventeen and was buried on March 6, 557, at Capua; *CIL* x 4505 Capua.

Ioannes 68 agent of Iustinus 4 (in Lazica) 557(?)

An African, of lowly origin and very poor, he first worked as the servant, apparently, of one of the bodyguards (δορυφόροι) of Iustinus 4, but later acquired enormous wealth and grew very arrogant; by devious methods he first attracted the attention of Iustinus and then offered, in return for a fixed payment of gold, to procure for Iustinus and all his staff (seemingly in 557; see below) all the supplies which they could possibly need for as long as was required, adding that he would not only repay the gold but add to it; he was wholly unscrupulous in his methods of raising money but Iustinus accepted his offer and paid him the money; Agath. iv 21.5-7. The date was 557 when Iustinus was sent from Constantinople to Lazica to take command in the war; cf. Agath. iv 21.1.4-5. The unscrupulous methods employed by Ioannes en route to Lazica and in Lazica itself are described in Agath. iv 22.1-5. He seems to have combined responsibility for *coemptiones* for the army with a monopoly on trade like that once exercised in the same area by Ioannes 20 Tzibus; see Stein, *Bas-Emp.* II 516, and cf. Proc. *Anecd.* 23.11-14. From his various activities he continued to fulfil his bargain with Iustinus, providing all the supplies required and paying extra gold to Iustinus, who knew what was being done but ignored all appeals from those being wronged; Agath. iv 22.6.

Ioannes 69 PPO Africae 558

Addressee of Just. *Nov. App.* 9 (a. 558 Sept. 22; Iohanni pp. per Africanam).

Ioannes 70 comes patrimonii (per Italiam) 559

Addressee of three letters from pope Pelagius I in 559; *Ep.* 38 (in March, addressed 'Iohanni comiti <patrimonii>'), *Ep.* 62 (in March/April) and *Ep.* 75 (in April) (both the latter addressed 'Iohanni comiti patrimonii'). In *Ep.* 38 he is welcomed as one in charge of public affairs at a difficult time with power to resolve civil and ecclesiastical problems alike (benedicimus misericordiam Dei, qui necessario tempore... vestram excellentiam rei publicae voluit praeesse negotiis, per quam non tantum laicorum hominum comprimerentur excessus, verum etiam dividendum se ab ecclesia sacerdotum colligerentur scismata). In *Ep.* 62 he is asked to instruct his subordinates in Liguria and Venetia (cf. *Ep.* 61) to expedite the business of a priest travelling there. In *Ep.* 75 he is reminded that petitions granted by the emperor are not valid if gained by fraud.

He is styled 'excellencia vestra' (*Ep.* 38) and 'gloria vestra' (*Ep.* 75), and so was of high rank.

For the post of *comes sacri patrimonii per Italiam*, see Just. *Nov.* 104 and cf. Jones, *LRE* I, p. 255 with n. 44. See also Bonus 3.

Ioannes 71 patricius; ?MVM (in Italy) 559

Either he or Ioannes 72 could be identical with Ioannes 46.

Addressee of letters from Pelagius I; *Ep.* 24 (Feb. 559; addressed 'Iohanni patricio caburtario'), 53 (March 559; to 'Iohanni patricio').

PATRICIUS a. 559: Pelag. I, *Ep.* 24 (cited above), 50 (cited below), 52 (to Valerianus 1, alluding to 'fratrem vestrum, virum excellentissimum dominum patricium Iohannem'), 53 (cited above). Styled 'excellencia vestra', *Ep.* 53; and 'vir gloriosus', *Ep.* 59.

The word 'caburtarius' (or 'carbutarius') in the title of Pelag. I, *Ep.* 24 is unexplained; neither the proposed derivation from 'carabus' nor the suggestion that it is corrupted from 'chartularius' are convincing (cf. Pelagius I, *Epistulae*, ed. Gasso, p. 73 note).

He was in Aquileia in 559; Pelag. I, *Ep.* 59. In February he was urged by Pelagius not to communicate with the schismatic clergy of Venetia and Istria; *Ep.* 24. He was in fact excommunicated by bishop Paulus of Aquileia; cf. *Ep.* 52 (March 559), 53 (March 559) and 59 (March/April 559; Valerianus 1 is rebuked for urging Paulus to admit Ioannes to communion). In March 559 the bishop of Ravenna was instructed by Pelagius to ordain a suitable person as priest and send him to Ioannes (ad sanctum virum gloriosum Iohannem patricium) (apparently so that Ioannes could receive communion); *Ep.* 50. In letters to Valerianus and Ioannes in March, Pelagius urges them to co-operate in punishing the schismatics and sending them to the emperor for trial; *Ep.* 52 (to

Before he became patriarch he foretold to Justin that he would become emperor; *V. Sym. Iun.* 203. Later, it was he who placed the crown on Justin's head; Coripp. *Iust.* II 159-64, Theoph. AM 6058.

In his earlier days at Antioch he made a collection of Canons (the *Synagoge*) and later when patriarch revised it and added to it from the Novels of Justinian; cf. Benešević, *Abh. Bay. Akad. Wiss.*, n.f., 14 (1937), and Schwartz, *Sitz. Akad. Bayer.*, 1933, Hft 6.

See also *Byz.* 35 (1965), pp. 320-52, Beck, *Kirche und theologische Literatur im byzantinischen Reich*, pp. 144, 422-3.

Ioannes 79 notarius (East) 566

Notarius of Macedonius 4, for whom he carried out building work, apparently on a fort, in Syria in 566; *IGLS* IV 1743 Abu Habbeh, central Jebel 'Ala, Syria (δικὰ Ἰωάννου τοῦ αὐτοῦ νοταρίου), dated μνη Δεσ(ίου), ἰνδ. 18', τ(οῦ) ζω ἔτ(ους), i.e. year 877 of the Seleucid era = May or June 566).

Ioannes 80 scholasticus and advocatus fori Thebaidis 566

In 566 he and Constantinus 9 were chosen as arbitrators by parties to a dispute at Aphrodito; *P. Lond.* v 1707 Antinoopolis (a. 566 Oct. 5). See further Constantinus.

Ioannes 81 patricius; envoy to Persia 567

Son of Domnentiolus; Joh. Mal. 493, Joh. Mal. fr. 49 (*Exc. de ins.*, pp. 173-4), Men. Prot. fr. 15, Theoph. AM 6055. See stemma 13. His name should be restored in Theoph. Byz. fr. 1 = Phot. *Bibl.* 64 (cited below). He is described as Ioannes of Callinicum in Mich. Syr. x 1, but the allusion is probably not to his place of origin but to his famous discussions in Callinicum with the monophysites; see Stein, *Stud.*, p. 31, n. 8 *ad fin.* and cf. below.

He once claimed never to have learned the arts of rhetoric and persuasion; Men. Prot. fr. 15.

FINANCIAL OFFICIAL (?NUMERARIUS) in Constantinople a. 562 Nov.: ὁ λογοθέτης; Joh. Mal. fr. 49, Theoph. AM 6055. For λογοθέτης, cf. Fl. Ioannes 11 (the Cappadocian), p. 627. Ioannes may have been a *numerarius*, perhaps one of those in charge of a *scrinium* of the praetorian prefecture, or possibly he was head of either the ἰδική or the γενική τράπεζα; cf. Jones, *LRE* I, p. 450 with n. 96 (citing Joh. Lyd. *de mag.* III 36). In November 562 he informed the emperor Justinian of the existence of a plot to assassinate him, after learning about it from Ablabius; Joh. Mal. 493, Joh. Mal. fr. 49, Theoph. AM 6055.

PATRICIUS a. 567: at the time of his embassy (see below) he was apparently *patricius*; Mich. Syr. x 1-2.

In 567 Ioannes was sent by Justin on an embassy to Persia to announce the new emperor's accession and to deliver the customary gifts to Chosroes and at the same time discreetly to raise the subject of Suania; Men. Prot. fr. 15, Mich. Syr. x 1 ('in the second year of Justin'). He was also instructed to hold talks with the monophysites in the east with a view to promoting peace and unity in the church; he was summoned to meet the empress Sophia and in the presence also of Jacob Baradaeus urged by her to seek peace for the church, while the emperor is said to have considered sending John of Ephesus with him; Mich. Syr. x 1.

The date of his departure was probably early in 567 (?March); cf. Stein, *Stud.*, p. 31, n. 8, and see below. Among his fellow-envoys was Timotheus; Men. Prot. fr. 17. Cf. also Zacharias 2. From Constantinople he travelled to Dara, pausing en route in the various cities only long enough to attend to necessary business in accordance with orders from Justin; Men. Prot. fr. 14. This perhaps included building works, as at Dara (see below), but he also met a large number of monophysites at Callinicum who complained of persecution to him; he again met Jacob Baradaeus here and then announced a further meeting at Dara after his return from Persia; Mich. Syr. x 2. In Dara he carried out building work on the aqueduct and the reservoirs, among other things, and remained there for ten days while a festival was celebrated at Nisibis during which he could not be received (this was the festival of Fravardīghān, held at the end of winter; cf. Christensen, *L'Iran sous les Sassanides*², p. 172); he then went to Nisibis and from there was sent with all due honour to the palace of Chosroes; the reply which he gave to Chosroes during the embassy rejecting the idea of paying subsidies to the Saracens is recorded by Menander (fr. 15); he raised with Persian leaders the subject of Suania but allowed himself to be tricked into consulting the king of Suania whose reply, refusing to join the Romans, strengthened the Persian claims; Ioannes then returned to Constantinople; Men. Prot. fr. 15. On his return journey he again met the monophysites at Dara and at Callinicum, where a large assembly took place; the monophysites quarrelled among themselves and, all attempts to persuade them to settle their differences having failed, Ioannes returned to Constantinople to inform the emperor, who abandoned his efforts at conciliation and resumed persecution (in fact, not until 571); Mich. Syr. x 2.

After his return Ioannes was accused by the emperor of failing in his duty as ambassador (παρὰ πρεσβείας ἐκρίνετο Ἰωάννης); a letter from him was sent by Justin to the expected Persian ambassador informing

him of the emperor's rejection of the proposals concerning Suania, and Ioannes was then relieved of all further responsibilities on grounds of incompetence ('Ιωάννην οὖν περιφρονήσας ὁ αὐτοκράτωρ ἐν τῇ τῶν ἀνεπιτηδείων ἔταξε μοίρα); Men. Prot. fr. 16, fr. 17 (the letter). This embassy is mentioned in Theoph. Byz. fr. 1 = Phot. *Bibl.* 64 in a phrase in which the name of Ioannes has apparently been omitted through scribal error and that of his father retained – 'Ιουστίνου μὲν διὰ [Ἰωάννου τοῦ Κομεντιόλου Σουανίαν παρὰ Χοσρόου ἀπαιτοῦντος.

Shortly afterward (during 567, before the embassy of Mebodes) Ioannes died; Men. Prot. fr. 17, Mich. Syr. x 2 (when persecution resumed the monophysites cursed Ioannes who had a fit in the palace and died).

IOANNES 82

v.c. (in Egypt); chartularius of the officium of the dux Thebaidis 568

'Ο λαμπρ(ότατος) κύριος Ἰωάννης ὁ χαρτουλάριος τῶν αἰσίων τῆς δουκικῆς τάξεως πραιτωρίων; concerned in a sale involving house-property; *P. Cairo Masp.* 67305, line 4 = *SB* 5656 Antinoe (dated May 9, 568). Since Antinoe was in the Lower Thebais, Ioannes served in the *officium* of the *dux et augustalis Thebaidis*; Antinoe was the metropolis of the province.

Ioannes 83 gloriosissimus (in Egypt); arabarches before 568

A papyrus from Antinoe, dated March 15, 568, mentions a certain Athanasius, formerly καστρισ(ιανός?) Ἰωάννη τῷ ἐνδοξ(οτάτῳ) ἀραβάρχη, πράττοντι τὴν ἀρχ(ήν) at Antinoe; *P. Cairo Masp.* 67166, line 7 Antinoe. The *arabarches* was responsible for collecting the *arabarchia* (or *alabarchia*), a tax due to the *sacrae largitiones*; cf. *CJ* iv 61.9. Ioannes was a person of very high rank.

Fl. Ioannes 84 v.p. (in Egypt); municipal official at Antinoe 569

Son of Acacius(?) and Martha, probably from Lycopolis but long resident in Antinoe, he was διασημώτ(ατος) βοηθός λογιστηρίου καὶ ψηφιστῆς παιδευτηρίου of Antinoe; *P. Cairo Masp.* 67309, lines 4 and 10 Antinoe (March 569). One of the last known διασημώτατοι, he was a municipal finance official.

Ioannes 85 patricius = John IV, patriarch of Alexandria 570–c. 580

A *patricius*, he succeeded Apollinaris as Chalcedonian patriarch of Alexandria in 570; he died in c. 580 and was succeeded by Eulogius; Theoph. AM 6061, 6062, 6072, Joh. Nik. 94.24, Joh. Eph. *HE* iii 1.40

(‘postquam annos aliquot in episcopatu Alexandriae explevisset Ioannes ex patricio qui in urbe regia fuit (he was consecrated at Constantinople by Ioannes *scholasticus*, Theoph. AM 6062) et illuc missus est et mortuus est’).

Ioannes 86

CSL 573

(This corrects the entry in *PLRE* II, Addenda, pp. xxxviii–ix, s.n. Ioannes 45).

Named on two bronze weights dated to a sixth indiction (+ἐπὶ Ἰωάννου τοῦ ἐνδοξ(οτάτου) κόμ(ητος) τ(ῶν) θ(είων) λαρ(γυ)τ(ιόνων) ἰνδ'5); Pink, col. 59 (= Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Die Gewichte in Smyrna*, p. 78, no. 5), Dürr, *Catalogue des poids byzantins, Musée d'art et d'histoire de Genève*, no. 311 with p. 40, plate 17. These weights resemble that of Iulianus 18, which dates to the reign of Justin II and Sophia, and are therefore dateable to 572/573, probably summer 573 when Ioannes perhaps succeeded Magnus 2 as CSL; see Feissel, *Rev. Num.*⁶ 28 (1986), p. 134, n. 88.

Ioannes 87

MVM and ?dux (at Dara) 573

Son of Timostratus (and brother of Rufinus 7); he was in command of Dara, with Sergius 7, during the Persian siege of 573; after Sergius died during the siege, he remained sole commander and was carried off into captivity when it fell to the Persians (Nov. 11 or 15, 573); Joh. Epiph. fr. 5 ('Ιωάννην τὸν Τιμοστράτου παῖδα, δυνάμει τε καὶ ἀξιώσει προὔχοντα, καὶ τὸν τῆς πόλεως ἀρχὴν καὶ διοίκησιν ἀναδεεγμένον), Joh. Eph. *HE* iii 6.5 ('principes in ea erant Iohannes magister militum (στρατηλάτης) filius Timostrati, vir bellicosus, et Sergius'), Evagr. *HE* v 10 ('Ιωάννου τοῦ Τιμοστράτου αὐτῆς ἀρχοντος; according to Evagrius, allegations of negligence or treachery were made) (= Nic. Call. *HE* xvii 38).

He was an MVM *vacans* and the local commander at Dara, presumably a *dux*; cf. also Sergius 7, who seems to have had wider authority and was therefore more probably *dux Mesopotamiae*.

He subsequently served under the Persians and commanded a strong garrison placed by them in Dara; Joh. Eph. *HE* iii 6.5.

Ioannes 88

MVM per Armeniam 573

'Ο τῆς Ἀρμενίας στρατηγός; in 573 he assembled an army and joined Marcianus 7 against the Persians; Theoph. Byz. fr. 4. Probably the successor of Iustinianus 3.

FL. IOANNES 89 comes (in Egypt) 576

Κόμης; son of Germanus; mentioned in a papyrus dated Sept. 25, 576; *P. Lond. inv.* 1326a (= *P. Lond.* III, p. lxxiii).

Ioannes 90 honorary consul; envoy to Persia 576-577

A member of the family of the emperor Anastasius, he was also a grandson of the empress Theodora through his mother, Theodora's daughter; Joh. Eph. *HE* III 2.11 ('qui generis Anastasii regis erat, necnon Theodora reginae ex filia nepos'), 6.12, cf. Theoph. AM 6054 (he and Georgius 7 were συγγενῶν Θεοδώρας τῆς βασιλίσσης). Husband of Georgia and son-in-law of Antipatra; Joh. Eph. *HE* III 2.12. He was apparently related to his fellow-envoy in 576, Petrus 17. Cf. also Alan Cameron, *GRBS* 19 (1978), pp. 269-73.

HONORARY CONSVL: Theoph. AM 6054 (ἀπὸ ὑπάτων, in 562), Men. Prot. fr. 46 (he and Petrus 17 were ἀμφω τῆ τῶν ὑπάτων τετιμημένω ἀξίᾳ), cf. Joh. Eph. *HE* III 2.11 (= Mich. Syr. x 7), 2.12, 4.35, 6.12 ('consul').

?PATRICIUS: he is styled *patricius* in Theoph. Sim. III 15.6 (he and Petrus 17 ἐν τῇ κορυφαίᾳ τῆς συγκλήτου βουλῆς τελούντας ἀξίᾳ - πατρικίοι δ' ἄρα ὄντες ἐτύγγανον); this is implicitly contradicted by John of Ephesus (*HE* III 4.35, 6.12) who names the envoys (cf. below) as Theodorus *patricius* with Ioannes and Petrus *consules* (he also describes them as 'senatores (συγκλητικός) tres').

In May 562 Ioannes and Georgius 7 accused Zemarchus 2 of vilifying the emperor; Theoph. AM 6054, cf. Joh. Mal. 490 (Zemarchus was dismissed).

Ioannes was a monophysite who with Petrus 17 and Eudaemon 3 held out against persecution under Justin II even though threatened with the loss of all their possessions; their names were struck from the diptychs by the patriarch Ioannes Scholasticus, to their delight; after the persecution was relaxed (evidently by 576, cf. below), they were restored to their honours; Joh. Eph. *HE* III 2.11. The date when persecution began was 571 or 572; cf. Joh. Eph. *HE* III 1.3, 3.1, Mich. Syr. x 6. In the quarrel between the monophysites Jacob Baradaeus and Paul of Antioch, Ioannes supported Paul; Joh. Eph. *HE* III 4.35.

In 576 Ioannes, Theodorus 34, Petrus 17 and Zacharias 2 (cf. also Eudaemon) were sent as envoys to settle outstanding points of difference with the Persians; Men. Prot. fr. 46, Joh. Eph. *HE* III 2.11, 4.35, 6.12, Theoph. Sim. III 15.6. They met the representative of Chosroes, Mebodes, at Athraelon on the frontier where the discussions, often ill-tempered, dragged on for a year; Joh. Eph. *HE* III 6.12, Mich. Syr. x 13,

cf. Men. Prot. fr. 46-7. Eventually, in 577, they returned without accomplishing anything; Theoph. Sim. III 15.10. On the dates, cf. Stein, *Stud.*, p. 84, n. 12, and see Theodorus 34.

Ioannes 91 PPO Illyrici et quaestor exercitus 578

Ἰωάννης, ὃς δὴ τῶν νήσων διήνυε τὴν ἀρχὴν τμηκαῦτα καὶ τὰς Ἰλλυρίδας ἰθύνειν ἔλαχε πόλεις; sent by Tiberius in 578 to Pannonia, he transported the Avar cavalry with the khan across the Danube, escorted them through Illyricum to Scythia, and then transported them back to the north of the Danube in order to attack the Slavs; Men. Prot. fr. 48 (cited in Suid. E 995). He was evidently the *quaestor exercitus* and seems to have combined this office with the praetorian prefecture of Illyricum; cf. Stein, *Stud.*, pp. 105, 167.

Fl. Ioannes *qui et* Lampadius 92
?signifer of Arcadia and ex praesidibus 579

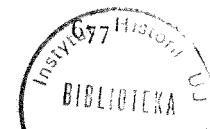
Son of Anastasius τῆς λαμπρᾶς μνήμης; a landowner at Oxyrhynchus and addressee of a petition dated 20 Oct., 579; *PSI* 963, line 8 (Φλαυρίω Ἰωάννη τῷ καὶ Λαμπριάτῳ/ τῷ σοφωτάτῳ καὶ ἔλλογιμ(ωτάτῳ) σημ[ε]ια/φόρου(?) τῆς Ἀρκάδων ἐπαρχί[ας] καὶ ἀπὸ ἀρχόντων). The epithets suggest a man of learning, and would suit a *scholasticus* rather than a *signifer*, who would, presumably, have been a military person. His title of ἀπὸ ἀρχόντων is honorific but the rank implied is not reflected in his epithets.

IOANNES 93 v.c., argentarius (at Alexandria) 580

A document from Oxyrhynchus records an order to take 2,205 *solidi* to Alexandria to be paid over ἐπὶ Ἰωάννην καὶ Συμεώνιον τοὺς λαμπροτάτους ἀργυροπράτας; the money was the third payment for a thirteenth indiction, and the document is dated 22 Nov., 580 (26 Athyr, indiction 14, the sixth year of Tiberius and his second post-consular year); *P. Oxy.* 144.

Ioannes 94 QSP 582

A skilful orator and experienced in the law, he was QSP in 582 and acted as spokesman for Tiberius when he proclaimed Maurice as emperor (on Aug. 13, 582; *Chron. Pasch.* s.a. 582); Theoph. Sim. I 1.3 (βασιλέως δὲ γλώτταν τὸν Ἰωάννην ἐδείκνυεν, ἀνδρα ῥήτορα τε δεινὸν καὶ νόμων Ῥωμαϊκῶν ἐπιστήμονα, ὃς τὰ βασιλέως προστάγματα τῷ διατόρῳ τῆς εὐγλωττίας ἐμεγαληγόρει βασιλικῆς μεγαλοφροσύνης ἐπάξια. τοῦτον ἐπιχωρίῳ Ῥωμαίῳ φωνῇ ἀποκαλοῦσι κυαίστορα) (= Nic. Call. *HE* xviii 5).



He may have remained in office under Maurice until at least 591; see Ioannes 98 and 105.

Ioannes 95

PPO (Africae) 582/602

Maximianus 2 and his brothers built a *turris* at Ksar Lemsa (near Furnos Maius) in the reign of Maurice 'sub patricio Gennadio et Ioanni prefecto'; *CIL* viii 12035 = *AE* 1889, 1 = *ILCV* 793 = *ILT* 605 = Durliat, no. 30 = Pringle, no. 36. Cf. Gennadius 1.

Fl. Ioannes 96

gloriosissimus comes and pagarch of Antaeopolis after 585

Ὁ ἐνδοξ(ότατος) Ἰωάννης πάγαρχ(ος) τοῦ (διμοίρου) μέρ(ους) Ἄνται(οπόλεως); *P. Cairo Masp.* 67325 iii verso 10-11, cf. viii recto 21 (ὁ ἐνδ[οξ' κ]όμετος Ἰωάννου παγαρχ' τοῦ (διμοίρου) μέρ(ους) (sic)), i verso 31 (Φλ' Ἰω[άννης ὁ μ]εγαλ'), iii verso 7 (ὁ ἐνδοξ' Ἰωάννης πάγαρχ'), vii recto 5 (Φλ' Ἰωάννης ἐνδοξ' παγαρχ'), recto 7 (Φλ' Ἰωάννης ὁ μεγαλ'), viii recto 26 (Φλ' Ἰωάννης ὁ μεγαλ'), verso 24 (+ Φλ' Ἰωάννης [ἰλ]λ' [παγ]αρχ') (from Aphrodito, dated after 585). Also recorded as ὁ ἐνδοξότατος πάγαρχος of Antaeopolis on *P. Flor.* iii 298, lines 4, 9, 32, 63, 66, 70, 73 (also from Aphrodito, dated sixth century) and probably identical with Ioannes named in *P. Cairo Masp.* 67322, verso 2 (probably from Antaeopolis, sixth century; author of a letter to the *protocometes* of Aphrodito).

He was pagarch at the same time as Fl. Serenus 5. Cf. Rouillard, *Adm. Civ.*, p. 56.

IOANNES 97

comes Orientis 587/588

Successor of Asterius 3, he conducted the enquiry into the public disorders at Antioch under his predecessor; according to Evagrius, he was an incompetent; *Evagr. HE* vi 7 (= *Nic. Call. HE* xviii 12).

Ioannes 98

QSP 587/588

One of several Byzantine dignitaries to whom Childebert II wrote in 587/588 asking for their support for a treaty of friendship between the Franks and Byzantium; *Ep. Austras.* 35 (*MGH, Epp.* iii, p. 143) (addressed 'ad Iohannem questorem, hoc est consiliarium'). He is styled 'gloriosa magnificentia vestra' and the letter alludes to 'gloriosae vestrae dignitatis insignia'.

The great frequency of the name Ioannes makes identifications uncertain, even with high state offices, but this man could well be identical with Ioannes 94 (QSP in 582) and Ioannes 105 (QSP in 591) and may therefore have held the post under Tiberius and retained it under Maurice until at least 591. Cf. also Goubert, ii i, pp. 149-50.

IOANNES 99 v.c., cancellarius (of the comes Orientis) 588/589

In 588/589 he was active near Antioch under orders from the *comes Orientis* Bacchus 3 (διὰ Ἰωάννου λαμπρ(οτάτου) καγκελλαρ(ίου) τοῦ καπροβαρδεῖ); *IGLS* 530 (= *Princ. Exp. Syr.* iii, p. 91, n. 75 = *CIG* 8650) near Qaṣr el-Banât, close to Antioch. For the date, see Bacchus.

IOANNES 100

governor of Armenia 589

Governor of part of Armenia on the border with Persia, he was killed in the Armenian revolt of 589; *Theoph. Sim.* iii 8.4 (τὸν ὑπὸ τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος ἡγεμόνα τῆς Ἀρμενίας γενόμενον, Ἰωάννης ὄνομα αὐτῶ). He was probably a civil governor (the military command was under Ioannes 101 Mystacon), perhaps of Armenia IV. Cf. also Domentziolus 1.

Ioannes qui et Mystacon 101

patricius; MVM per Armeniam 589-591

Nicknamed ὁ Μυστάκων (from the moustache he sported); *Theoph. Sim.* i 9.4 (cited below), ii 17.8, iv 15.2, *Theoph. AM* 6075, 6081.

He was a native of Thrace; *Evagr. HE* vi 3, *Nic. Call. HE* xviii 10. ?MVM (in Armenia) a. 579-582: in 579 Ioannes and Cours were 'στρατηλάται' in command of Roman troops in Armenia; *Joh. Eph. HE* iii 6.28. He held the same post in 582, cf. *Theoph. Sim.* i 9.4 (cited below), and had perhaps been MVM in Armenia since 579.

MVM PER ORIENTEM a. 582-583: appointed MVM *per Orientem* from his Armenian command during the first year of Maurice (*Aug.* 14, 582/*Aug.* 13, 583); *Theoph. Sim.* i 9.4 (βασιλεὺς τὸν Ἰωάννην, ὥπερ ἐπώνυμον τὸ τῆς ὑπερφώας χελύνης κατάκομον, ὃν δὴ καὶ Μυστάκωνα προσηγόρευον Ῥωμαῖοι, ἐκ τῶν τῆς Ἀρμενίας στρατοπέδων ἐπὶ τὰς τῆς ἀνατολῆς δυνάμεις Ῥωμαϊκὰς μετεβίβαζεν), *Evagr. HE* vi 3 (στρατηγὸν τῶν ἐφῶν ταγματῶν), *Nic. Call. HE* xviii 10, cf. *Theoph. AM* 6075 (ἐν δὲ τῇ ἀνατολῇ Ἰωάννην τὸν Μυστάκωνα στρατηγὸν Ἀρμενίας (sic) ὁ βασιλεὺς πεποίηκεν). Ὁ στρατηγός; *Theoph. Sim.* i 9.5, 12.3 (unnamed), cf. 12.1 (where ὁ τοῦ Ῥωμαϊκοῦ ταξίαρχος apparently refers to Ioannes).

Soon after his appointment, perhaps in autumn 582 (*Higgins*, p. 60), he fought a set battle with the Persians near the confluence of the Tigris and the Nymphius; he commanded the Roman centre, with Ariulf on the left and Cours on the right; he and Ariulf were gaining the upper hand when the inaction of Cours caused their troops to retreat and take to flight and the Romans suffered a defeat; *Theoph. Sim.* i 9.5-11,

Theoph. AM 6075. Later, perhaps in early 583, he possibly laid siege to the fort of Aebas but could not take it and was again defeated; Theoph. Sim. I 12.1-3, Theoph. AM 6075, but see also Aulus.

Having achieved nothing of consequence in the Persian war he was replaced as MVM *per Orientem* by Philippicus; the date was in the second year of Maurice (after Aug. 14, 583); Theoph. Sim. I 13.1, Evagr. HE VI 3, Nic. Call. HE XVIII 10. Cf. Higgins, pp. 60-1.

MVM (in Thrace) a. 587: after the capture of Castus by the Avars in 587 Maurice sent a fresh army under Ioannes (τὸν Ἰωάννην... στρατηγὸν προεστήσατο) with Drocton (Droctulfus) as his subordinate commander; they defeated the Avars besieging Adrianople, but Ioannes (ὁ στρατηγός) declined to pursue the enemy for reasons of caution; Theoph. Sim. II 17.8-12.

MVM PER ARMENIAM a. (?589-) 590-591 (-?): in Armenia in 589, presumably in this office, Sebeos, p. 13 (see below). In office a. 590, Theoph. AM 6081 (τὸν τῆς Ἀρμενίας στρατηλάτην), Theoph. Sim. V 8.7 (ὁ στρατηγός); a. 591, Nic. Call. HE XVIII 27 (τὸν στρατηγὸν τῆς τῶν Ἀρμενίων δυνάμεως), Theoph. Sim. V 8.7 and 9.8 (ὁ στρατηγός), 15.4 (τοῦ στρατηγοῦ Ἰωάννου τῆς τῶν Ἀρμενίων δυνάμεως). He remained in office in the early years of the peace with Persia which followed the restoration of Chosroes in 591; Sebeos, p. 54 (his successors were Heraclius 3 and Surena).

PATRICIUS a. 589-591 (-?): styled 'patriq', Sebeos, pp. 13, 16, 24, 25, 54, Thomas Artsruni II 3.

In 589 Ioannes was besieging Dvin when news came of the revolt of Bahram against Hormisdas; he raised the siege and marched to Atrpatakan (Azerbaijan) which he harried, taking rich booty and many prisoners; Sebeos, p. 13. On the date, cf. Higgins, p. 39.

In autumn 590 (Higgins, pp. 44-5) he heard from Bindoes of events in Persia and sent to the emperor for instructions; he was ordered to assist the restoration of Chosroes, and at the same time informed Bestam, a messenger from Chosroes, of the news from Bindoes; Theoph. Sim. IV 15.2-5. He was ordered by Maurice to unite with Narses 10 and help Chosroes; Theoph. AM 6081. In summer 591 he left Armenia with the troops from there and joined Narses against Bahram; Theoph. Sim. V 8.6-10, 9.3. He commanded the Armenian troops at the battle of Blarathon (τῆς τῶν Ἀρμενίων πληθύος ἐπιστατῶν) when the Roman forces of Ioannes and Narses and the Persians under Chosroes defeated Bahram and secured the Persian throne for Chosroes; Theoph. Sim. V 9.8, cf. 10.8-12, Theoph. AM 6081, Mich. Syr. x 23, Sebeos, pp. 16, 24, Thomas Artsruni II 3, Bar Hebr., Chron., p. 85, Chron. 1234, lxxxi. He is wrongly described as commander of the army of Thrace in Mich. Syr.

x 23, Bar Hebr., Chron., p. 85 and Chron., 1234, lxxxi; the allusion to Thrace is perhaps a misunderstanding of the statement (see above) that he was a native of Thrace.

He was apparently critical of Chosroes' fitness to be king; Theoph. Sim. V 15.4, Nic. Call. HE XVIII 27, Cedr. I 696.

He subsequently remained in command of Roman Armenia during the period of peace with Persia until succeeded by Heraclius 3; Sebeos, p. 54 (and cf. above).

Possibly identical with a Ioannes Mystacon named in a probably late sixth-century papyrus from Oxyrhynchus, one of a group of *bucellarii*; P. Oxy. 1903, line 6 Ἰω[ά]ννη Μουστάκ(ωνι?). For the date, cf. P. Oxy. 2046.

Ioannes 102

?vir illustris (at Edessa) 590

Native of Resapha; Mich. Syr. x 25, XI 3, Chron. 1234, lxxx, lxxxvii, Bar Hebr., Chron., p. 85. Father of Sergius 38; Mich. Syr. XI 3, Chron. 1234, lxxxvii, xcvi.

Ioannes and Marinus 4 were leading citizens of Edessa, very wealthy and great rivals; Mich. Syr. x 25 (they were 'chiefs' at Edessa), Chron. 1234, lxxx ('princeps Edessae'), lxxxvii. Both were apparently members of the senate, but Ioannes was the richer and enjoyed the emperor's favour; Chron. 1234, lxxxvii ('ambo autem, Iohannes nempe et Marinus, in auctoritate ordinis imperialis Romanorum constituti erant; sed continuo invidiam Marini patiebatur Iohannes, eo quod, praeter magnum honorem apud imperatorem, etiam divitiis et opibus plus quam Marinus abundaret'); the interpretation of the phrase 'in auctoritate ordinis imperialis Romanorum' is not obvious, but in view of their wealth and importance (cf. below) it probably means that they were members of the senate of Constantinople, i.e. at least *viri illustres*; it does not seem likely that they held imperial office at Edessa), and cf. Chron. 1234, cii (hoc tempore (early seventh century) erant Edessae principes nobiles, gens Resphaya et gens Tellmahraya et familia Cosmae filii Arabi et gens Nalar(?)).

In 590 he and Marinus vied in entertaining the fugitive Persian king Chosroes in their own homes; Ioannes gave a sumptuous banquet for Chosroes, who later rewarded him for his hospitality, but at the banquet the refusal by Ioannes' wife to follow Persian custom and pour wine for the king was taken as an insult and when under Phocas Edessa was captured by the Persians Ioannes' wife and his son Sergius were carried off to Persia; Mich. Syr. x 23, 25, Chron. 1234, lxxx, lxxxvii, Bar Hebr., Chron., p. 86. Absence of reference to him suggests that he was dead by this time (?c. 607, cf. Chron. 1234, lxxxvii).

IOANNES 103 v.c., adorator numeri (at Ravenna) 591

V.c., adorator num(eri) felicium Rav(ennatium); by a deed of sale dated March 10, 591, he purchased property from Rusticiana 1 at Ravenna; Marini, *P. Dip.* 122 = *P. Ital.* 37, lines 11–12 (also styled v.c. in lines 78, 83, 88, 94, 100).

He was probably either a veteran or a senior soldier of this *numerus* at Ravenna honoured with the rank of *protector*; cf. Jones, *LRE* II, p. 658 with n. 116.

IOANNES 104 vir magnificus; consiliarius of the PPO Italiae 591

Iohannes vir eloquentissimus, consiliarius viri excellentissimi domni Georgii praefecti per Italiam; later styled 'vir magnificus'; involved in a dispute with bishop Stephanus of Scodra, which pope Gregory ordered bishop Malchus of Dalmatia to have settled by a judicial investigation; Greg. *Ep.* I 36 (a. 591 March). Cf. Georgius 11.

Ioannes 105 honorary consul, patricius and QSP 591

Acquaintance and patron of Gregory in Constantinople before 590, he helped to obtain the bishopric of Rome for him; addressee of a letter from Gregory in 591 complaining of the burdens of office and sending Ioannes a key of St Peter; Greg. *Ep.* I 30 (a. 591 Feb.; addressed 'Iohanni exconsuli atque patricio et quaestori'; Gregory describes himself as 'bona vestrae excellentiae expertus' but remarks 'ecce ubi me vestra patrocina perduxerunt').

Ioannes held office as QSP at Constantinople in 591 and held the dignities of honorary consul and *patricius*.

He may have been in office since 582; see Ioannes 94 and 98.

IOANNES 106 ?vicarius urbis Romae 593/594

Born and brought up in Placentia; Greg. *Dial.* III 10.

?VICARIUS VRBIS ROMAE a. 593/594: in hac modo Romana civitate locum praefectorum servans, Greg. *Dial.* III 10; vir magnificus, in hac urbe locum praefectorum servans, Greg. *Dial.* IV 54. Both passages were probably written in 594 (cf. Greg. *Dial.*, ed. Moricca, pp. viii–ix) and Ioannes appears to have been very recently in office. The words of Gregory probably denote the *vicarius* of the praetorian prefecture at Rome, i.e. the *vicarius urbis Romae*, rather than the *praefectus urbi* or his deputy; cf. Cass. *Var.* VI 15.

During or shortly after his term of office he gave information to pope Gregory about strange and miraculous events at Placentia and at Brixia

(cf. Valerianus 1); Gregory draws attention to his truthfulness and reliability; Greg. *Dial.* III 10 (vir quoque veracissimus), IV 54 (cuius veritatis atque gravitatis sit, novimus).

Ioannes 107 tribunus (?at Rome) c. 593/594

Tribunus; he informed pope Gregory in or before 594 (nuper) of the miracle witnessed at Verona in 589 by Pronulfus; Greg. *Dial.* III 19. Gregory wrote Book Three of the *Dialogi* in 594 (five years after the Tiber flood of November 589), and had already begun to collect material for the work in 593 (cf. Greg. *Ep.* III 50).

FL. IOANNES 108 v.c., argentarius (in Egypt) 596

Ὁ λαμπρότατος τραπεζίτης τοῦ ἐνδόξου οἴκου Σίρως, attested at Heracleopolis Magna in Aug./Sept. 596; *SB* 9153, line 8. Cf. Siris.

Ioannes 109 PVR 597–599

Husband of **Dominica** 3; Greg. *Ep.* VII 34 (addressed 'Domnicae uxori Iohannis'), cf. IX 116, 117.

PVR a. 597–599: in office a. 597, Greg. *Ep.* VII 34 (a. 597 July; described as 'gloriosum coniugem vestrum' to Dominica, he is unable to leave Rome to join her – postquam in civitate Romana est, non potest, non ei licet, quia amoris nostri omnino tenetur vinculis adligatus – and she should come to join him); a. 599, Greg. *Ep.* IX 116, 117 (both a. 599 Feb./April; addressed respectively to Theodorus 49 and bishop Marinianus, both at Ravenna, asking for their support for the unnamed wife of the PVR Iohannes on her way to join him at Rome; Ioannes is styled in both letters 'gloriosissimus filius noster Iohannes praefectus urbis').

Fl. Ioannes 110 vir gloriosus; MVM (in Egypt) 598

Son and heir of Fl. Euphemia 3 and landowner in the Oxyrhynchite nome in 598; *P. Oxy.* 2239, 4–5 (Φλ. Ἰωάννη τῷ ἐνδοξοτάτῳ στρατηλάτῃ, τέκνῳ καὶ κληρονόμῳ τῆς ἐν [ἐν]δόξῳ τῇ μνήμῃ Εὐφημίας, γεουχοῦντι in the Oxyrhynchite nome) (dated a. 598). Cf. Fl. Iulius.

Possibly identical with Ioannes 183, but the latter was recorded at Apollinopolis Magna, a long way from Oxyrhynchus.

Ioannes 111 PPO (Italiae) 598

Alluded to by pope Gregory in 598 in a letter to the exarch; Greg. *Ep.* IX 5 (a. 598 Sept./Oct.; Gregory asks 'ut cautiones agentium vices Iohannis praefecti simul et palatini hic transmittere debeat' – referring to deputies of the PPO Ioannes and of a *palatinus*). He was predecessor

of Ioannes 226 who held office in March 600; described by Gregory as a 'malus homo'; Greg. *Ep.* x 8.

Either he or his successor is the 'eminentissimus filius noster praefectus' mentioned in Feb./April 599; Greg. *Ep.* ix 113.

Ioannes 112 vir illustris (in Sicily) 598

In Palermo in 598 and unable to visit pope Gregory in Rome; addressee of a letter of regret from Gregory; Greg. *Ep.* ix 14 (a. 598 Oct.; addressed 'Iohanni illustri viro de Panormo'; he is styled 'vestra gloria').

IOANNES 113 vicarius of the PPO (Italy) 599

Successor of Vigilius 2; he took with him to archbishop Constantius of Milan at Genoa a letter of commendation from Gregory; Greg. *Ep.* ix 103 (a. 599 Jan.; vir magnificus, qui praefecturae vices illic acturus advenit). Cf. Vigilius.

IOANNES 114 v.c., palatinus (in Italy) 599

Iohannes vir clarissimus palatinus; accused of harassing the guild of *saponarii* at Naples in 599; Gregory asked bishop Fortunatus of Naples to speak to him and, if he persisted, to inform the PPO; Greg. *Ep.* ix 113 (a. 599 Feb./Apr.). Perhaps a *palatinus* from Ravenna rather than Constantinople.

IOANNES 115 vir magnificus; tribunus (at Sipontum) 599

With bishop Vitalianus of Sipontum and the ecclesiastical *notarius* Bonifatius he was to help the *defensor (ecclesiae)* Sergius to make an inventory of the property of Ioannes 170 on behalf of Megaris; Greg. *Ep.* ix 112 (a. 599 March; filium nostrum Iohannem virum magnificum tribunum). In July 599 he was asked by Gregory to join bishop Vitalianus in investigating allegations against the *notarius* Bonifatius; Greg. *Ep.* ix 174 (a. 599 July; addressed 'Iohanni tribuno Siponti'; he is styled 'magnitudo vestra').

He was one of the *tribuni* active in civil affairs as well as military; cf. Brown, *Gentlemen*, pp. 56-7 with n. 34.

IOANNES 116 v.c. (in Italy) 599

Vir clarissimus; sent to Ravenna in 599 by the PVR Ioannes 109 to escort his wife (Dominica) back to Rome; Greg. *Ep.* ix 116, 117 (a. 599 Feb./April).

Ioannes 117 scholasticus (Egypt) ?VI

Named in a list of financial accounts, possibly from the Hermopolite nome; *P. Lond.* v 1761, line 18 'Ιωάνν(ης) Ἐρμ(οῦ) σχολ(αστικός).

Ioannes 118 comes domesticorum et proconsul Asiae ?VI

He published an imperial edict at Ephesus; *IK* 14, 1336 Ephesus ('Ιωάννης ὁ ἐγ(ρέγιος!) (perhaps ἐγδ(οξότατος)) κόμ(ης) τῶν καθοσιωμέν(ων) δομε(στικῶν) καὶ σὺν Θ(ε)ῶ ἀνθύ(πατος) Ἀσίας). Cf. Paulus 32.

The same man perhaps occurs on another inscription from Ephesus; *IK* 14, 1339 ([Θ]εοδωρ(ος) με... [/'Ιωάννης ὁ μ(εγα)λο[πρεπέ]στατος... καὶ]/σὺν Θ(ε)ῶ ἀνθύ(πατος) Ἀσίας [...]).

Ioan(nes) 119 ?VI

His name is partially preserved ('Ιωαν...) on one of two fragments, probably from a lintel, apparently as the builder of an oratory or martyrion; *IGLS* II 334 ar-Rbej'a, in the Jebel Hass (dated ἐν μη(ν)ί Παν(έμω) ἰνδ' θ'). Possibly sixth century.

Ioannes Charax 120 writer on grammar VI

Author of a commentary on the Canons of Theodosius which was revised in the ninth century by Sophronius of Alexandria; ed. Hilgard, *Gramm. Gr.* iv 2, pp. 375-434. According to Stephanus Byzantinus, s.v. Χάραξ, he wrote an Onomasticon and works on orthography, enclitics, infinitives and on the termination -ων.

In his work he cites Ioannes Philoponus (E/M VI) and is himself cited by Georgius Choeroboscus (M/L VI); see Hilgard, *Gramm. Gr.* iv, *Prolegomena* lxiii-lxiv, and index, p. 443.

See further *P-W* III 2123, no. 20.

IOANNES 121 comes (in Egypt) VI

'Ο μεγαλοπρ(επέστατος) κόμης, named in *P. Fouad* 87 (provenance and date unknown, but assigned by the editor, H. Marrou, to the sixth century on the basis of handwriting); while en route to Antinoe (apparently from Alexandria), on the second of Phamenoth in a second indiction, he visited Aphrodito (near Athribis, see *P. Fouad*, vol. 1, pp. 182-3) to deliver a letter from abbot Georgius, head of the Metanoia monastery at Alexandria, to an abbot Andreas, who invited him to examine the condition of the local monasteries; he put off doing so, but found time to hear grievances from one monastery and to issue a stern rebuke to its former head before resuming his journey to Antinoe.

In a note Marrou suggested (pp. 191-2) that he was not acting in an official capacity but as a private person exercising rights of patronage.

Ioannes 122 pagarch (in the Fayum) VI

Recorded in a papyrus from somewhere in the Fayum; *Stud. Pal.* viii 1192b, line 6 δι' ἐμοῦ Ἰωάννου παγάρχου).

IOANNES 123 comes (Egypt) VI

Addressee of a letter from an employee acknowledging receipt of various articles and requesting favours; *P. Oxy.* 155, line 11 ἐπίδ(ος) τῷ δεσπότῃ μου τῷ πάντων μεγαλοπρ(επιστάτῳ) κόμ(ετι) καὶ ἐμῷ προστάτ(ῃ) Ἰωάννῃ. He is styled ἡ σὴ μεγαλοπρέπεια. The date is sixth-century.

IOANNES 124 v.sp., comes (in Egypt) VI

He and Ioseph 6, both *comites*, were asked by a certain Menas to demand payment of the *embole* from the people of the village of Nigrou; *P. Oxy.* 1841 verso + δεσπό(ταις) μο(υ) τὰ π(άντα) μ[ε]γαλοπρε(πε-στάτοις) περιβλέ(πτοις) π(άσης) τιμ(ῆς) ἀξ(ίοις) γνη(σίσις) φίλ(οις) κυρ(ίοις) Ἰωάννῃ (καὶ) Ἰωσήφ κόμ(εσι). They are styled ἡ ὑμῶν ἀδελφική μεγαλοπρέπεια (lines 1-2); perhaps they were brothers. The document cannot be dated more closely than to the sixth century.

Ioannes 125 a secretis VI

Ἰωάννου ἀσηκῆτις; Zacos 365 (seal; obv.: monogram (162) of Ἰωάννου; rev.: +ACH/KPH/TIC). A similar seal is Fogg Art Museum seal 1216.

Ioannes 126 chartularius VI

Ἰωάννου chartularii; Zacos 372 (seal; obv.: monogram (160) of Ἰωάννου; rev.: ChG/RTC/L/GRII).

Ioannes 127 comes VI

Ἰωάννου κόμης; Zacos 374 (seal; obv.: cruciform monogram (165) of Ἰωάννου; rev.: square monogram (183) of κόμης).

Ioannes 128 honorary consul VI

Ἰωάννου ἀπὸ ὑπάτων; Zacos 362 (seal; obv.: monogram (159) of Ἰωάννου; rev.: square monogram (31) of ἀπὸ ὑπάτων).

Ioannes 129 honorary consul and comes Abydi M/L VI

Ἰωάννου ἀπὸ ὑπάτων καὶ κόμης Ἀβύδου; Zacos 640 (seal; obv.: eagle with cruciform monogram (166) of Ἰωάννου; rev.: ΑΠΟΝΠ/ΑΤΩΝΣ/ΚΟΜΑΒ/ΥΔΟΝ). On the *comes Abydi*, cf. Stein, *Bas-Emp.* ii 442 with n. 1.

Ioannes 130

cubicularius, spatharius imperialis et MVM Byzacenae VI

Ioannῆ cubi[c]ul(ario), i(m)p(eriali) sp(athario) et mag(istro) Buzacῆ(nae); Zacos 2885 (seal; obv.: TH(Ε)ΟΤΟ/CEYΘETH/IOANNH; rev.: C4YH[C]4/ΞINPSPET/MA544/ZACH). For a similar seal, see Laurent, *Sigillographie et numismatique byzantines* (in *Chronica Numismatica si Arheologica* xiii, 1938), p. 45, and *Médailleur*, no. 91. For Greek versions of the same seal, Laurent, *Médailleur*, p. 84, n. 1 (Ἰωάννου κουβικουλαρίου, βασιλικῷ σπαθαρίου καὶ στρατηλάτου Βυζακηνῆς). Cf. also Ioannes 215.

Ioannes 131 curator VI

Ἰωάννου κουράτορος; Zacos 377, Fogg Art Museum seal 1515 (two seals, dated VI/VII Zacos, VI Oikonomides; obv.: cruciform monogram (165) of Ἰωάννου; rev.: KOV/PATO/POC).

Ioannes 132 curapalates VI

Iohannis europalatis; Zacos 851 = Dumbarton Oaks seal 58.106.897 (seal; obv.: loh/ANN/IS; rev.: C4ROP/ALAZ/IS).

Iohannes 133 illustrius VI

Ἰωχάννου illustrii; Zacos 353 (seal; obv.: square monogram (169) of Ἰωχάννου; rev.: ILL/4ST/714).

Ioannes 134 illustrius VI

Ἰωάννου illustrii; Zacos 384 = Dumbarton Oaks seal 58.106.1779 (seal; obv.: cruciform monogram (165) of Ἰωάννου; rev.: ILL/4VT/714).

Ioannes 135 MVM (? in Africa) VI

Ἰωάννου στρατηλάτου; Monceaux, *Rev. Arch.* 1903, ii, p. 75, n. 16 (seal, from Carthage; obv.: +/IOA/NNOV/+; rev.: CTP/ATHΛ/ΑΤΟΝ).

Ioannes 136 MVM VI

Ἰωάννου stratelatu; Zacos 392 (seal; obv.: monogram (161) of Ἰωάννου; rev.: ΣΤΓ/ΑΤΕΛ/ΑΤ4). Another similar seal also occurs in Zacos' series.

Ioannes (?) 137 MVM VI

Ἰωάννου στρατηλάτου; Zacos 393 (seal; obv.: monogram (175), possibly of Ἰωάννου; rev.: CTP/ATHΛΑ/ΤΟΝ).

Ioannes 138 MVM VI

Iohannis magistro mil(itum); Zacos 853 (seal; obv.: +IOH/ANN/IS; rev.: ΜΑΣΙ/ΥΤΡΟ/ΜΙΛΣ).

IOANNES 139 notarius et vicarius Thraciae VI

Ἰωάννου νοταρίου et vicarii T(h)raciae; Zacos 2802a and b (seals; obv.: (a and b) monogram (172) of Ἰωάννου νοταρίου; rev.: (a) ΕΤ.Ι/ΚΑΡΙΙΤ/ΡΑΚ'; (b) .. ΚΑ/ΡΙΥΤΗΡ/ΑΚΙΣ).

Ioannes 140 ordinarius (?) VI

Ἰωάννου ordin(ari)u(?); Dumbarton Oaks seal 77.34.86 (seal; obv.: cruciform monogram (165) of Ἰωάννου; rev.: ΟΥΘ/ΙΝΥ).

Ioannes 141 ex praefectis VI

I(oh)annis ex praefectis; Zacos 852 = Dumbarton Oaks seal 58.106.747 (seal; obv.: ΙΗΟ/ΑΝΝ/ΙΣ; rev.: ΕΧΡ/ΑΕΦΕ/ΚΤΙΣ).

Ioannes 142 praefectus VI

Ἰωάννου ἐπάρχου; Zacos 380 = Dumbarton Oaks seal 58.106.1016 (seal; obv.: square monogram (158) of Ἰωάννου; rev.: ΕΠΑΡ/ΧΟΥ).

Ioannes 143 PVC VI

Named on a glass weight; Schlumberger, *Mél.*, p. 321, no. 5 = Monneret de Villard, Catalogue C, 9 a (+ΕΠΙΙΩΑΝΝΔΕΙΤΑΡΧΩ ΡΩΜΙC). A number of similar glass weights survive but without the word Ῥώμης; Monneret de Villard, Catalogue B, nos. 4a–e (with a monogram of unknown meaning), Catalogue C, nos. 8a–e, Zacos 2996 bis, a and b, Laurent, *Orghidan*, no. 691, Jungfleisch, pp. 236–8. Cf. Feissel, *Rev. Num.*⁶ 28 (1986), p. 123, n. 18.

Ioannes (?) 144 scholarius VI

Κοσμᾶ καὶ (?) Ἰωάννου σχολαρίων; Zacos 408a and b (two seals; obv.: square monogram (189) of Κοσμᾶ καὶ; rev.: square monogram (177), possibly reading Ἰωάννου σχολαρίων).

Ioannes 145 scribo VI

Ἰωάννου σκρῆβονος; Zacos 389 = Fogg Art Museum seal 1309 (seal; obv.: cruciform monogram (165) of Ἰωάννου; rev.: ΣΚΡ/ἦΒΟΝΟΣ).

Ioannes 146 scribo VI

Ἰωάννου σκρίβωνος; Zacos 390 (seal; obv.: cruciform monogram (165) of Ἰωάννου; rev.: cruciform monogram (304) of σκρίβωνος).

Ioannes 147 scribo et strator VI

Ἰωάννου. Ioanu scribonos (καὶ) strat(oros); Zacos 391 (seal; obv.: cruciform monogram (166) of Ἰωάννου; rev.: +ΙΟΑΝΥ/ΥΚΡΙΒΟΝΟΥΣ/ΥΤΡΑΤ').

Ioannes 148 scriniarius VI

Iohannu scriniariu; Zacos 880 = Dumbarton Oaks seal 58.106.735 (seal; obv.: ΙΟΗ/ΑΝΝ/Υ; rev.: ΣΚΡ/ΙΝΙΑΡ/ΙΥ).

Ioannes 149 imperialis spatharius VI

Ἰωάννου basilicu spa(th)ariu; Zacos 2804 (seal; obv.: cruciform monogram (165) of Ἰωάννου; rev.: +ΒΑ/ΣΙΛΙCΥ/ΣΠΑΤΑ/ΡΙΥ).

Ioannes 150 vestitor VI

Ἰωάννου (v)e(s)tit(o)ro(s); Zacos 395 (seal; obv.: cruciform monogram (167) of Ἰωάννου; rev.: .Ε./ΥΙΥ[Ο]/ΥΟ/. The seal is damaged).

Ioannes 151 father of Agnellus ?VI

Husband of Domnica, father of Maximus 8 and Agnellus 3; *AE* 1973, 250 = 1975, 422g Trieste. See Agnellus.

Ioannes qui et Pet... 152 scholasticus (in Egypt) VI

Ἰωάννην τὸν καὶ Πετ[...] τὸν ἐλλογιμώτατον σχολαστικόν; he travelled to Oxyrhynchus and an order for his entertainment was issued to the village of Coba by another *scholasticus*, Flavianus 3; *P. Princ.* II 105 Oxyrhynchus.

IOANNES 153 v.c. (in Egypt); tractator VI

Mentioned as purchaser of female slaves; *P. Cairo Masp.* 67120, lines 7–8 τὸν λαμπρότατον καὶ ἀγοραστήν τούτων Ἰωάννην τὸν εἰρήμενον τρακτευτήν (probably from Aphrodito).

IOANNES 154 v.c. (in Egypt); ?rationalis VI

He seems to have owned the village of Spania near Oxyrhynchus; *P. Oxy.* 1997 (a receipt issued by a certain Ioannes who was γραμματεὺς κώμ(ης) Σπανίας τοῦ λαμπροτάτου κυρίου Ἰωάννου καθολ(ικοῦ?)). Presumably a local landowner who held the post of *rationalis*.

Ioannes 155 gloriosissimus (in Egypt); sophistes VI

Son of Clematia, on whose account he made a payment of barley; *P. Oxy.* 2020, line 39 δ(ιὰ) τοῦ ἐνδοξ(ο)τ(άτου) Ἰωάννου σοφιστοῦ ὑπὲρ οὐ(όματος) μητ(ρός) Κληματίας. Presumably a sophist at Oxyrhynchus, and a person of high rank.

Ioannes 156 ?v.c. (in Egypt) VI

Father of . . . Ia, recorded in a document from Aphrodito (του τῆς λαμπ[ρᾶς μνήμης] Ἰω[ά]ννο(υ)); *P. Cairo Masp.* 67113.

Ioannes 157 domesticus (East) VI

Named on a fragmentary inscription from a site near lake Tiberias (*in uico Sīrīn* in Wadi Feġġās), possibly together with a bishop; *SEG* VIII 8 (Ἰωάννου ἐπι(σκοπού) κ(αί) Ἰωάννου/...ίου δομ(εστικοῦ)...). He was apparently a *domesticus*, son of . . . ius, and was associated with the local bishop in building work (the inscription is on a fragment of an epistyle).

Ioannes 158 patricius VI

Recorded in a list of payments in a sixth-century papyrus from Antinoe; *P. Ant.* 110, line 5 μερ(ίς) τοῦ ὑπερφ(εστάτου) πατρ(ικίου) Ἰωάννου. Cf. also Erythrius.

IOANNES 159 comes (in Egypt) VI

Κόμητα Ἰωάννην, mentioned in a mutilated papyrus from Oxyrhynchus; *P. Oxy.* 1933 (sixth century).

IOANNES 160 comes (in Egypt) VI

Ἰωάννης κόμ(ης); issued an order to a ζυγοστάτης; *Stud. Pal.* VIII 977 provenance unknown (sixth century).

IOANNES 161 v.c. (Italy) M/L VI

Iohannes v.c.; recorded at Parentium; *Inscr. Ital.* x 2, no. 89. The inscription is in the basilica Euphrasiana, which was built in 535/543.

Ioannes 162 (of Epiphania) advocate and honorary PPO; historian M/L VI

Author of a history of the war between Rome and Persia from 572 to the restoration of Chosroes in 591, of which only a fragment survives; *FHG* IV 273-6.

A native of Epiphania (in Syria II), he was a relative and fellow-citizen of the historian Evagrius (who made use of his work); he was an advocate (cf. further below) and obtained the honorific dignity of PPO; Joh. Epiph. fr., title (Ἰωάννου, σχολαστικοῦ καὶ ἀπὸ ἐπάρχων, Ἐπιφανέως), Evagr. *HE* v 24 (Ἰωάννη ἐμῶ τε πολίτη καὶ συγγενεῖ).

In 590 he was *assessor* or *consiliarius* (σύμβουλος) of the patriarch Gregory of Antioch and had firsthand knowledge of the flight and

restoration of the Persian king Chosroes, meeting him and others involved and subsequently visiting Persia; Joh. Epiph. fr. 11.

His work probably formed the basis of Theophylact Simocatta's narrative of these events; cf. Hunger, *Prof. Lit.* 1, pp. 312-3.

Fl. Soterius Marianus Michaelius Gabriellus Ioannes Theodorus Nicetas Theodorus Bonus Eutropius Olympius Ioannes 163 scribo M/L VI

Author of a letter to the landowners (κτήτορες) of Hadrianopolis in Honorias informing them of the contents of an imperial *commonitorium* addressed to him by the emperor, on the subject of brigandage in the area; the document was found inscribed on marble at a village (Boncuklar) not far from the ancient site of Hadrianopolis (modern Eskipazar, formerly Viranşehir); Feissel and Kaygusuz, *Travaux et Mémoires* 9 (1985), p. 399 (lines 1-2: + Φλ(άβιος) Σωτήρ(ιος) Μαριανός Μηχαήλιος Γαβριήλιος Ἰωάννης Θεόδωρος Νικήτας Θεόδωρος Βόνος Εὐτρόπιος Ὀλύμπιος Ἰωάννης σὺν Θε(ε)ῶ σκρίβων τοῦ θε(ε)ίου μεγάλου παλατίου. Cf. line 5 - the *commonitorium* was addressed τῇ ἐμῇ μετριότητι). On his names, see Feissel and Kaygusuz, *op. cit.*, pp. 401-4 and on the date (probably after the mid sixth century and possibly under Justinian or Justin II), p. 419.

Ioannes 164 son of Carellus ?M/L VI

Son of Carellus 1 (and Ioanna); he died aged twenty-eight and was buried at Odessus, possibly in 560 or 575; Beshevliev, *Spätgr. u. spätlat. Inscr. Bulg.*, n. 88 Odessus.

See further Carellus.

Ioannes 165 ?financial official (in Rome) M/L VI

Father of pope Bonifatius III; *Lib. Pont.* 68 (Bonifatius, natione Romanus, ex patre Iohanne cataadioce). For *cataadioce* possibly meaning *diocetes*, see Brown, *Gentlemen*, p. 77, n. 26.

Ioannes 166 founder of a monastery M/L VI

Founder of a monastery at Pesaro (Pisaurum); *Greg. Ep.* VI 44 (a. 596 July; addressed to bishop Felix of Pisaurum). Presumably a man of wealth at Pesaro.

Ioannes 167 son of Eulalius (in Gaul) L VI

Elder son of Eulalius 2 and Tetradia; he accompanied his mother when she left Eulalius, but later rejoined his father; sent by his father to Rodez to take holy orders in order to obtain the bishop's support for

property claims of Eulalius there, he became noted for asceticism; Greg. Tur. *HF* x 8.

Ioannes 168 son of Georgius 17 L VI

See Georgius 17.

Ioannes 169 dux et augustalis Alexandriae L VI

He was 'prefect of the city of Alexandria' ('*préfet d'Alexandrie*'; Zotenberg) in the reign of Maurice; Joh. Nik. 97.3.7.8 (pp. 529-30 Zotenberg). He appointed Abaskirōn, Iacobus 6 and Menas 12, and Abaskirōn's son Isaac 6 to positions of authority in various Egyptian towns; Joh. Nik. 97.3 (p. 529). When they began to resort to illegal acts of violence, he reported them to the emperor and received instructions to remove them from office; however, as a result of a food shortage at Alexandria due to rebel activities Ioannes was dismissed from office and replaced by Paulus 26; Joh. Nik. 97.6-8. After an interview with Maurice to explain the situation, he was reinstated and given orders to crush the troublemakers; he assembled troops 'from Alexandria, Egypt and Nubia' and, with help from Theodorus 59, he restored order in Alexandria and the rebellion was defeated; Joh. Nik. 97.9. 14-17 (p. 531), and cf. Abaskirōn and Theodorus 59.

He remained (?in office) in Alexandria until his death and carried out many important works in the sea; Joh. Nik. 97.18 (p. 531 Zotenberg).

Ioannes 170 property owner (in Italy) L VI

Uncle of Megaris, he died childless and intestate before March 599; pope Gregory ordered an inventory made of his property at Sipontum; Greg. *Ep.* ix 112 (a. 599 March).

Ioannes 171 land measurer (in Italy) L VI

Agrimensor; sent by pope Gregory from Rome to Syracuse in 597 to settle a boundary dispute between two abbeys; Greg. *Ep.* vii 36 (a. 597 May; addressed to bishop John of Syracuse).

Ioannes 172 notarius of an MVM (? in Italy) L VI

Notarius of the MVM Campanianus who left him an annuity of twelve *solidi*; in 591 Gregory ordered this money to be paid instead to the granddaughter and heir of a *conductor* called Euplus (perhaps implying that Ioannes was now dead; the bequest had presumably been a charge on an estate left by Campanianus to the church, which Gregory evidently now felt free to vary); Greg. *Ep.* i 42 (a. 591 May; there is nothing in the text to indicate that Ioannes was not still alive, however).

Ioannes 173 brother of Maurentius L VI

Brother of the MVM Maurentius 3; a monk in the monastery of the apostle Andrew 'in clivum Scauri' at Rome, he was dead by Feb. 598 when Gregory confirmed the decision made by the abbot of the monastery, Candidus, and Maurentius concerning his inheritance; Greg. *Ep.* viii 12 (a. 598 Feb.; addressed to Candidus).

IOANNES 174 v.c., argentarius (in Egypt) L VI

He and Theodorus 62 were bankers at Oxyrhynchus in the late sixth century; *P. Oxy.* 127, lines 5-6 and 11-12 τὰ καὶ καταβλ[ηθ]ι(έντα) τοῖς λαμπρο(τάτοις) ἀργυροπρά(ταῖς) [Ἰ]ωάννου (καὶ) Θεοδώρ[ο]υ (sic).

Ioannes 175 argentarius (in Rome) L VI

An *argentarius* at Rome, well known for standing surety in order to help persons in poverty; he stood surety for Importunus, but in Nov. 600 was in trouble on his account and sought refuge in church; pope Gregory wrote to Ravenna seeking action by the PPO (see Ioannes 226) to protect him; Greg. *Ep.* xi 16 (a. 600 Nov.).

Ioannes 176 magister or magistrarianus (Egypt) L VI

Addressee of a letter from a subordinate, a tax-official, collecting in the Heracleopolite nome; *P. Mert.* i 46, line 13 (ἐπιδ(ός) τῷ δεσπότη μου τῷ τὰ πάντα ἐναρέτῳ . . . [. . .] Ἰωάννη μαγιστρ(ω or -ιανῶ); he is styled σου ἡ ἀρετή) Heracleopolite nome (late sixth century). Either an *agens in rebus* (magistrarianus) or more probably, to judge by the mode of address, a relatively minor official concerned with the tax revenues, possibly an official of the *sacrae largitiones*, the *res privata* or the *domus divina*. Cf. also Paulus 39, Phoebammon 12 and Dorotheus 6.

Ioannes Cobidius 177 lawyer M VI/E VII

See *Basilica*, ed. Heimbach, vi, prolegomena 18, and Hunger, *Prof. Lit.* ii, p. 437.

Author of a commentary on the Digest, fragments of which survive in the scholia on the *Basilica*. Described in Schol. in *Bas.* 18.2.7(3) as Ἰωάννης ὁ σοφώτατος ἀντικλήνωρ (Heimbach, *Basilica*, Suppl., p. 185, Sch. 47). He wrote a work on criminal law; Zachariae von Lingenthal, *Ἀνεκδότα*, p. 191 (ἐκ τοῦ ποινολογίου Ἰωάννου Κουβιδίου ἀντικλήνωρος). He himself cited the sixth-century lawyers Theodorus 64 and Cyrillus 3; *Basilica*, ii, p. 557. He lived later than Dorotheus 4 and Thalelaeus; *Basilica*, Suppl., p. 185, Sch. 47.

Ioannes 178 *commerciarius* (of Tyre) M VI/E VII

One of three *commerciarii* of Tyre recorded on a seal (see Theodorus 107); Zacos 130 bis, note, no. 2.

IOANNES 179 v.c., *singularius* (in the Thebaid) M VI/VII

Recorded on an inscription at Ombi for his part in building work there – σπουδῆς καὶ οἰκ(ονομίας)... Δωροθέου... καὶ Ἰωάννου λαμπρ(οτάτου) σιγγ(ουλαρίου) ἐπιμελητοῦ; SB iv 7475 = SEG viii 780 Ombi. He probably belonged to the *officium* of the *dux Thebaidis* rather than to that of the civil governor of the Upper Thebais, and was in charge of the work, the construction of new quarters for troops. For the date, see Gabrielius 3.

Ioannes 180 PPO per Italiam M VI/VII

Iohannis praef(ecti) pr(acto)r(io) p(er) (I)tal(iam); Zacos 354a and b (seals; obv.: (a and b) cruciform monogram (168) of Iohannis; rev.: (a and b) PRAEF/PR/R/P/([I]TAL)). Cf. Ioannes 270.

Ioannes 181 *patricius* (in Africa) VI/VII

Ἰωάννου πατρικίου (?); BCTH 1925, p. clvi (seal, from Carthage; monograms of (obv.) Θεοτόκε βοήθει, and (rev.) Ἰωάννω πατρικίω (sic BCTH); perhaps the editors in BCTH (no sketch or photograph) misinterpreted the symbol δ as an omega).

IOANNES 182 comes et chartularius (?Egypt or Libya) VI/VII

Addressee of a letter from Theodorus ἀδελφός (possibly his real brother) for three monks from a place called Σκιθι (they are Σκιθιωται... καὶ ὀρθόδοξοι); SB 9376, line 5 δεσπό(τη) ἐμῶ π(άντων) μεγαλοπρε(πεστάτω) ποθεινοτάτω ἀδελφ(ῶ) Ἰωάννη κόμη(τι) χαρτουλα(ρίω). The provenance is uncertain. Theodorus was perhaps at the place called Scithi, which may have been in Libya.

Ioannes 183 *vir gloriosus*; MVM (in Egypt) VI/VII

Father of Fl. Theodorus 146 – υἱὸς Ἰωάννου τοῦ τῆς ἐνδόξου μνήμης γενομένου στρατηλά(του); P. Grenf. 1 63, 1–2 Apollinopolis Magna. See also Ioannes 110.

Ioannes 184 *apocrisiarius* VI/VII

Ἰωάννου ἀποκρισταρίου; Zacos 364 = Dumbarton Oaks seal 55.1.171 (seal; obv.: cruciform monogram (165) of Ἰωάννου; rev.: +/ΑΠΟΚ/PICIA/PI...).

Ioannes 185 *arcarius* VI/VII

Ἰωάννου ἀρκαρίου; Zacos 865 = Dumbarton Oaks seal 58.106.3676 (seal; obv.: +ΙΩ/ANN/OV+; rev.: +AP/KAPI/OV+).

Ioannes 186 a *secretis* VI/VII

Ἰωάννου ἀσηκρητίς; Zacos 365A (seal; obv.: cruciform monogram (165) of Ἰωάννου; rev.: cruciform monogram (36) of ἀσηκρητίς).

Ioannes 187 ?*candidatus* VI/VII

Ἰωάννου (?), κανδιδάτου; Zacos 378 (seal; obv.: cruciform monogram (165) of Ἰωάννου; rev.: cruciform monogram (178) which may be κανδιδάτου or possibly διακόνου).

Ioannes 188 *chartularius et discussor* VI/VII

Ἰωάννου chartularii et discussor(is); Zacos 373 (seal; obv.: circular inscription of Θεοτόκε βοήθει round a cruciform monogram (165) of Ἰωάννου; rev.: CHAR/ΤΥΛAR/ΠΕΤΩΙΣ/СΥССО/Р).

Ioannes 189 *chartularius* VI/VII

Ἰωάννου χαρτουλαρίου; Zacos 867 = Dumbarton Oaks seal 58.106.4459 (seal; obv.: +ΙΩ/AN/NO[V]; rev.: XAP/ΤΟΥΛΑ/ΡΙΟΥ).

Ioannes 190 *chartularius et hypodectes* VI/VII

Ἰωάννου χαρτ(ουλαρίου) (καὶ) ὑποδέ[κ]του; Dumbarton Oaks seal 55.1.2001 (seal; obv.: +ΙΩΑ/NNΩΧ/ΑΡΤ; rev.: .VΠΟΔΕ./ΤΟΥ).

Ioannes 191 comes VI/VII

Ἰωάννου κόμητος; Zacos 375 = Dumbarton Oaks seal 58.106.4568 (seal; obv.: cruciform monogram (165) of Ἰωάννου; rev.: cruciform monogram (185) of κόμητος).

Ioannes 192 honorary consul VI/VII

Ἰωάννου ὑπάτου; Zacos 381a and b (two seals; obv.: (a and b) monogram (173) of Ἰωάννου ὑπάτου (or possibly Ἰωάννου ἀπὸ ὑπάτων); rev.: (a and b) +ΔΟΝ/ΛΟΝΤΗC/ΘΕΟΤΟ/ΚΟΝ). A third similar specimen occurs in Zacos' series.

Ioannes 193 honorary consul VI/VII

Ἰωάννου ὑπάτου; Zacos 382 (seal; obv.: cruciform monogram (165) of Ἰωάννου; rev.: cruciform monogram (342) of ὑπάτου).

- Ioannes 194** cubicularius (or ?vicarius) VI/VII
 Ἰωάννου κουβικουλαρίου; Zacos 376 (seal; obv.: cruciform monogram (165) of Ἰωάννου; rev.: cruciform monogram (192) of κουβικουλαρίου, or possibly βικαρίου).
- Ioannes 195** excubitor VI/VII
 Ἰωάννη ἐξκουβίτορι; Zacos 642 = Dumbarton Oaks seal 58.106.5378 (seal, dated VII Zacos, VI/VII Oikonomides; obv.: eagle with cruciform monogram of Θεοτόκε βοήθει; rev.: +ΙΩ/ANN ΗΞΕ/ΚΟΒΙ/ΤΩΡΙ+).
- Ioannes 196** illustrius VI/VII
 Ἰωάννου ἰλλουστρίου; Zacos 383 (seal; obv.: monogram (157) of Ἰωάννου; rev.: +ΙΛ/ΛΟVC/ΤΡΙ/ΟV).
- Ioannes 197** illustrius VI/VII
 Ἰωάννου ἰλλουστρίου; Zacos 385 (seal; obv.: cruciform monogram (165) of Ἰωάννου; rev.: ΙΛ/ΛΔCT/ΠΙΔ).
- Ioannes 198** illustrius VI/VII
 Ἰωάννου ἰλλουστρίου; Zacos 870 (seal; obv.: ΙΩA/NNO/V; rev.: ΙΛΛΟ/VCTP/ΙΟ[V]). For similar seals, see Gray Birch, *BM Seals*, p. 44, no. 17683, and Laurent, *Médailier*, no. 52.
- Ioannes 199** illustrius VI/VII
 Ἰωάννου ἰλλουστρίου; Zacos 871 = Dumbarton Oaks seal 55.1.2007 (seal; obv.: ΙΩ/ANN/OV; rev.: ΙΛΛ/ΔCT/ΠΙΔ). For a similar seal, see Panchenko, *Katalog*, p. 123, no. 351.
- Ioannes 200** illustrius and topoteretes VI/VII
 Ἰωάννου ἰλλ(ουστρίου) (καί) τοποτηρητοῦ; Zacos 872 = Dumbarton Oaks seal 55.1.2009 (seal; obv.: ΙΩA/NNO/V; rev.: ΙΛΛ/ΣΤΟΠΟ/ΤΗΡΗ/ΤΔ).
- Ioannes 201** magister (?officiorum) VI/VII
 Ἰωάννου μαγίστρου(?); Zacos 2800 (seal; obv.: cruciform monogram (165) of Ἰωάννου; rev.: cruciform monogram (214), possibly of μαγίστρου).
- Ioannes 202** MVM VI/VII
 Ἰωάννου στρατηλάτου; Zacos 648 = Dumbarton Oaks seal 58.106.3419 (seal; obv.: eagle, with cruciform monogram (165) of Ἰωάννου; rev.: cruciform monogram (327) of στρατηλάτου).

- Ioannes 203** notarius VI/VII
 Ἰωάννου νοταρίου; Zacos 1164 (seal; obv.: Virgin and child; rev.: square monogram (171) of Ἰωάννου νοταρίου).
- Ioannes 204** optio VI/VII
 Ἰωάννου ὀπτιόνος; Zacos 1165 (seal; obv.: Virgin; rev.: +ΙΩ/ANNOV/OPTIO/NOC).
- Ioannes 205** patricius VI/VII
 Ἰωάννου πατρικίου; Zacos 386 (seal; obv.: cruciform monogram (165) of Ἰωάννου; rev.: cruciform monogram (251) of πατρικίου). A second specimen occurs in Zacos' series.
- Ioannes 206** PVC VI/VII
 Ἰωάννου ἐπάρχ[ου] Ῥώμης(?); Dumbarton Oaks seal 55.1.107 (seal; obv.: cruciform monogram (165) of Ἰωάννου; rev.: cruciform monogram (80), partly damaged, probably of ἐπάρχ[ου] Ῥώμης).
- Ioannes 207** ex praefectis VI/VII
 Ἰωάννου ἀπὸ ἐπάρχων; Zacos 359 = Dumbarton Oaks seal 58.106.4458 (seal; obv.: monogram (163) of Ἰωάννου; rev.: +ΑΠ./ΕΠΑΡ/ΧΩΝ/+). For a similar seal, see Laurent, *Orghidan*, no. 298.
- Ioannes 208** ex praefectis VI/VII
 Ἰωάννου ἀπὸ ἐπάρχων; Zacos 360 (seal; obv.: cruciform monogram (165) of Ἰωάννου; rev.: cruciform monogram (28) of ἀπὸ ἐπάρχων).
- Ioannes 209** ex praefectis VI/VII
 Ἰωάννου ἀπὸ ἐπάρχων; Zacos 361 (seal; obv.: cruciform monogram (165) of Ἰωάννου; rev.: +ΑΠΟ/ΕΠΑΡ/ΧΩΝ). A second specimen occurs in Zacos' series.
- Ioannes 210** ?praefectianus VI/VII
 Ἰωάννου ἐπαρχικοῦ(?); Zacos 379 = Dumbarton Oaks seal 58.106.3252 (seal; obv.: cruciform monogram (165) of Ἰωάννου; rev.: cruciform monogram (76), apparently of ἐπαρχικοῦ).
- Ioannes 211** ex praefectis VI/VII
 Ἰωάννου ἀπὸ ἐπάρχων; Zacos 858 = Dumbarton Oaks seal 58.106.1138 (seal, dated VII Zacos, VI/VII Oikonomides; obv.: +ΙΩ/ANN/OV; rev.: ΑΠΟ/ΕΠΑΡ/ΧΩΝ).

IOANNES 212 proconsul VI/VII
 Ἰωάννου ἀνθυπάτου; Zacos 2881 (seal; obv.: ΙΩ/ΑΝ/ΝΟΒ; rev.: ΑΝΘ/ΥΠΑ/ΤΟΒ).

Ioannes 213 scholarius VI/VII
 Ioannu scholariu; Zacos 2887 (seal; obv.: +Ιδ/Γη/ηϣ; rev.: +SCh/δΛΑ/ΥΙϣ).

Ioannes 214 scriniarius et primiscrinus VI/VII
 Ἰωάννου σκριν(ιαρίου) (καὶ) πριμισκριν(ίου); Zacos 646a and b, Dumbarton Oaks seal 58.106.2321 (three seals; obv.: cruciform monogram (165) of Ἰωάννου; rev.: +/CKPIN, /ΠΙΡΙΜΙ/CKPIN, (/ΙΙΟ[V] added in the two in Zacos)).

Ioannes 215 cubicularius, imperialis spatharius et MVM (? in Africa) VI/VII
 Ἰωάννου κουβ(ικουλαρίου) βασιλ(ικοῦ) σπαθ(αρίου) στρατηλά(του); Monceaux, *Rev. Arch.* 1903, II, p. 75, no. 15 (seal, from Carthage; obv.: IOAN/ΝΟΒΚΟΒ/ΒΑCΙΑ/CTAΘ; rev.: CTPA/THAA). Cf. also Ioannes 130.

Ioannes 216 tabularius of Abydus VI/VII
 Ἰωάννου ταβουλαρ(ίου) Ἀβύ(δ)ου; Zacos 2805a and b (two seals; obv.: cruciform monogram (165) of Ἰωάννου; rev.: TAB/OVΛAP/[Ιδ]ABV/[Δ]δ). 2805b is published also by Constantopoulos, *Molybdoboulla*, no. 554.

Ioannes 217 ?v.c. (Egypt) L VI/VII
 Fl. Demetrius 11 was son τοῦ τῆς μεγαλοπρεποῦς μνήμης Ἰωάννου λα(μπροτάτου); *Stud. Pal.* xx 218. Cf. Demetrius.

Ioannes 218 ?vir spectabilis (in Egypt) VI/VII
 Mentioned in a papyrus of unknown provenance; *PSI* 1345, line 9 δια τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ καὶ περιβλέ(πτου) κυρ(ίου) ἄπα Ἰωάννου.

Ioannes 219 scholasticus (Egypt) VI/VII
 Three σχολ(αστικοί), Ioannes and two named Theodorus (Theodorus 147), wrote on behalf of a *chartularius* who wished to resign to an unnamed 'comitotribunus' (comes et tribunus?, see Anonymus 60); *P. Oxy.* 128, lines 3, 15-16 (dated sixth/seventh century).

Ioannes 220 tabellio (in Egypt) VI/VII
 He drafted *Stud. Pal.* III 439 (δι' ἐμοῦ Ἰωάννου νομικοῦ), provenance uncertain, perhaps from the Fayum.

IOANNES 221 v.c., scriniarius (Egypt) VI/VII
 Ὁ λαμπρό(τατος) σκρινιάριος; complained of not receiving the *calandica* due to him; *P. Oxy.* 1869 (dated sixth/seventh century). For *calandica*, cf. *Just. Ed.* 13.3. Cf. Theodorus 144 and Phoebammon 19.

IOANNES 222 comes and estate manager VI/VII
 A document from Oxyrhynchus, listing arrears of *embole*, mentions payments δ(ιὰ) [το]ῦ κόμ(ετος) Ἰωάννου διοικ(ητοῦ), including one (ὑπὲρ) ναύλ(ου) τῆς διοικ(ησέως); *P. Oxy.* 1908. He was a *comes* who was presumably employed as estate manager by one of the great landowning families of the area, perhaps the Apions. Cf. also Theon 2 and Papirius 1.

Fl. Ioannes 223 ?honorary praeses and pagarch of Hermopolis VI/VII
 Φλ' Ἰωάννης σὺν Θε(ῶ) ἀρχοντος καὶ παγάρχ(ης) Ἐρμοπολ(ιτῶν) (sic); issued a receipt for εὐμένεια (? = συνηθείαι) to the *adiutor* of a village in the Hermopolite nome; *P. Lond.* v 1753 Hermopolite nome (dated sixth/seventh century, in a fourteenth indiction). The meaning of ἀρχοντος is a mystery; possibly he was ἀπὸ ἀρχοντος, i.e. former *praeses* (whether actual or honorific), or perhaps the word is an error for ἀρχων, i.e. currently governor of Lower Thebais, although this is unlikely in view of his *pagarchia* at the same time.

Ioannes 224 advocate (at Thessalonica) L VI/E VII
 One of τῶν παλαιῶν δικολόγων at Thessalonica, he made an offering of forty pounds of silver to the church of St Demetrius during the episcopate of Eusebius; *Mir. Dem.* 16, p. 95.

Ioannes 225 illustrius (in Phrygia) L VI/E VII
 He lived at Amorium (in Phrygia Salutaris) and had an eighteen-year-old son whom St Theodore of Syceon cured of a paralysis which had lasted three years, since a hunting accident; *V. Theod. Syc.* 107 (εἰς ἐκ τῆς αὐτῆς πόλεως (= Amorium) ἰλλούστριος ὀνόματι Ἰωάννης).

Ioannes 226 PPO Italiae 600
 Rebuked by pope Gregory in 600 for interfering with the church's charitable activities in Naples (annonas atque consuetudines diaconiae, quae Neapolim exhibetur); his *vicarius* was Dulcitus 3; *Greg. Ep.* x 8

IOANNES 244 v.c., numerarius (at Ravenna) 639

V.c., numerarius; apparently at Ravenna where in Nov. 639 his *adiutor* Theodorus witnessed a donation by Paulacis; Marini, *P. Dip.* 95 = *P. Ital.* 22, lines 36, 55.

Ioannes 245 v.d., scholarius (at Ravenna) 639

V.d., schol(arius) sacri pal(atii); in Nov. 639 he witnessed a donation by Paulacis; Marini, *P. Dip.* 95 = *P. Ital.* 22, lines 18, 53.

Ioannes 246 ?MVM (Egypt) 640

Described as 'le général des milices' and 'le chef de l'armée', he was killed by the Arabs in c. May 640 when they took Bahnaṣā and invaded the Fayum; Joh. Nik. 111.1.3.8.10 (pp. 554-5 Zotenberg), 116.1 (p. 563). Probably an MVM, but perhaps subordinate to Theodorus 166. Either his body or that of Ioannes 247 (the text does not make clear which) was rescued from the river and sent to Heraclius; Joh. Nik. 111.15 (p. 556).

IOANNES 247 ?dux (in Egypt) 640

A native of the town of Mārōs, he was 'the general' (distinguished as such from Ioannes 246, 'le général des milices') and helped defend the Fayum in c. May 640; killed near Abūīt with his companions; Joh. Nik. 111.3.5.11-12 (pp. 554-5 Zotenberg).

Ioannes 248 ?pagarch of Antinoe 640/641

The 'prefect' of Antinoe, he left for Alexandria taking his troops and the taxes which he had collected, since he considered resistance to the Arabs useless; Joh. Nik. 115.10 (pp. 562-3 Zotenberg). Probably the pagarch of Antinoe (whose duties included tax collection) rather than a military officer.

Ioannes 249 ?MVM et dux Libyae Pentapoleos 640/641

He was appointed general of Libya by Heraclius and sent against the Arabs in Egypt ('Ἰωάννην τὸν Βαρκαίνης στρατηγὸν προχειρίζεται καὶ πέμπει κατὰ Σαρακηνῶν τῶν ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ), but was killed by them in battle; Nic. *Brev.* 24. According to Nicephorus, Heraclius was still in the east; this gives a date no later than 636, well before Egypt was attacked, and so either the date or the allusion to Egypt is wrong. The words τὸν Βαρκαίνης may mean 'son of Barcaine', in which case John, son of Barcaine, was made στρατηγός and sent to Egypt; Barcaine however is unlikely as a personal name and the word probably means Libya

(Barca), which in the context of military operations to help Egypt would be appropriate. Ioannes was probably therefore appointed commander of Libya. He was perhaps an MVM (honorary or *vacans*) who was made *dux* of Libya.

Ioannes 250 = pope John IV 640-642

A native of Dalmatia, he was son of the *scholasticus* Venantius 5; *Lib. Pont.* 74.

IOANNES 251 military commander (Egypt) 641

'Le général Jean', at Damietta in 641 where Sabendis, who had deserted to the Arabs in consequence of John's treatment of him, returned; Joh. Nik. 114.9-10 (p. 561 Zotenberg).

In Sept. 642, as the Roman forces withdrew from Alexandria, Theodorus 166 appointed Ioannes 'préfet d'Alexandrie' to co-operate with 'Amr and ensure that the transition went smoothly; Joh. Nik. 121.4-6 (pp. 584-5) (he remained in office under the Arabs).

IOANNES 252 dux (in Numidia) 641/646

In temporibus Constantini imperatoris Fl. Gregorio patricio, Ioannes dux de Tigisi offeret domum Dei. + Armenus; *CIL* VIII 2389 + 17822 = D 839 = *ILCV* 1832 = Pringle, no. 57 Thamugadi. The emperor named could be either Constantine III (641) or Constans (641-668; officially called Constantine), while Gregorius is the *patricius* and exarch who rebelled against Constans in 646. Ioannes was perhaps an Armenian, who held office as *dux* in Numidia with his base at Tigisis.

Ioannes 253 domesticus numeri (at Rome) E VII

Ioannes dom(esticus) num(eri) Dac(orum); he witnessed in Rome the donation of property at Gubbio to the church of Ravenna by Stephanus 58; Marini, *P. Dip.* 92 = *P. Ital.* 18-19B, line 29, cf. line 64 Iohannis domc. num. Diac. (sic). The date is early seventh-century.

Ioannes 254 teacher of rhetoric (in Alexandria) E VII

A pupil of Eulogius ὁ μέγας (bishop of Alexandria a. 581-608), he became a teacher of rhetoric at Alexandria (ὁς ῥητορικῶν μὲν λόγων ὑπῆρχε διδάσκαλος); his wife was Rhodope, a native of Antioch; Sophronius, *Mir. SS. Cyr. et Ioh.* 62 (PG 87.3.3640).

Ioannes 255 bishop of Thessalonica E VII

Successor of Eusebius as bishop of Thessalonica, after 606, he died c. 620, about a month after the siege of Thessalonica by the Avars and

Slavs; he compiled Book I of the *Miracula* of St Demetrius; *Mir. Dem.* I, prol., p. 50; II, prol., p. 169; II 1, p. 175; II 2, pp. 184, 186, and cf. II 3, p. 194 (his death).

Ioannes Chrysones 256 man of wealth E VII?

A man of good family (τῶν εὐπατρίδων) and considerable wealth (to which he allegedly owed his nickname), he was miraculously cured by Sts Cyrus and John; Sophronius, *Mir. SS. Cyr. et Ioh.* 17 (PG 87.3.3473-6). Perhaps a native of Alexandria.

IOANNES 257 governor (?consularis) of Galatia Prima E VII

Governor at Ancyra, perhaps under Phocas; his deputy (τοποτηρητής) was Alexander 19; *V. Theod. Syc.* 151 (τοῦ φιλοχρίστου Ἰωάννου τοῦ ἀρχοντος τῆς Ἀγκυρανῶν μητροπόλεως). For his office, see Euphrantas.

Ioannes 258 tribunus (East) E VII

Ὁ μακ(άριος) Ἰωάννης ὁ τριβούν(ο)ς; he died in 613; *Rev. Bibl.* 12 (1904), 427, no. 5 Birosaba (Palaestina Tertia) (his tombstone, dated μη(ν) Δύστρω κε', ινδ. α', ἔτ(ους) υἱδ', i.e. 414 of the era of Eleutheropolis = March 19, 613 A.D.).

Ioannes 259 son of Bonus 5 E/M VII

Illegitimate son of the *patricius* Bonus 5; sent to the Avars as a hostage in 622; *Nic. Brev.* 17.

Ioannes *qui et* Atalarichus 260 son of Heraclius E/M VII

Illegitimate son of Heraclius; *Nic. Brev.* 17, 25, Sebeos xxix, p. 93. Sent as hostage to the Avars in 622 with Stephanus 60 (nephew of Heraclius) and Ioannes 259 (son of Bonus 5); *Nic. Brev.* 17. Possibly in 635 or 637 he was accused of plotting against Heraclius with Theodorus 171; he was maimed and exiled to the island of Principos (in the sea of Marmara); *Nic. Brev.* 25, Sebeos xxix, p. 93. On the date of the conspiracy, see Varaztiroch.

Ioannes 261 cubicularius E/M VII

Addressee of several letters from Maximus Confessor; *Max. Conf. Ep.* 2, 3, 4 (all before 626), 10 (perhaps 626 or 630/634), 12 (641 Nov./Dec.), 27, 43 (both 628/629), 44, 45 (both early 642). The dates are those of P. Sherwood in *Studia Anselmiana* xxx (1952). All the letters are addressed πρὸς Ἰωάννην κουβικουλάριον. He was in Constantinople with access to the emperors in late 641/early 642, when Maximus wrote

to him about the PPO Georgius 50 and sought his intervention on behalf of Georgius; *Ep.* 12, 44, 45. Probably in Constantinople in 628/629; *Ep.* 43 (identical with *Ep.* 24 addressed to Constantinus 35 *sacellarius*; it alludes to the recent end of the war with Persia). Ioannes had earlier sent a gift to the monastery of St George in Cyzicus, for which Maximus sent thanks; *Ep.* 13.

In 642 Maximus commended Theocharistus 2 to him; *Ep.* 44.

Ioannes is also mentioned as a correspondent of Maximus in a letter of Maximus to the priest Stephanus; S. L. Epifanovitch, *Materials to serve in the Study of the Life and Works of St Maximus the Confessor* (Kiev, 1917), pp. 84ff., *Ep.* B (cf. *Rev. d'hist. eccl.* 24 (1928), 802ff.). Four of the above letters were known to Photius; *Phot. Bibl.* 192(B).

Ioannes 262 sophist M VII

A sophist, addressee of a letter from Maximus Confessor, according to Photius; *Phot. Bibl.* 192(B) (μία πρὸς Ἰωάννην σοφιστήν). No such letter survives among Maximus' extant works.

Ioannes 263 philosopher M VII

A philosopher to whom Maximus Confessor addressed a letter, according to Photius; *Phot. Bibl.* 192(B) (μία πολύστιχος, ἡ πρὸς τινα φιλόσοφον Ἰωάννην). No surviving letter of Maximus is addressed to such a person.

Ioannes 264 argentarius VII

Zacos 828 (seal). See Georgius 59.

Ioannes 265 a secretis VII

Ἰωάννου ἀσηκρίτης; Zacos 866 (seal, dated VI/VII Zacos; obv.: +ΙΩ/ANN/OV; rev.: ACH/KPIT/HC), Dumbarton Oaks seal 58.106.5469 (seal, dated VII Oikonomides; obv.: +ΙΩ/ANN/OV; rev.: +AC/HKPH/ΤΙC).

Ioannes 266 comes VII

Ἰωάννη κ(ό)μιτ(ι); Zacos 641 (seal; obv.: eagle, with cruciform monogram of Θεοτόκε βοήθει; rev.: +ΙΩ/ANNH/ΚΩΜΙ/ΤΗ+).

Ioannes 267 honorary consul, patricius and logothetes E VII

Ἰωάννου ἐνδοξοτάτου ἀπὸ ὑπάτων, πατρικίου, λογοθέτου βασιλικού(?) ...; Zacos 130 bis, note, no. 6 (= Millet, *Byz.* I, p. 606 = Laurent, *Bulletin* I, p. 625) (seal, depicting four imperial busts probably of Heraclius, Heraclius Constantine, Martina and a daughter). The

reading of the end is uncertain; possibly λογοθέτου βασιλικῶν ἀρκαρίων (Panchenko), λογοθέτου βασιλικῶν κομμερκιάρων (Lihachev) or λογοθέτου βασιλικῶν ἀρκαρικῶν sc. τίτλων or φόρων (Millet). See Zacos, note.

Ioannes 268 honorary consul VII

Ἰωάννου ἀπὸ ὑπάτων; Zacos 863a and b (two seals; obv.: +ΙΩ[Α]/ΝΝΟΝ[Α]/ΠΟΝΠ[Α]/ΤΩΝ; rev.: +ΔΟΝ/[Λ]ΟΝΤΗ[С]/ΘΕΟΤΟ/ΚΟΝ).

Ioannes 269 honorary consul VII

Ἰωάννου ἀπὸ ὑπάτων; Zacos 864 (seal; obv.: ΘΕΟΤΟ/ΚΕΒΟΗ/ΘΕΙ; rev.: +ΙΩ/ΑΝΝΟΝ/ΑΠΟΝΠ/ΑΤΩΝ).

Ioannes 270 honorary consul and PPO Italiae VII

Ἰωάννη ὑπάτω καὶ ἐπάρχῳ Ἰταλίας; Zacos 1163 (seal; obv.: Virgin and child and the legend [ΘΕ]ΟΤΟΚΕ[ΣΥΝΤΩΥ]ΙΩCΔΒΟΗ-ΘΗΤΩΔΔΛΩ; rev.: +ΙΩΑΝ/ΝΗΝΠΑΤ/ΩΣΕΠΑΡ/ΧΩΙΤΑΛ/Ι[ΑС] +). Cf. Ioannes 180.

Ioannes 271 honorary consul VII

Ἰωάννη ἀπὸ ὑπάτων; Zacos 1506 = Dumbarton Oaks seal 58.106.1361 (seal; obv.: cruciform monogram of Θεοτόκε βοήθει; rev.: +ΙΩ/Α ΝΗΑΠΟ/ΝΠΑΤ/[ΩΝ]).

Ioannes 272 honorary consul VII

Ἰωάννου ὑπάτου; Zacos 1511 (seal; obv.: cruciform monogram of Θεοτόκε βοήθει; rev.: cruciform monogram (174) of Ἰωάννου ὑπάτου or ἀπὸ ὑπάτων).

Ioannes 273 honorary consul VII

Ἰωάννου ἀπὸ ὑπάτων; Zacos 2882 = Dumbarton Oaks seal 58.106.3122 (seal, dated VI/VII Zacos, VII Oikonomides; obv.: +ΙΩ/ΑΝΝ/ΟΝ; rev.: +ΑΠ/ΟΝΠΑ/ΤΩΝ).

IOANNES 274 consularis VII

Ἰωάννου ὑπατ[ι]κοῦ; Dumbarton Oaks seal 55.1.2005 (seal; obv.: ΙΩΑ/ΝΝΔ; rev.: ΝΠΑ/Τ.ΚΔ).

Ioannes 275 cubicularius et imperialis chartularius VII

Ἰωάν[ν]η κουβικουλαρίῳ καὶ β(ασιλικῶ) χαρτου[λαρ]ίῳ; Dumbarton Oaks seal 58.106.2579 (seal; obv.: +/ΘΕΟΤΟ/ΚΕΒΟΗΘ/ΗΙΩΑΝ/.Η; rev.: +/ΚΟΝΒΙΚΟΝ/ΛΑΡΙΩΚΑΙ/Β' ΧΑΡΤΔ/...ΙΩ).

Ioannes 276 ergasteriarches and archon VII

[Ἰω]άννης (καί?) Θώ[μας] ἔργα[σ]τηριάρ[χ]αι καὶ ἄρ[χ]οντες; Schlumberger, *Mél.*, pp. 240–1 (seal; obv.: emperor standing, holding globe with cross, with a first indiction date, and [ΙΩ]ΑΝΝΗC (ΚΕ?) ΘΩ[ΜΑС]; rev.: ΕΡΓΑ[С]/ΤΗΡΙΑΡ[Χ]/ΑΙΚΑΙΑΡ[Χ]/ΟΝΤΕC).

IOANNES 277 magister scrinii VII

Ἰωάννου ἀντιγραφέως; Zacos 857 (seal; obv.: +ΙΩ/ΑΝΝ/ΟΝ; rev.: +ΑΝ/ΤΙΓΡΑ/ΦΕΩC).

Ioannes 278 MVM VII

Ἰωάννου στρατηλάτου; Dumbarton Oaks seal 55.1.518 (seal; obv.: cruciform monogram of Θεοτόκε βοήθει; rev.: ΙΩΑ/ΝΝΔCΤ/.ΑΘΗΛ/ΑΤΔ).

Ioannes 279 MVM VII

Ἰωχάννου στρατηλάτου; Zacos 854 (seal; obv.: +ΙΩ/ΧΑΝΝΔ/СΤΡΑΤ[Η]/ΛΑΤΔ; rev.: + ΔΟΝ/ΛΟΝΤΗC/ΘΕΟΤΟ/[ΚΟ]V).

Ioannes 280 MVM VII

Ἰωάννου στρατηλάτου; Zacos 883 = Dumbarton Oaks seal 58.106.1960 (seal, dated VI/VII Zacos, VII Oikonomides; obv.: ΙΩΑΝ/ΝΟΝ; rev.: CΤΡΑ/ΤΗΛΑ/ΤΟΝ).

Ioannes 281 MVM VII

Ἰωάννου στρατηλάτου; Zacos 2888 (seal; obv.: [+ΙΩΑ/Ν]ΝΟΝC/ΤΡΑΤΗ/ΛΑΤΟ/V; rev.: +ΔΟ/ΝΛΟΝ[Τ]/ΩΝΑΓ[Ι]/ΩΝΜΕ, ? = δούλου τῶν ἁγίων μεγαλομαρτύρων).

Ioannes 282 imperialis nipsistarius VII

Ἰωάννη β(ασιλικῶ) [νι]ψισ(τιαρίῳ); Zacos 873 (seal, half missing; obv.: +ΘΕ[Ο]/ΤΟΚ[ΕΒΟ]/ΗΘ.; rev.: [+ΙΩ]/[Α]ΝΝΗ_β/[ΝΙ]ψ[Ι]C/...). For *nipsistarius*, see Bury, *Imp. Adm. Sys.*, p. 120, Oikonomides, *Listes*, p. 301 with n. 88.

Ioannes 283 notarius VII

Ἰωάννου νοταρίου; Zacos 644 (seal; obv.: eagle, with cruciform monogram of Θεοτόκε βοήθει; rev.: ΙΩΑΝ/ΝΟΝΝ/ΟΤΑΡ[Ι]/ΟΝ +).

Ioannes 284 notarius VII

Ἰωάννη νοταρίῳ; Zacos 874 (seal; obv.: +ΘΕΟ/ΤΟΚΕΒ/ΟΗΘΗ; rev.: +ΙΩ/ΑΝΝΗ/ΝΟΤΑΡ/ΙΩ +).

Ioannes 285 patricius VII

Ἰωάννου πατρικίου; Zacos 875 (seal; obv.: +ΙΩ/ANN/O+V; rev.: +ΠΑ/ΤΡΙΚ[Ι]/O+V). For a similar seal, see Stamata Xenaki, *BZ* 18 (1909), p. 181, no. 4 (obv.: +ΙΩ/ANN/OY; rev.: ΠΑ/ΤΡΙΚ/[Ι]OY).

Ioannes 286 patricius VII

Ἰωάννη πατρικίω; Zacos 876 (seal; obv.: +ΘΕΟ/ΤΟΚΕΒ/ΟΗΘΗ; rev.: [Ι]ΩΑ/ΝΝΗΠΑ/ΤΡΙΚΙ/Ω. This seal was double struck on the reverse). A second specimen occurs in Zacos' series.

Ioannes 287 patricius VII

Ἰωάννου πατρικίου; Zacos 2886 (seal; obv.: +ΙΩ/ANNOV/ΠΑΤΡΙ/ΚΙΟΝ; rev.: +ΔΟΝ/ΛΟΝΤΗC/ΘΕΟΤΟ/ΚΟΝ).

Ioannes 288 ex praefectis VII

Ἰωάννου ἀπὸ ἐπάρχων; Zacos 859 (seal; obv.: ΙΩΑ/ΝΝΟΒΑ/ΠΟΕΠΑ/ΡΧΟΝ; rev.: ΔΟΝΛΟ/ΥΤΗCΘ/ΕΟΤΟΚ/ΟΒ+).

Ioannes 289 ex praefectis VII

Ἰωάννου ἀπὸ ἐπάρχων; Zacos 860 (seal; obv.: ΘΕΟ[Τ]/ΟΚΕ[Β]ΟΗ[Θ].; rev.: +ΙΩ/[Α]ΝΝΟΒ/[Α]ΠΟΕΠ/ΑΡΧΟΝ).

Ioannes 290 ex praefectis VII

Ἰωάννου ἀπὸ ἐπάρχων; Zacos 861 (seal; obv.: +ΘΕΟΤ/ΟΚΕΒΟ/ΗΘΙ; rev.: +ΙΩΑΝ/ΝΟΒΑΠ[Ο]/ΕΠΑΡ/ΧΩΝ).

Ioannes 291 ex praefectis VII

Ἰωάννου ἀπὸ ἐπάρχων; Zacos 1263 = Dumbarton Oaks seal 58.106.2779 (seal; obv.: busts of SS Peter and Paul; rev.: +ΘΕ(ΟΤΟ)ΚΕ/ΒΩΗΘΗ/ΙΩΑΝΝC/ΑΠΟΕΠΑ/..ΩΝ).

Ioannes 292 ex praefectis VII

Ἰωάννου ἀπὸ ἐπάρχων; Zacos 1504 (seal; obv.: cruciform monogram of Θεοτόκε βοήθει; rev.: monogram (164) of Ἰωάννου inside circular inscription ΑΠΟΕΠΑΡΧΩ[N]).

Ioannes 293 praefectus E/M VII

Ἰωάννου ἐπάρχου; Zacos 1508 (seal; obv.: cruciform monogram of Θεοτόκε βοήθει; rev.: monogram (170) of Ἰωάννου ἐπάρχου or ἀπὸ ἐπάρχων).

IOANNES 294 archon (?praeses) VII

Ἰωάννου ἄρχοντος; Zacos 865A (seal; obv.: [Θ]ΕΟ[Τ]/ΟΚΕΒ[Ο]/ΕΙΘΗ; rev.: +Ι[Ω]/[Α]ΝΝΟΒ/ΑΡΧΟΝ/ΤΟC+).

Ioannes 295 scribo VII

Ἰωάννου σκρίβονος; Zacos 1520 = Dumbarton Oaks seal 58.106.1140 (seal; obv.: cruciform monogram of Θεοτόκε βοήθει; rev.: +ΙΩ/ΑΝΝΟΒ/ΣΚΡΙΒΟ/ΝΟC+).

Ioannes(?) 296 scribo et imperialis zygostates VII

Ἰωάννου(?) σκρίβονος καὶ βασιλικῷ ζυγοστάτου; Zacos 2803 (seal; obv.: cruciform monogram (176) of Ἰωάννου(?) σκρίβονος; rev.: ΚΑΙΒΑ/ΣΙΛΙΚC/ΖΥΓΟCΤ/ΑΤΟΒ).

Ioannes 297 silentiarius VII

Ἰωάννου σιλ(εντιαρίου); Zacos 881 = Dumbarton Oaks seal 55.1.2015 (seal; obv.: ΘΕΟΤ/ΟΚΕΒΟ/ΗΘΗ; rev.: +ΙΩ/ΑΝΝ/ΟΒCΙ/Α).

Ioannes 298 tabellio (in Egypt) VII

He and Anoup were *tabelliones* in or near Oxyrhynchus and also were contractors for the *cursus publicus*; *P. Oxy.* 154, line 10 (verso) (a quantity of ?barley was paid καὶ Ἀνούπ καὶ Ἰωάννη νομικαρ(ίοις) καὶ πακταρ(ίοις) τοῦ ὀξείως δρόμου ὑ(πέρ) παραμυθ(είας), for an eleventh indiction) (dated seventh century).

Ioannes 299 (of Antioch) historian VII

Native of Antioch, possibly a monk (see below), he composed a world chronicle from the time of Adam to the overthrow of the emperor Phocas in 610; the work survives only in fragments, partly in the *Excerpta* made for the emperor Constantinus Porphyrogenitus in the tenth century (*Excerpta de insidiis*, ed. de Boor, pp. 58–150, 110 fragments ἐκ τῆς ἱστορίας Ἰωάννου Ἀντιοχέως; *Excerpta de Virtutibus et Vitiis*, ed. Büttner-Wobst, pp. 164–206, 75 fragments ἐκ τῆς ἱστορίας Ἰωάννου Ἀντιοχέως χρονικῆς ἀπὸ Ἀδάμ, and note p. 206 τέλος τῆς ἱστορίας Ἰωάννου μονάχου), and partly in two Paris manuscripts (Cod. Par. gr. 1763, from his Ἀρχαιολογία; and Cod. Par. gr. 1630, from his ἔκθεσις περὶ χρόνων καὶ κτίσεως κόσμου). The fragments are published by C. Müller, *Fragmenta Historicorum Graecorum* IV, pp. 535–622, v, pp. 27–38.

He is not to be confused with Ioannes Malalas (Ioannes 50), who lived earlier, but he may be identical with Ioannes, patriarch of Antioch from 631 to 649; see Hunger, *Prof. Lit.* I, pp. 326–8.

(Fl. Marianus) Michael Gabriel Ioannes Theodorus Iulianus Theodorus Marinus Athanasius

Fl. Marianus Micahelius Gabrihelius Petrus Iohannis Narses Aurelianus Limenius Stefanus Aurelianus

Ioannes Aurus

(Fl.) Ioannes (?Menas) Iustinianus (Demos)thenes Str(aton) (E)lias The(onas) (Dio)scorus

Fl. Ioannes Theodorus Menas Narses Chnoubammon Horion Hephraestus

Fl. Marianus Michaelius Gabrielius Ioannes Theodorus Georgius Marcellus Iulianus Theodorus Iulianus

Fl. Menas Iustinianus Demosthenes Ioannes Thomas

Ioannia (Ἰωάννια) wife of Theodorus 168 E VII

A native of Hierapolis in Syria (i.e. the metropolis of Euphratensis), of wealthy and noble family (γονέων εἶχεν εὐγενείαν), and a noted beauty; she married Theodorus 168 in Hierapolis and accompanied him back to Caesarea (in Palestine); her jealous sisters allegedly made her ill by magic spells, but she visited Alexandria and was cured by saints Cyrus and John; Sophronius, *Mir. SS. Cyr. et Ioh.* 68 (PG 87.3.3656-60).

Ioannicius honorary consul VI

Ἰωαννικίω ἀπὸ ὑπάτων; Zacos 302, Dumbarton Oaks seal 55.1.55 (two seals, dated VI/VII Zacos, VI Oikonomides; obv.: square monogram (414) of Ἰωαννικίω (Zacos read: Κωνσταντίνω, but there is no sigma) surrounded by θεοτόκε; rev. square monogram (33A) of ἀπὸ ὑπάτων, surrounded by βοήθη).

Ioannina daughter of Belisarius M VI

Daughter of Belisarius, his only child, and Antonina; in 548 she was married at Theodora's insistence to Anastasius 8, grandson of Theodora, although under age, but eight months later, Theodora being now dead, they were separated by Antonina; Proc. *Anecd.* 4.37 (betrothed in c. 543; cf. Belisarius, p. 211), 5.18-24. Theodora's motive, according to Procopius, was to obtain Belisarius' wealth.

Iob tribunus (Egypt) VI

He issued an order for payment of five thousand talents of silver as

rent for a tenth indiction; *P. Lond.* v 1904 provenance unknown (cf. line 1 π(αρά) [Ἰ]ωβ τριβ'). The name is possible but very rare; could it be an abbreviation for Ἰωβ(ιως)?

Iocundus ?Gallo-Roman noble E/M VI

Husband of Pelagia and father of Aredius (St Yrieix); he was of noble family from Aquitaine; *V. Aredii* 3 (*MGH, Scr. Rer. Mer.* iii, p. 582), and cf. Aredius.

Ionas MVM (West) L VI

He died before July 591 when a former servant of his, Pastor, is mentioned in a letter to the *rector patrimonii* in Sicily; Greg. *Ep.* 165 (a. 591 July; 'Pastorem... qui et cum Ionathe quondam glorioso magistro militum fuerat').

Iordanes (*Mélanges de l'Université St Joseph, Beirut* II (1907), 302, n. 100) ?V/VI: PLRE II.

Iordanes I (Jordanes) historian; ?bishop M VI

A Goth; *Jord. Get.* 316. Son of Alanoviamuth and grandson of Paria (both in PLRE II), he served as *notarius* under the MVM Gunthigis *qui et Baza* (PLRE II), although he was illiterate; subsequently he took up a life of religion; *Jord. Get.* 266 (ego item quamvis agramatus Iordannis ante conversionem meam notarius fui). His functions as *notarius* were presumably confidential rather than secretarial. Whether he then became a monk or a member of the regular clergy is not clear from the evidence (cf. below).

Author of two historical works, *De Origine Actibusque Getarum* (the *Getica*) and *De Summa Temporum Vel Origine Actibusque Gentis Romanorum* (the *Romana*), both written in 550/551; cf. *Rom.* 4, 363 (both passages date the work to the twenty-fourth year of Justinian), cf. 383, 386, 387, and *Get.* 104 (nine years have elapsed since the plague). He began the *Romana* before the *Getica* but the latter work was published first; *Romana*, praef. The *Getica* was an abridgement of the *Gothic History* of Cassiodorus; *Jord. Get.* praef. On this question, cf. Averil Cameron, *JRS* 71 (1981), 83-86.

He may be identical with a bishop Iordanes of Croton who was in Constantinople in 551 with pope Vigilius; Vigilius, *Ep.* (ed. Schwartz), no. 2, p. 14. He is called *episcopus* in manuscripts of the *Romana*, and bishop of Ravenna (certainly wrong) in manuscripts of the *Getica*. The fact that he dedicated the *Romana* to someone called Vigilius does not

support this identification because this Vigilius was probably a layman (see *Vigilius* 1).

See further *P-W* ix ii, 1908-29 (Kappelmacher).

Iordanes 2 candidatus M VI/M VII

Ἰορδάνου κανδιδάτου; Zacos 397 = Dumbarton Oaks seal 55.1.174 (seal; obv.: +IOP/ΔΑΝΘ/ΚΑΝΔΙ/ΔΑΤΘ; rev.: cruciform monogram (375) of uncertain meaning, possibly Πρωβου).

Iordanes 3 ex praefectis VII

Ἰορδάνη ἀπὸ ἐπάρχων; Zacos 650A (seal; obv.: cruciform monogram of Θεοτόκε βοήθει; rev.: +[I]OP/ΔΑΝΗΑ/ΠΟΕΠΑΡ/ΧΩΝ+).

Iordanes 4 chartularius VII

Ἰορδάνη χαρτουλαρίω; Zacos 1523 = Dumbarton Oaks seal 58.106.4121 (seal; dated 650/750 Zacos, VII Oikonomides; obv.: cruciform monogram of Θεοτόκε βοήθει; rev.: +IOP/ΔΑΝΗΧ/ΑΡΤΘΛ/ΑΡΙΩ).

Iosephus 1 member of Belisarius' household 536

A distinguished former secretary of the emperor's bodyguard and a member of Belisarius' household in 536, when Belisarius sent him to Carthage on some mission; at the time Carthage was threatened by the rebel Stotzas and the authorities there sent Iosephus to him to express their defiance; Stotzas killed Iosephus and laid siege to Carthage; *Proc. BV* ii 15.7-8 (Ἰωσήφιον, τῶν τε βασιλέως φυλάκων γραμματεῖα οὐκ ἄφανῆ γεγονότα καὶ τῆς Βελισσαρίου οἰκίας ὄντα). The date was around Easter 536; cf. *Belisarius*, p. 194.

It is not clear what post he had held or with which imperial bodyguard; he perhaps served in the *excubitores* and became *chartularius* (?), and then left to join Belisarius' household, possibly for the campaigns in Africa and Sicily.

Ioseph 2 doctor; Nestorian catholicus (in Persia) 552-567

A native of Nisibis, he studied medicine in the Roman empire and became a doctor; after returning to Nisibis he entered the church and 'joined an Aramaean (Nabataean) king who was at the time *marzban* there'; he met the king, Chosroes Anoushirvan, treated him successfully, and became a favourite; in 552 he was made *catholicus* of the Nestorian church in Persia in succession to Mar Aba, but was deposed soon afterwards for maladministration; he died in Feb. 567; *Hist. Nest.* ii 32, cf. *Zach. HE* xii 7 (*catholicus christianorum*, and a doctor, currently influential with Chosroes), *Bar Hebr., Chron. Ecl.* ii 96-8.

Iosephus 3 notarius (at Antinoe) 583

Native of Antinoe; son of Isaacius; νοτάριος in Antinoe in 583; *P. Monac.* 7, line 91.

Fl. Ioseph 4 doctor and soldier (at Syene) 585

Among witnesses to a document found at Syene was Fl. Ioseph, son of Victor, who is styled ἰατρός καὶ στρα(τιώ)της λεγ(ί)ωνος Συήνης; *P. Monac.* 9, line 106 Syene, dated May 30, 585. His fellow signatories were all centurions and soldiers of the regiment of Syene.

Iosephus 5 exarchus (?tribunus) (at Talmis) L VI

The fortress of Ikhmindî was built under Tociltoeton (ruler of the Nobades) and Iosephus (ἐπὶ τοῦ εὐγενεστ(ά)του Ἰωσηφίου ἐξάρχου Τάλμ(εως)); *SB* 10074 = *SEG* xviii 724 = *La Parola del Passato* xiv (1959), pp. 458-65 Ikhmindî (Nubia). The same man is recorded in a Coptic inscription set up when the temple of Dendur was dedicated as a church; Blackman, *The Temple of Dendur* (1911), 36-7 and cf. *La Parola del Passato*, *loc. cit.*, p. 462 ('By the will of God and the command of the king Eirpanome and Joseph, the exarch of Talmis, and by our receiving the cross from Theodoros, bishop of Philae.') The bishop named is perhaps identical with bishop Theodoros of Philae recorded on an inscription from the year 577; Lefebvre, no. 584. The date would then be mid/late sixth-century. Iosephus was presumably commander of troops stationed at Talmis on the border with Nubia (perhaps *tribunus*) and may have had a *curator* (cf. *Abraamius* 1) to assist him.

IOSEPH 6 v.sp., comes (in Egypt) VI

The two *comites* Ioannes 124 and Ioseph are recorded in a sixth-century papyrus from Oxyrhynchus; *P. Oxy.* 1841. See further *Ioannes* (where the text is cited).

Iosephus 7 Jew (at Edessa) 628

A leading Jew at Edessa, he averted a massacre of the Jewish community there by Heraclius' brother Theodoros 163, obtaining a counter-order from Heraclius; *Mich. Syr.* xi 3, *Chron.* 1234, ci.

Iovianus (*CIL* xv 1696) V/VI: *PLRE* II.

Iovinus 1 patricius; rector Provinciae 572/573

Son of Aspasius, brother of Leo 10; *Ven. Fort. Carm.* vii 12, line 121. At the court of Sigibert in c. 565 he met Venantius Fortunatus; *Ven. Fort. Carm.* vii 12, lines 65-6, and cf. *Koebner*, p. 17.

PATRICIVS and RECTOR (PRAEFECTVS) PROVINCIAE (under Sigibert) a. 572/573: Ven. Fort. *Carm.* VII 11 (ad Iovinum inlustrem ac patricium et rectorem Provinciae); in office in 572/573, when he was dismissed and succeeded by Albinus 2, Greg. Tur. *HF* IV 43 (in regno autem Sigiberti regis, remoto ab honore Iovino rectore Provinciae, Albinus in loco eius subrogatur), cf. *HF* VI 7 (qui quondam Provinciae rector fuerat). Ex praefecto (in 581); Greg. Tur. *HF* VI 11 (cf. Buchner, p. 17, with n. 47). While in office he received two poems from Venantius Fortunatus complaining that he had not sent any letters for a long time although Venantius had written often; *Carm.* VII 11, 12 (ad eundem).

He and Albinus became enemies and he accused Albinus before Sigibert over his treatment of the archdeacon Vigilius; Greg. Tur. *HF* IV 43. In 581 he was named by Childebert II to succeed to the see of Uzès but the deacon Marcellus 6 was consecrated first; wishing to have him deposed, Iovinus besieged the city but allowed himself to be bought off when about to take it; Greg. Tur. *HF* VI 7. Later in 581 he was arrested on Guntram's orders together with the bishop of Marseilles, Theodorus, while en route to complain to Childebert; Greg. Tur. *HF* VI 11.

Perhaps mentioned in Ven. Fort. *Carm.* VI 10, line 69 (asking Dynamius 1 to greet 'clarus Iovinus').

Cf. Stroheker, no. 205.

Iovinus 2 PPO Illyrici 592

In office in March 592 when pope Gregory wrote praising his efforts to restore the province after barbarian raids (gaudemus itaque quod eminentiae vestrae regimine afflictas Dominus voluit provinciae consulere), commending to him the papal *rector* in Illyricum, Antoninus, and urging him not to assist the bishop of Salona, Natalis; he is styled 'eminentia vestra', 'excellencia vestra' and 'vestra gloria'; Greg. *Ep.* II 23 (a. 592 March; addressed 'Iobino (sic) praefecto praetorio Yllirici').

Iovinus 3 vir illustris (in Sicily) 598

In 598 he was living in retirement at Catania and devoting his time to the study of the Scriptures, for which he received a letter of praise from Gregory; Greg. *Ep.* IX 15 (a. 598 Oct.; addressed 'Iovino illustri viro de Catena').

IOVIVS 1 v.c. (in Africa) M VI

Iobius vir clarissimus fidelis; died aged fifty-one years, six months on Nov. 10, 553; *Libyca* 3 (1955), p. 165 = *AE* 1956, 125 near Hippo (dated 'anno xx Kartag(inis)' = 553; cf. *CIL* VIII 5262).

Iovius 2 Persian governor (in Arzanene) 586

In 586 he and his brother Maruthas commanded Arzanene for the Persians (ἄμφω δὲ ἦσθησαν ἡγεμόνες τῆς Ἀρζανηνῆς) but deserted to the Romans under Philippicus with information about suitable strongholds in Arzanene for the Romans; sent with Heraclius 3 to find them; Theoph. Sim. II 7.6-11.

Iourphouthes (Ἰουρφοῦθης) Moorish chieftain (in Byzacena) 534-535

One of the leaders of the Moorish revolt against the Romans in Byzacena in 534 and 535; with Cutzinas, Esdililas and Medisinissas he defeated Aigan and Rufinus 1 (late 534) and was then defeated at Mammes by Solomon 1 (?early 535); Proc. *BV* II 10.6, 11.15. Probably one of the leaders defeated and routed by Solomon at Bourgaon. See further Solomon.

Irenaeus: dux (Palaestinae) and honorific PPO 530; *PLRE* II.

Irenaeus poet; referendarius M VI

Author of three poems contained in the *Cycle* of Agathias; *Anth. Gr.* V 249, 251, 253 (all Εἰρηναίου ῥεφερενδαρίου).

Irenarchus MVM VI/VII

Εἰρηναρχοῦ στρατηλάτου; Dumbarton Oaks seal 55.1.1967 (seal; obv.: ΕΙ/ΗΝΑΡ/ΧΟΥ; rev.: ΣΤΡΑ/ΤΗΛΑ/ΤΟΥ).

Irene wife of Domnitiolus 2 E VII

Wife of Domnitiolus 2, to whom she bore three sons; *V. Theod. Syc.* 140.

Irenianus notarius (at Grado) 571/586

(I)renia(n)us nota(riu)s vo(tum so)lvit; *AE* 1975, 416 i on a mosaic pavement in the cathedral at Grado, from the time of bishop Elias (a. 571/586). He was perhaps an ecclesiastical official.

Iron doctor (at the imperial court) M VI

Probably a native of Alexandria, he was a doctor at the court of Justinian; he disputed with some Alexandrian philosophers about the date of Easter and devised a system of his own which was allegedly imposed generally by an imperial edict; Ananias of Shirak, in *BZ* VI (1897), 579ff. (transl. Conybeare).

Isaacius (*SB* 7425) V/VI: *PLRE* II.

ISAACES 1 dux (in Armenia) 543

A native of Persian Armenia; Proc. *BG* III 13.20. Brother of Narses 2; Proc. *BP* I 15.32, II 24.14, 25.24, *BG* III 13.20. Also brother of Aratius; Proc. *BP* I 15.32, *BG* III 13.20. He was the youngest brother; Proc. *BP* I 15.32.

In 530 he apparently commanded the fortress of Bolum, near Theodosiopolis, for the Persians; on hearing that his brothers had deserted to the Romans, he secretly negotiated the surrender of the fortress and himself also went to Constantinople; Proc. *BP* I 15.32-3.

Ῥοῦχ at Citharizon a. 543; in 543 he was in command of the troops stationed at Citharizon (in Armenia IV); Proc. *BP* II 24.14 (ἠγεῖτο δὲ τῶν ταύτη καταλόγων Ἰσαάκης). He was presumably *dux* at Citharizon, one of the new posts created in the military reorganization of Armenia by Justinian; cf. Proc. *Aed.* III 2.1, 3.7-8. He took part in the battle of Anglon and carried his wounded brother Narses out of the fighting; Proc. *BP* II 25.24.

In 546 Isaac and Ioannes 46 were sent with an army of Romans and barbarians to join Belisarius at Epidamnus, when reinforcements were needed for the war with the Goths in Italy; Proc. *BG* III 13.20-1, 18.1. He apparently accompanied Belisarius with the fleet from Epidamnus via Hydruntum to Portus; Proc. *BG* III 18.5.8.11. He was placed in charge of Portus, with Belisarius' wife Antonina, while Belisarius attempted to transport supplies to the besieged in Rome, and was ordered in no circumstances to leave the place; Proc. *BG* III 19.7. On hearing that Belisarius was victorious, Isaac left Portus, crossing the river to where some Roman troops were stationed and took an hundred cavalry to attack a Gothic camp; he wounded the commander Ruderic and took the camp but while plundering it they were surprised by returning Goths; most of his men were killed and Isaac and a few others were captured; Proc. *BG* III 19.23-30. When Ruderic died two days later, Isaac was put to death by Totila; Proc. *BG* III 19.34.

Isaaciuss 2 ?v.c. (Egypt) M VI

Addressee of an epithalamium by the poet Fl. Dioscorus 5; the acrostich reads: Ἰσακίῳ λαμπροτάτῳ νυμφίῳ; *P. Cairo Masp.* 67318 probably from Antinoe.

Isaac 3 protector; a religious M VI

A native of Dara, where he had a wife and children and a house; he also held 'the office of a *protector* (prtqtwr)'; wishing to pursue a religious life he left home and went to Constantinople where he was employed in

the care of the sick until his death; his wife visited Constantinople to look for him; Joh. Eph. *V. SS. Or.* 44 (*PO* 18, pp. 668-71). The *protectores* were by this date a ceremonial body only; the title was probably still conferred also on veteran soldiers; see Jones, *LRE* II, pp. 657-8 with nn. 115-16. Cf. also David 1 (*V. Theod. Syc.* 25, 45).

Isaaciuss 4 banker and conspirator 562

Ὁ ἀργυροπράτης ὁ κατὰ Βελισάριον τὸν πατρίκιον; he was privy to a conspiracy to murder Justinian in late 562, was arrested and questioned and gave testimony which compromised Belisarius; he loaned money to Marcellus 4 which was used to finance the attempt; Joh. Mal. 494, Joh. Mal. fr. 49, Theoph. AM 6055. Possibly he was employed as banker by Belisarius.

Aurelius Isaac 5 (Ἰσακος) doctor (at Aphrodito) M/L VI

Son of Ioannes and Cyra; a native of Aphrodito; ἱατρός; in 573 he and his wife Aurelia Tetrompia were divorced; *P. Cairo Masp.* 67121 Aphrodito (dated Sept. 15, 573).

Isaac 6 ?topoteretes or tribunus (Egypt) L VI

Son of Abaskīrōn, nephew of Menas 12 and Iacobus 6, native of Aykelāh; perhaps like his father a *topoteretes* or *tribunus*; during their rebellion he seized seagoing vessels and plundered parts of Cyprus; when his father and uncles were executed for their rebellion, Isaac was allowed to live but exiled for life to an island called Ατρώκοῦ(?); Joh. Nik. 97. 1-28, esp. 2-4, 10, 25, 28 (pp. 529-32 Zotenberg).

ISAACIUS 7 ?military commander of Alexandria 617

He allegedly betrayed Alexandria to the Persians and then fled to Cyprus, where he plotted the murder of bishop John the Almsgiver but was himself assassinated on the day of the proposed attempt; Sophronius, *V. Joh. El.* 15 (Ἰσαάκιος τοῖνυν ὁ τότε στρατηγὸς τὴν Ἀλεξανδρέων πόλιν προδοῦς, φυγὰς τὴν Κύπρον κατέλαβεν). It is improbable that he would have fled to Cyprus if he had actually betrayed the city; perhaps he was left in Alexandria after the withdrawal of Nicetas 7 and the patriarch John and surrendered the city to the Persians when further defence was impossible (cf. Petrus 59). The city's fall took place in late 617, shortly before the death of the patriarch John (on Nov. 11, 617).

Isaaciuss 8 patricius et exarchus Italiae 625/626-643/644

Inscr. 1) *CIG* 9869 = Cougny III ii, 734 Ravenna; 2) *CIG* 9870 = Cougny III ii, 735 Comaclum (near Ravenna); 3) *AE* 1973, 245 Torcello.

An Armenian, of noble family; *Inscr.* 1, lines 5–6 (ὁ τῆς ἀπάσης Ἀρμενίας κόσμος μέγας· Ἀρμένιος ἦν γὰρ οὗτος ἐκ λαμπροῦ γένους). Husband of Sosanna; *Inscr.* 1, lines 7–8. He had a brother, whose son, Isaac's nephew, died aged eleven and was buried at Comaclum; *Inscr.* 2.

?MVM PER ORIENTEM before 625/26: said to have won fame on active service in the east and the west and to have commanded the armies of both (ἀνδρὸς λαχόντος ἐκ καμάτων εὐδοξίαν ἐν ταῖς ἀνατολαῖς ἡλίου καὶ τῆ δύσει· στρατοῦ γὰρ ἦρξε τῆς δύσεως καὶ τῆς ἕω); *Inscr.* 1, lines 10–12. He therefore held a command in the east before becoming *exarchus Italiae*; possibly MVM *per Orientem*, or perhaps one of the subordinate commanders (e.g. *dux*, cf. Theodorus 21).

PATRICIUS ET EXARCHVS ITALIAE a. 625/626–643/644: he held office in the west for eighteen years; *Inscr.* 1, lines 1–3 (ἐνταῦθα κεῖται ὁ στρατηγῆσας καλῶς Ῥώμην τε φυλάξας ἀβλαβῆ καὶ τὴν δύσιν τρις ἕξ ἔνιαυτοῖς τοῖς γαληνοῖς δεσπότηις). In office a. 625/626, *Hon. Ep.* (Mansi x 577, 586, and *MGH, Epp.* iii, p. 694, *Ep. Lang. Coll.* 2) (addressed 'Hysatio patricio et exarco Italiae'); c. a. 630, *Fredegar.* iv 69 (patricius, at Ravenna); a. 638/640, Mansi x 1005 (τὸν ὑπερφνέστατον πατρίκιον καὶ ἑξάρχον τῆς Ἰταλίας), *Lib. Pont.* 73 (patricius et exarchus Italiae); a. 639 Sept./Oct., *Inscr.* 3 (Issacio excell(entissimo) ex(ar)c(ho) patricio); a. 643/644, *Lib. Pont.* 75 (patricius); undated, *Inscr.* 2 (Ἰσαάκιος, ὅστις ἑξάρχος μέγας ἔργοις ἐδείχθη τῶν Ἰταλῶν στρατευμάτων). The eighteen years of his office extended from before the reign of Arioald (a. 626–636) and into the papacy of Theodorus I (a. 642 Nov. 24–649 May 14) and he therefore entered office in 625/626 and died in 643 or 644 (see below).

In late 625 or 626, when Adaloald was overthrown and replaced as Lombard king by Arioald, Isaac was asked by pope Honorius (consecrated 27 Oct. 625) to restore Adaloald and send to Rome the Transpadane bishops who were supporting the rebel Arioald; *Hon. Ep.* (see above). In 630 (the ninth year of Dagobert) he murdered the Lombard *dux* Taso in Ravenna, allegedly at the secret request of king Charoald (Arioald); in return the annual payment of the empire to the Lombards was reduced from three *centenaria* to two; *Fredegar.* iv 69. He ordered the construction of a church to Mary the Mother of God at Torcello; it was completed in 639 and consecrated between Sept. 1 and Oct. 5 (indiction thirteen and year twenty-nine of Heraclius); *Inscr.* 3.

Some time between late 638 and May 640 (after Severinus was elected pope following the death of Honorius on Oct. 12, 638, and before the ordination of Severinus on May 28, 640) Isaac left Ravenna for Rome to confiscate the treasures of the Lateran Palace, of which an inventory had been taken by the *chartularius* Mauricius 8; he exiled the leading

clergy who opposed the confiscation and then spent eight days in the Lateran conducting the operation; a portion of the treasures was sent by him to the emperor Heraclius; subsequently Severinus was consecrated and Isaac returned to Ravenna; *Lib. Pont.* 73 (if the last statement is correctly connected with the rest of the story, the confiscation probably took place in 640). The visit to Rome may also have been connected with an attempt to persuade pope Severinus to subscribe the *Ecthesis* of Heraclius; a copy of this was sent to Isaac for the new pope to approve; Mansi x 1003–6 (mentioned in a letter of Cyrus of Alexandria, quoted at the Lateran Council of 649).

Probably in 643 or 644 he sent Donus 2 to crush the rebellion of Mauricius 8 at Rome and then had Mauricius beheaded and his head put on display in the circus at Ravenna; not long after this Isaac himself fell ill and died; *Lib. Pont.* 75. The rebellion of Maurice occurred in the papacy of Theodorus (see above) but no later than 644 since the eighteen years of Isaac's office cannot extend beyond then.

Isaac was buried at Ravenna, where his sarcophagus long survived in San Vitale; *Inscr.* 1, and cf. Agnellus, *Lib. Pont. Eccl. Rav.* 59 marginal note (recorded by the copyist, who gave a barbarous version in Latin).

Isaacius 9 imperialis apocrisiarius VII
[Ἰσαα]κίου [β]ασιλικοῦ ἀπ[ο]κρισιαρίου; Dumbarton Oaks seal 58.106.2490 (seal; obv.: .../.KIOV/.ACIAIK/OV+; rev.: ΑΠ./ΚΡΙCΙ./ΠΙΟV). However a closely similar seal, Zacos 1004, has the name Σταυρακίου; cf. Stauracius 2.

Isaacius 10 ex praefectis VII
Ἰσακί(ω) ἀπεπάρχ(ω)v; Zacos 2880 (seal; obv.: Θε(ο)π(ό)κε Γουβαῖν(ω)v, βοήθ(ει) (ΘΕJ.../[Γ?]ΒΑΙΝ/ΟΝΒΟΗ/ΘΗ+); rev.: ΙCΑΚΙΟ/ΑΠΕΠΑ/PXON).

Isaias: bishop of Rhodes 529; *PLRE* II.

(I)saeus doctor (at Tanis) L VI
Mentioned in accounts from estates near Oxyrhynchus, probably owned by the Apion family; *P. Oxy.* 1912, line 108 [πα(ρὰ)? Ἰ]σααίου ἱατροῦ ἀπὸ Τ[ά?]νεως.

Isdigerdes III king of Persia 632–651

See Justi, p. 148, s.n. Yazdkart, no. 10.

Grandson of Chosroes II, son of Shahryar; *Hist. Nest.* II 94, Vardan, p. 87. Most sources call him son of Chosroes.

Proclaimed king of Persia during the period of confusion and civil war, he survived to become sole ruler of the kingdom; in the late 630s and early 640s he suffered a series of crushing defeats by the Arabs who overran his kingdom and forced him into exile; he was assassinated at Merv (in Khorasan) in 651 or 652; *Hist. Nest.* II 94, Vardan, p. 87, Sebeos xxviii, p. 90, xxxv, p. 132, Thomas Artsruni II 3-4, Moses Dasxurançi II 18, Anon. Guidi, p. 30 = p. 26, Mich. Syr. XI 5, 7, Bar Hebr., *Chron.*, pp. 93-7, *Chron.* 1234, civ, cxiii, *Chron. Iac. Edess.*, p. 327 = p. 252, Agapius, pp. 470-1, 481. He was the last Sassanian king of Persia.

See Noeldeke, *Tabari*, pp. 396ff., Christensen, *L'Iran sous les Sassanides*², pp. 499-508.

Isdigousnas Zich

Persian envoy M VI

Ἰσδιγούσνας; Proc. Ζίχ; Agath. (ὄνομα δὲ ἦν αὐτῶ Ζίχ), Men. Prot. fr. 17, and cf. fr. 11 (ὑπῆρχε μὲν ἀξίωμα τὸ Ζίχ, μέγιστόν τι τοῦτο παρὰ τοῖς Πέρσαις γέρας, προσηγορία δὲ αὐτῶ Ἰσδεγούσναφ; also called ὁ Ζίχ ὁ Ἰσδεγούσναφ). The name Zich was probably his family name; cf. Christensen, *L'Iran sous les Sassanides*², p. 105 with n. 3. For Isdigousnas (Yazd-Gushnasp), see Justi, p. 149, s.n. Yazdwsnasp, no. 4, and for Zich, Justi, p. 385, s.n. Zik.

Brother of Phabrizus; Proc. *BP* II 28.16, cf. *BG* IV 11.5. He was married and had two daughters; Proc. *BP* II 28.38.

In 547 he and his brother held high office in Persia (ἀρχὰς μὲν περιβεβλημένω ἐνταῦθα μεγίστας) and were, according to Procopius, renowned for their cleverness and devious ways; Proc. *BP* II 28.16. A prominent Persian in 557 (τῶν σφόδρα παρ' αὐτοῖς λογισωτάτων); Agath. IV 30.8. In 561 he held a post at court, of which the official Greek equivalent was *cubicularius* (or possibly *praepositus sacri cubiculi*) (although he was evidently not a eunuch, and so the parallel cannot have been exact); Men. Prot. fr. 11 (ἡμεῖς μὲν Ἰσδεγούσναφ θείω κουβικουλαρίῳ ἐκελεύσαμεν καὶ ἐξουσίαν δεδώκαμεν, supposedly an official document; elsewhere in the same fragment he is styled παρευναστήρ τοῦ κατ' αὐτὸν βασιλέως).

He was sent by Chosroes on five separate embassies to the Romans. The first was in 547/8 (during the third year of the truce of 545), when he was supposed to seize Dara by creating a disturbance with his large retinue and admitting Persian troops; the plan was foiled by Georgius 4; Isdigousnas continued to Constantinople and presented Justinian with gifts and a letter from Chosroes, receiving a warm welcome (cf. Braducius) but achieving nothing of note during a ten-month stay before departing laden with gifts; Proc. *BP* II 28.31-44. Subsequently, he was

suspected by the Romans of causing the downfall of Braducius; Proc. *BG* IV 11.9. In late 550 he was sent on a second embassy, again remaining in Constantinople for a long while during which he was treated with great honour by Justinian and was allowed quite exceptional freedom of movement and action, without supervision (much to Procopius' disgust); he brought allegations of breaches of the truce by Arethas and other complaints which Procopius dismisses as too trivial to record; he secured the release of Bersabous and eventually the truce was renewed for a further five years, from autumn 551, while negotiations about the Arabs and Lazica were to continue; in late 551 Isdigousnas left for home, with great gifts of money, and arrived in Persia in early 552, at the end of winter; Proc. *BG* IV 11.4-10, 15.1-13, 15.19-20, 17.9.

In 557, on a third embassy, he negotiated an agreement ending the fighting in Lazica, with each side retaining what it held; Agath. IV 30.8-9. In 561 he met Petrus 6 at Dara; they discussed Armenia and Lazica and negotiated the fifty-year peace, then Isdigousnas returned home; Men. Prot. fr. 11, and see further Petrus (p. 997).

He was sent on a fifth embassy in late 567 to discuss Suania with Justin II, but fell ill en route at Nisibis and died; the mission was then entrusted to Mebodes; Men. Prot. fr. 17. Cf. also Timotheus 2.

Procopius disapproved strongly of the welcome and the generosity which he received from Justinian, and records that his arrogant manner made him very unpopular with the Romans; Proc. *BP* II 28.43-4, *BG* IV 11.4-7, 15.1.

Isidorus 1 owner of a domus at Constantinople E/M VI

According to a late source he converted his house at Constantinople into an old people's home and a church, in the district later known as τὰ Ἰσιδώρου; brother of Eubulus; they lived under Justin I; *Patr. Const.* III 121. See Janin, *Const. Byz.*, pp. 336-7 (probably north of Hagia Irene, where lay the district known as τὰ Εὐβούλου).

Isidorus 2 philosopher 531/532

A native of Gaza, a pagan and a philosopher, one of the group (from Athens) which accompanied Damascius (*PLRE* II) to Persia in 531/532; Agath. II 30-1 (= Suid. Π 2251). See further Diogenes 1.

Isidorus 3 v.ill., teacher of law (?at Berytus) 533

One of the eight teachers of law to whom Justinian addressed his *Constitutio 'Omnem'* regulating legal studies on Dec. 16, 533; he is named fourth, cf. Theophilus 1, and was one of the *viri illustres antecessores*. He probably taught at Berytus; see Theodorus 7.

Author of a commentary on the *Codex Iustinianus* of which fragments are preserved among the scholia to the *Basilica*; cf. *Basilica*, ed. Heimbach, II, 64-9. The title was apparently ἡ τοῦ Ἰσιδώρου ἔκδοσις; *Bas.* IV, 88. On the supposed commentary on the Digest by him, see *Bas.* VI, 61-2.

Isidorus 4 architect E/M VI

Native of Miletus; *Proc. Aed.* I 1.24. Uncle of Isidorus 5; *Proc. Aed.* II 8.25.

A distinguished architect; *Proc. Aed.* I 1.24 (μηχανοποιός), II 3.7 (one of τοὺς τὰ μηχανικὰ εὐδοκίμοῦντας). A colleague of Anthemius 2 of Tralles in the rebuilding of Hagia Sophia in the 530s; *Proc. Aed.* I 1.24-50.70, Paul. Silent. *Ecphrasis* 552-5. He was summoned with Anthemius to advise Justinian on ways to prevent flooding at Dara; *Proc. Aed.* II 3.7-14 (cf. Chryses).

Author of a commentary on the (lost) *Καμαρικά* of Heron; cf. Christ-Schmid-Stählin VII 2.2, p. 1095, n. 3.

Described by Procopius as intelligent and capable; *Proc. Aed.* I 1.24.

He was also a teacher and a mathematician; a pupil of his (name unknown) recorded that he collated (or ?annotated) the commentary of Eutocius (*PLRE* II) on a work of Archimedes, *Περὶ σφαίρας καὶ κωνίδρου*; cf. Archimedes, ed. Heiberg, vol. III, pp. 48, 84, 224, and cf. p. 260 (ἐκδόσεως παραγνωσθείσης τῷ Μηλητίῳ μηχανικῶ Ἰσιδώρῳ ἡμετέρῳ διδασκάλῳ), and see Tannery, *Mém. Scient.* II (1912), pp. 118-19. Another student of his added a supplement to the *Elements* of Euclid; cf. Euclid, ed. Heiberg, vol. V, 50, line 21 (ὡς Ἰσιδωρος ὁ ἡμέτερος ὑφηγήσατο μέγας διδάσκαλος).

Isidorus 5 vir illustris; architect M VI

Native of Miletus; *Proc. Aed.* II 8.25. Nephew of Isidorus 4; *Proc. Aed.* II 8.25, cf. Agath. V 9.3 (styled Ἰσιδωρος ὁ νέος).

An architect (μηχανοποιός), he was an associate of Ioannes 49 in fortifying the stronghold of Zenobia (in Euphratensis) for Justinian; he was still a young man at the time; *Proc. Aed.* II 8.11-25 (esp. 25, described as very able), Agath. V 9.4. After the earthquake of May 7, 558, caused the dome of Hagia Sophia to collapse, Isidorus was in charge of the work of reconstruction; Agath. V 9.4 (the work was completed by Dec. 24, 562, when the building was reconsecrated; cf. Joh. Mal. 495, Theoph. AM 6055, Paul. Silent. *Ecphrasis*, 315-49, Agath. V 9.9).

He is recorded on two inscriptions commemorating building works at Chalcis (in Syria Prima), one dated in 550; *IGLS* II 348 = *Princ. Exp.*

Syr., no. 305 (προνοία Λογγίνου... καὶ Ἀναστασίου... καὶ Ἰσιδώρου τοῦ μεγαλοπρ(επεστάτου) ἰλλουστρίου καὶ μηχανικοῦ, dated ἐν ἰνδ' ἰδ' τοῦ βξω' ἔτους), *IGLS* II 349 = *Princ. Exp. Syr.*, no. 306 (ἐργοδοτήσαν(τ)ος Ἰσιδώρου τοῦ [μεγαλοπρ' μηχανικοῦ], dated under Justinian). Cf. Anastasius 10 and Longinus 3.

Isidorus 6 scholasticus and poet M VI

A native of Bolbythia and author of a poem included in the *Cycle* of Agathias; *Anth. Gr.* VI 58 (Ἰσιδώρου σχολαστικοῦ Βολβυθιωτοῦ). Possibly author of another poem in the collection; *Anth. Gr.* IX 11 (Φιλίππου, οἱ δὲ Ἰσιδώρου). The identity of Bolbythia seems not to be known; perhaps it was in Egypt, near the Bolbitic mouth of the Nile; possibly identical with the town later called Rosetta (Bolbitine?; cf. also Jones, *CERP*, p. 494, citing Τβωλβουθίω as a forged Greek name for the medieval see of Rosetta).

Isidorus 7 vir excellentissimus (in Sardinia) L VI

Vir excellentissimus; he complained to pope Gregory that bishop Ianuarius of Cagliari had excommunicated him for no good reason; *Greg. Ep.* II 47 (a. 592 Aug.; to Ianuarius). Eloquentissimus; he asked to come to Rome for his case against the church of Cagliari to be investigated; Gregory instructed the *defensor Sardiniae* Sabinus to bring him to Rome with him (ut causae eius qualitas, quam contra ecclesiam Caralitanam habere dinoscitur, interius trutinata legalem valeat finem accipere); *Greg. Ep.* III 36 (a. 593 May).

He was evidently a prominent layman in Sardinia; the epithet *excellentissimus* implies that he had held a very high-ranking office in the imperial administration, whereas the use of *eloquentissimus*, on the other hand, implies a man of much lower rank, probably an advocate. Nevertheless it is unlikely that the letters refer to two different men; possibly Isidorus had been an advocate who attained high office and then after retirement to Sardinia became involved in a legal quarrel with the church at Cagliari; for this Ianuarius excommunicated him, whereupon Isidorus appealed to the pope for satisfaction.

Isidorus 8 vir inlustris (West) L VI

Inlustris memoriae vir; in his will he ordered that a *xenodochium* be built at Palermo; Gregory wrote to the *defensor ecclesiae* at Palermo, Fantinus, to see that his heirs carried out his wishes; *Greg. Ep.* IX 35 (a. 598 Oct.; if the resources available were inadequate, they were to be transferred to the *xenodochium* established already at Palermo by Petrus 23).

ISIDORVS 9 comes (Egypt) 604/605

Owner of land in the Hermopolite nome close to properties belonging to the *comites* Iacobus 7 and Menas 34; *P. Ross.-Georg.* III 49 Hermopolite nome (line 6 παρὰ τοῦ λαμπροτάτου κόμητος Ἰσιδώρου) (dated in indiction 8 under Phocas).

Isidorus 10 military commander (in Tripolitana) 609

Supporter of Phocas, defeated in 609 with Ecclesiarius and Mardius by supporters of Heraclius; *Joh. Nik.* 109.23 (p. 551 Zotenberg). See further Mardius.

Isidorus 11 son of Dionysius E VII

Son of Dionysius 5 (of Damascus) and Iulia, he was of the family of the historian Nicolaus of Damascus; afflicted by demonic possession in his boyhood, he was sent to Sts Cyrus and John to be cured; Sophronius, *Mir. SS. Cyr. et Ioh.* 54 (*PG* 87.3, col. 3621-5).

Isidorus 12 patricius date uncertain

The so-called Hospice of Theophilus had once been the *domus* of Isidorus (οἶκος Ἰσιδώρου πατρικίου); it then became a nunnery and later a hospice; *Patr. Const.* II 65. The identity and date of Isidorus are unknown. See Janin, *Const. Byz.*, p. 337 (locating the hospice on the Zeugma, on which see Janin, *op. cit.*, pp. 403-4).

Isidorus 13 leading citizen of Manūf 609

Isidorus, Ioannes 234 and Iulianus 39, 'the three chief men of Manūf' ('les trois anciens de Manouf'; Zotenberg), took refuge in a monastery from Bonosus but were handed over by the monks, taken to Nikiu and executed; *Joh. Nik.* 107.42 (p. 546 Zotenberg).

Italica patricia; wife of Venantius L VI

Addressee of two letters from Gregory; *Greg. Ep.* III 57 (a. 593 Aug.; addressed 'Italicae patriciae'), IX 232 (a. 599 Aug.; addressed, jointly, 'Italicae patriciae et domno Venantio'). Also addressee of a letter from Childebert II in 587/588; *Ep. Austras.* 38 (*MGH, Epp.* III, p. 144) (addressed 'inlustro (sic) atque magnificentissime Italicae patriciae').

Wife of Venantius 2; *Greg. Ep.* I 33 (a. 591 March; addressed 'Venantio coniugi patriciae Italicae'), IX 232 (cited above). Mother of Antonina 3 and Barbara. She lived in Sicily (at Syracuse); *Greg. Ep.* III 57, IX 232, and see Venantius. Asked in 587/588 by Childebert II to support a treaty of friendship between the Franks and Byzantium; *Ep. Austras.* 38, and cf. also Venantius.

PATRICIA a. 587/588-599; *Greg. Ep.* I 33, III 57, IX 232 (all cited above), *Ep. Austras.* 38 (cited above). Styled 'excellencia vestra' and 'gloriosa filia'; *Ep.* III 57. Since Venantius was also *patricius*, she probably derived her title from his.

In 593 she was accused of oppressing peasants on a church estate, but Gregory wrote to tell her that she would not be prosecuted and the matter would be amicably settled by the *rector patrimonii* in Sicily, Cyprianus; *Greg. Ep.* III 57.

In 599 she was in ill health, like her husband; *Greg. Ep.* IX 232.

She is not mentioned in later correspondence concerning the family and perhaps died shortly afterwards.

There are perhaps references to lands belonging to her in *Greg. Ep.* IX 186 (horti ex substantia Itali<c>ae, transferred to the church of Milan) and *Ep.* IX 236 (a *massa* of hers, mentioned in connection with church revenues); both letters are dated in 599, in July and August respectively.

Itta wife of Pippin E/M VII

Wife of Pippinus, mother of Geretrudis and Begga (and presumably of Grimoaldus); *V. S. Geretrudis* 1, 2. She died in c. 551 (in the twelfth year after Pippin); *V. S. Geretrudis* 3.

Iudicael king of Brittany 635

Rex Brittanorum; a devoutly religious man; in 635 he visited Dagobert at Clichy and made peace with him, promised compensation for the wrongs done by his people and submitted to Frankish overlordship (et semper se et regnum quem regibat Britanniae subiectum ditione Dagoberti et Francorum regibus esse promisit); *Fredegar.* IV 78.

After making peace with Dagobert he retired to become a monk in the monastery of St Méen in Brittany, where he died, probably on Dec. 17, 658; see *P-W* IX, col. 2458, *Anal. Boll.* III, pp. 149, 157-8.

Iudila rebel (in Spain) ?631/633

Known only from coins minted at Merida and Granada (Illiberis), inscribed 'Iudila rex'; Miles, pp. 30, 321. For the possibility that he revolted in southern Spain early in the reign of Sisenand, see Thompson, *Goths in Spain*, pp. 175-7.

Iugildus Grusingus

Iulia wife of Dionysius E VII

Wife of Dionysius 5 of Damascus, mother of Isidorus 11; suspected of pagan leanings; Sophronius, *Mir. SS. Cyr. et Ioh.* 54 (*PG* 87.3, col. 3624).

Iuliana 1 ?patricia M/L VI

A relative of the emperor Anastasius, she was daughter of the consul Magnus (consul in 518; *PLRE* II, Magnus 5) whose exile she shared (could it have been associated with the fall of Hypatius in 532?); she married the brother of the emperor Justin II (Marcellus 5) ('erat vero etiam Iuliana et glos ipsius regis Iustini, uxor fratris eius'); a staunch monophysite, she endured persecution 'cum aliis multis patriciis' at Constantinople under Justin II and was exiled with Antipatra to a monastery at Chalcedon where they were made to do all the hardest and dirtiest jobs; eventually they pretended to communicate and were allowed home; Joh. Eph. *HE* III 2.12 (= Mich. Syr. x 7). The persecution began in 571.

IVLIANA 2 wife of Anastasius M VI

Daughter of Probus 1 and Proba 1, granddaughter of Olybrius (*PLRE* II, Olybrius 3); wife of Anastasius 9 and mother of Areobindus 5, Placidia and Proba 2; Nic. *Brev.*, 104. See *PLRE* II, stemma 3.

Iuliana 3 ?wife of Bellator VI/VII

+ Iuliana *m̄gc* (? = magistri coniunx) in XPO fidelis, died aged fifty or more (annos L22), buried on Oct. 25 of a sixth indiction; *BCHT* 1941/42, p. 626 = *AE* 1946, 30 Ammaedara (a flagstone in the church). Possibly wife of Bellator *qui et Mustelus* 2.

Iuliana 4 wife of Marcellinus E VII

A rich lady, wife of Marcellinus 4, at Alexandria; miraculously cured of a wasting disease by Sts Cyrus and John; Sophronius, *Mir. SS. Cyr. et Ioh.* 24 (*PG* 87.3.3489ff.).

Iulianus (Suid. B 157, *Patr. Const.* I, pp. 39-41) ?M V/VI: *PLRE* II.

Iulianus (*MAMA* III 447) V/VI: *PLRE* II.

Iulianus (*IGC* 119) V/VI: *PLRE* II.

Iulianus (*Anth. Gr.* IX 481) V/VI: *PLRE* II.

Iulianus (*SB* 5357) V/VI: *PLRE* II.

Iulianus (Beshevliev, *Spätgr. u. spätlat. Inschr. Bulg.*, n. 4) V/VI: *PLRE* II.

Iulianus (Priscian, *Inst.*, dedicatio) E VI: *PLRE* II.

Iulianus 1 scholasticus (?in the Fayum) V/VI

Recorded in a document from either the Fayum or Heracleopolis; *Stud. Pal.* III 358, line 1... κ]υρ(ίου) 'Ιουλιανού σχολαστικ(οῦ).

Iulianus 2 scholasticus (?at Hermopolis) V/VI

Recorded in a document probably from Hermopolis; *Stud. Pal.* VIII 168, line 1... κ]υρ(ίου) 'Ιουλιανού σχολαστικ(οῦ).

Iulianus 3 Samaritan rebel 529

A Samaritan; Cyr. Scyth. *V. Sabae* 70, Joh. Mal. 446. Son of Sabarus; Proc. *Anecd.* 11.27 (Σαβάρου υἱόν), Joh. Mal. fr. 44 ('Ιουλιανόν τοῦ λεγομένου Σαβάρωνος, later 'Ιουλιανόν τὸν Σαβάρωνα).

He was a leader of brigands; Proc. *Anecd.* 11.27, Joh. Mal. 446.

After the Samaritan revolt began in summer 529 (Joh. Mal. 445, Theoph. AM 6021), Iulianus was proclaimed their ruler (βασιλεύς) by the rebels (whom Procopius identifies as οἱ γεωργοὶ σύμπαντες, suggesting that he was chosen by the country people, not the town dwellers); when the revolt was eventually suppressed, he was captured and killed; Proc. *Anecd.* 11.27-8, Cyr. Scyth. *V. Sabae* 70, Joh. Mal. 446-7, Joh. Mal. fr. 44, *Chron. Pasch.* s.a. 530, Theoph. AM 6021, Nic. Call. *HE* XVII 24, Cedr. I 646-7, Zach. *HE* IX 8, Mich. Syr. IX 21, Bar Hebr., *Chron.*, p. 74. His head, crown and regalia were sent to Justinian; Joh. Mal. 447, Joh. Mal. fr. 44. Cf. also Theodorus 5.

Iulianus 4 PPO Orientis 530-531

PPO ORIENTIS a. 530 March 18-531 Feb. 20: in office a. 530 March 18, *CJ* I 2.23, IV 20.19, 21.20, 29.22, 66.3, V 12.31, 27.11, 29.4, 35.3, VI 23.27, 33.3, 61.7, VII 15.1, 40.1, VIII 33.3, 53.35, 55.10; March 27, *CJ* II 55.5, III 1.13, 14, 2.3, IV 20.20, VI 23.28, VII 62.39, VIII 40.26; June 24, *CJ* I 4.26, III 2.4, 5, 10.2, VII 45.15, X 30.4, XII 40.12, 63.2; Aug. 1, *CJ* III 33.12, IV 5.10, 28.7, 29.23, 24, 38.15, V 20.2, 51.13, VI 2.20, VII 7.1, 15.2, VIII 21.2, 37.13; Sept. 1, *CJ* I 4.27, V 70.6, 7, VI 22.9; Oct. 1, *CJ* I 4.28, III 33.13, 14, 15, 16, IV 5.11, V 4.25, 26, VI 2.21, 57.6, VII 4.14, 15; Oct. 18, *CJ* I 3.44, 45, 4.29; Oct. 20, *CJ* I 2.25; Nov. 17, *CJ* I 3.46, II 18.24, IV 27.2, VI 2.22, 27.4, 29.3, 4, 37.23, VII 4.16, 17, 7.2, 45.16; a. 531 Feb. 20, *CJ* II 58.2, III 1.15, 16, IV 18.2, 21.21, V 37.25, 59.4, VI 22.10, 23.29, 28.3, 38.3, 40.2, 43.2, VII 71.7, VIII 40.27, 28, XI 48.22; undated, *CJ* VII 25.1. In all he is styled either 'p(raefectus) p(raectorio)' or ἑπαρχὸς πραιτωρίων. During his prefecture he erected in the hippodrome at Constantinople an equestrian statue of Justinian destroying the Persians; *Anth. Gr.* XVI 63 = *Anth. Plan.* 63 (the prefecture is indicated by the words

ἀντολῆς ζυγὸν ἔλκων) (this probably commemorated the Roman victory at Dara in June 530; cf. Alan Cameron, *Some Prefects called Julian*, *Byz.* 47 (1977), 42-4). He was succeeded by Ioannes 11 the Cappadocian (first attested on April 30, 531); Joh. Mal. 465 (styled ἑπαρχὸς πραιτωρίων).

In Jan. 532 during the Nika riots Iulianus was taken to the hippodrome with Hypatius and Pompeius (*PLRE* II, pp. 580 and 899) by the crowds who then acclaimed Hypatius as emperor; *Chron. Pasch.* s.a. 532 (he is identified as Ἰουλιανὸν τὸν ἀπὸ ἐπαρχῶν πραιτωρίων).

Iulianus 5 cubicularius (East) ?536

In 537 Severus of Antioch wrote from Egypt to Misael, a deacon at Constantinople, enquiring among other matters about the fate of a theological treatise of his; he had previously written from Chios to Misael 'and to the magnificent and Christ-loving chamberlain ('qwbwqlra') Julian' asking them to have copies made of it; *Sev. Ant. Ep. Sel.* I 63 (a. 537). Severus probably wrote from Chios in late 536 while en route from Constantinople back to Egypt, having left his treatise with Misael and Iulianus. This implies that they were both sympathetic to Severus' views and therefore monophysite; they apparently had ready access to Theodora (whom Severus wanted to see the treatise) and so Iulianus was perhaps one of the *cubicularii* of the empress. Misael himself was formerly a *cubicularius*; cf. *PLRE* II, pp. 763-4.

Iulianus 6 ?officialis of the PPO (Italiae) 536/537

Practorianus, in Rome; together with Marcus 1 *scholasticus*, he forged a letter in the name of Pope Silverius promising to betray Rome to the Ostrogothic king Vitigis; *Liberat. Brev.* 22. The forgery is to be dated after Belisarius captured Rome in December 536 and before Silverius was deposed in March 537, and possibly during the siege of Rome by Vitigis, which began in February 537; cf. Stein, *Bas-Emp.* II 350, 386-7. The use of *praetorianus* as a title is unusual; it probably denotes an *officialis* of the PPO.

Iulianus 7 banker and church builder (at Ravenna) E/M VI

On this man, see F. W. Deichmann, *Ravenna, Hauptstadt des spätantikes Abendlandes* II, 21-7.

Argentarius (i.e. banker), at Ravenna, where he built the churches of St Vitalis, St Apollinaris in Classe and, jointly with Bacauda, St Michaelis 'in Africisco'; Agnellus, *Lib. Pont. Eccl. Rav.* 57, 59, 61, 63, 77. The church of St Vitalis, begun under bishop Ecclesius (a. 521/534),

was consecrated by bishop Maximianus in 547, having cost Iulianus 26,000 *solidi*; Agnellus, *Lib. Pont. Eccl. Rav.* 57, 59 (for the cost), 61 (= *CIL* XI 292), 77 (= *CIL* XI 288 = *ILCV* 1795) (a fundamentis Iulianus argentarius aedificavit ornavit atque dedicavit), cf. *CIL* XI 290b-c (two monograms in St Vitalis, reading 'Iulianus' and 'Ἰουλιανοῦ' respectively) and XI 289 = *ILCV* 1796 (a marble vase from St Vitalis, reading: +Iulianus argent(arius) servus vest(er) praecib(us) vest(ris) basi(licam) a funda(mentis) perfec(it)). The church of St Apollinaris in Classe, begun under Ecclesius' successor, Vrsicinus (in the 530s), was consecrated by Maximianus in 549; Agnellus, *Lib. Pont. Eccl. Rav.* 63, 77 (= *CIL* XI 294 = *ILCV* 695) (a fundamentis Iulianus argentarius aedificavit ornavit atque dedicavit), cf. *CIL* XI 295 (a marble tablet in the church, recording the transfer of the *arca* of St Apollinaris in 549 'in basilica quam Iulianus argentarius a fundamentis aedificavit'; on this inscription, see Deichmann, 4-5, no. 7). The church of the Archangel Michael (San Michele in Africisco) was built jointly by Iulianus and Bacauda and dedicated by them on May 6, 545; Agnellus, *Lib. Pont. Eccl. Rav.* 77 (= *CIL* XI 287 = *ILCV* 1794).

He is also said to have built the church of S. Maria Maggiore at Ravenna; this was begun after the return of Ecclesius and pope John from Constantinople in 526; Agnellus, *Lib. Pont. Eccl. Rav.* 87. The absence of epigraphic confirmation of his connection with this church may indicate that it was legendary; cf. Deichmann, 21-2.

The occurrence of his name in the form of a Greek monogram in St Vitalis (see above) suggests that he may have been of eastern origin; cf. Deichmann, 23. He could be identical with Ἰουλιανὸς υ(ιρ) η(onestus) ἀργεντάριος, son-in-law of Ioannes *pigmentarius*, who witnessed a document at Ravenna in 539; *P. Ital.* 30 = Marini, *P. Dip.* 114, and see further Deichmann, 24. The statement in Agnellus, *Lib. Pont. Eccl. Rav.* 77 that Bacauda was the son-in-law of Iulianus is to be regarded as legend; cf. Deichmann, *op. cit.*

Iulianus 8 a secretis 540

Brother of Summus (*PLRE* II, pp. 1038-9); Proc. *BP* II 1.10, cf. Chor. *Or.* 4. 33, 13. 15 (both alluding to an unnamed brother of Summus). He was therefore a native of Palestine.

AGENS IN REBUS a. 530/531: ὁ μαγιστριανός, Theoph. AM 6064. Cf. below for the date.

He was sent by Justinian on an embassy to the Ethiopians and the Himyarites, under Elesboas (*PLRE* II, p. 388) and Esimiphaeus respectively, to enlist their aid against Persia; Proc. *BP* I 20.9, II 1.10, Joh. Mal. 457-8 (not named), Theoph. AM 6064 (wrongly dated). The

date was apparently late 530 or early 531 (after Rufinus (*PLRE* II) reported that Cavades no longer wished to make peace); see Joh. Mal. 457, and cf. I. Kawar, in *BZ* 53 (1960), pp. 58, 61–5. He travelled via Alexandria, the Nile and the Red Sea to Ethiopia and the Yemen, and subsequently wrote an official account of the embassy which was used by John Malalas (and from him by Theophanes); Joh. Mal. 457–9, Theoph. AM 6064. See also Nonnosus. Cf. Claus, p. 206.

A SECRETIS a. 540: τὸν τῶν ἀπορρήτων γραμματέα... ἀσηκρήτις καλοῦσι τὸ ἀξίωμα τοῦτο Ῥωμαῖοι; Proc. *BP* II 7.15.

In 540 Iulianus and Ioannes 7 were sent by Justinian as envoys to Chosroes, who had invaded Roman territory; on reaching Antioch they remained there; Iulianus ordered the cities of the east not to pay ransom to Chosroes, and accused bishop Ephraem of Antioch of wanting to surrender the city; Proc. *BP* II 7.15–16. When Chosroes laid siege to Antioch the envoys went to complain of his breach of the peace and then returned to the city; Proc. *BP* II 8.5. After the city fell they were summoned before Chosroes and addressed by him and then went down with him into the city to the church; Proc. *BP* II 8.30, 9.1–7.14. At their request he spared the church when he burnt the city, and also the church of St Julian outside the fortifications with the adjacent buildings where the envoys themselves were staying; Proc. *BP* II 9.17–18, 10.8–9. Shortly afterwards they again visited Chosroes and reproached him for breaking agreements, but negotiated terms for peace and for his withdrawal back to Persia; Proc. *BP* II 10.10–24. They agreed reluctantly to his wish to visit Apamea; Proc. *BP* II 11.2–3, 11.24. Finally Justinian wrote signifying his acceptance of the terms agreed; Proc. *BP* II 13.1.

Iulianus is briefly mentioned in the panegyric on Summus delivered by Choricus in c. a. 537/538; he was present on the occasion and Choricus claims that he merited a panegyric himself for his advice and aid to his brother and for his own immaculate conduct in office; Chor. *Or.* 4. 33 (ὡς ἀγαθός ἐστι μισθωτῆς τῶν ὑπ' αὐτῷ τεταγμένων, ὡς εὐβουλία τῶν ἔργων αὐτοῦ προηγείται, ὡς ἀρχειν πολλάκις λαχὼν οὐδὲ συκοφαντίας ἔδωκε λαβὴν οὐδαμοῦ). Described as a man of culture (Ἑρμοῦ λογίου τύπον) and as his brother's close adviser (κοινωνόν... τῶν βουλευμάτων) by Choricus in *Or.* 13. 15 (written between 532 and 539). From this it appears that Iulianus may have served with Summus when the latter was *dux Palaestinae* in 537/538, perhaps as his *consiliarius* but certainly among his close confidants.

Iulianus 9

?iudex pedaneus 542

Addressee of Just. *Ed.* 7 (dated March 1, 542) regulating lawsuits in which *argentarii* were involved. He is styled only ἡ σὴ λογιότης and was

a δικαστῆς (in cap. vi he and the CSL Petrus 9 were made special judges – ἰδικοὺς δικαστᾶς – for hearing these lawsuits, cf. cap. vii, viii and see epil. ἡ σὴ λογιότης καὶ πᾶς ἕτερος δικαστῆς τῆς ἡμετέρας πολιτείας). His style indicates that he was a man in a learned profession but not a man of rank or an office-holder. The context suggests that he was a prominent lawyer and possibly one of the *iudices pedanei* at Constantinople.

Iulianus 10

poet, professor of law and patricius M VI

Author of three poems included in the *Cycle* of Agathias; *Anth. Gr.* xi 367 (Ἰουλιανοῦ ἀντικίνσσορος), 368–9 (τοῦ αὐτοῦ). Celebrated in verses by Theaetetus, also included in the *Cycle*; *Anth. Gr.* xvi 32b (τοῦτον Ἰουλιανόν, νομικῆς φάος, εἶπον ἰδοῦσαι Ῥώμη καὶ Βερόη. Πάντα φύσις δύναται). This suggests that he taught in the law schools of Berytus and Constantinople.

Author of a Latin Epitome of the Novels of Justinian, the most recent included dating from 555; ed. G. Haenel, Leipzig, 1873 (per Iulianum eloquentissimum antecessorem Constantinopolitanæ civitatis; he became *patricius* and had studied under Stephanus 18).

Possibly the lines by Theaetetus celebrated his Epitome; see Alan and Averil Cameron, *JHS* 86 (1966), p. 14.

Iulianus 11

ex praefectis; poet M VI

Author of numerous poems preserved in the *Anthologia Graeca*, in the headings of which he is normally styled Ἰουλιανοῦ ἀπὸ ὑπάρχων Αἰγυπτίου; *Anth. Gr.* v 298, vi 12, 18–20, 25–6, 28–9, 67–8, vii 32–3, 58–9, 69–70, 561–2, 565, 576–7, 580–2, 584–7, 590–2, 594–5, 597–601, 603, 605, ix 398, 445–7, 652, 654, 661, 738–9, 763, 771, 793–8, xvi 87–8, 107–8, 113, 130, 139, 157, 173, 181, 203, 325, 388. From vii 561 to ix 661 he is ἀπὸ ὑπάρχων, not ἀπὸ ὑπάρχων, but this is probably an error by a scribe; cf. Alan and Averil Cameron, in *JHS* 86 (1966), p. 12.

He was a native of Egypt and bore the title of former prefect. His poems were included in the *Cycle* of Agathias, which was probably published in 567/568 (cf. *JHS* 86, pp. 6–24); two of them were written in or soon after 532 (vii 591–2, soon after the fall of Hypatius; cf. *PLRE* II, p. 580) and one (vii 590) probably after 549 (cf. Ioannes 63). He therefore lived in the mid sixth century. He may be identical with Iulianus 4 (PPO in 530–531), who was involved with Hypatius, but the poet's title ἀπὸ ὑπάρχων need not indicate an actual office; it may be honorific, in which case the addition of the epithet Αἰγύπτιος would serve to distinguish the poet from his contemporary.

Iulianus 12

?governor of Alexandria M VI

A wealthy citizen of Alexandria, father of Ammonius 6 and of the

future patriarch Eulogius; he is said to have managed the church of Alexandria for many years (ὁ μὲν γὰρ (= Iulianus) χρόνους οὐ μικροὺς τὴν Ἀλεξανδρέων ἐκκλησίαν διώκησεν, πατὴρ Εὐλογίου τοῦ πάνυ τὸν θρόνον ἰθύναντος); Sophronius, *Mir. SS. Cyr. et Ioh.* 1 (*PG* 87.3, col. 3424-5). He was certainly not the bishop of Alexandria. He may have been the *oeconomus* of the church, though this official seems usually to have been in holy orders and Iulianus was apparently a layman. Possibly the word 'ἐκκλησίαν' has entered the text in error and should be deleted (an emendation suggested in a letter by John Duffy); if so, the text would suggest that Iulianus was governor (*dux et augustalis*) of Alexandria.

IVLIANVS 13 pagarch of Antaeopolis 547/548-c. 551, ?553

An imperial rescript of c. 551 records complaints from Aphrodito that Iulianus had tried to incorporate Aphrodito, which enjoyed the right of *autopragia*, in his own pagarchy; *P. Cairo Masp.* 67024 (probably from Aphrodito), lines 30-2 πρὸς τούτοις ἐδίδαξαν ἡμᾶς Ἰουλιανόν, παγάρχην τῆς Ἀνταιοπολιτῶν, βουλευθῆναι τὴν κατ' αὐτο(ῦ)ς κώμην ὑπὸ τὴν οἰκίαν παγαρχίαν ποιήσασθαι. The villagers had complained about him to the empress Theodora in 547/548 and to Justinian after Theodora's death (therefore in 548/551); *P. Cairo Masp.* 67283 (probably from Aphrodito; a petition to Theodora about a pagarch, name lost, who tried to absorb Aphrodito into his pagarchy of Antaeopolis), 67354 (from Aphrodito) 1 5, 11 15 (to Theodora), *P. Cairo Masp.* 67019 (probably from Antinoe), line 17 (ὁ εἰρημένος Ἰουλιανός; to Justinian).

The affair was concluded before July 551; cf. *P. Cairo Masp.* 67032. He was apparently in office from at least 548 to c. 551, and perhaps still in 553 if he is identical with Fl. Iulianus who shared the pagarchy of Antaeopolis in 553 jointly with Patricia 1 (and with Patricia's representative, Menas 5); *P. Lond.* v 1660 (from Aphrodito; styled ὁ μεγαλοπρεπέστατος ἀπὸ ἀρχόντων, he was pagarch of Antaeopolis jointly with Patricia, cf. lines 5-6 ... τῶν μ[ε]γ[α]λοπρεπεστάτων κοινῶν δεσπότην παγάρχων), *P. Lond.* v 1661 (from Aphrodito, dated July 24, 553; cf. lines 5ff., Φλ. Ἰουλιανῶ τῷ μεγαλοπρεπεστάτῳ ἀπὸ ἀρχόντων καὶ Μηναῖ... παγάρχαις Ἀνταιοπολιτῶν). The title ἀπὸ ἀρχόντων is probably honorific and does not necessarily imply that he had once been provincial governor.

Possibly identical also with ὁ ἐνδιόξ(ότατος) πάγαρχ(ος) Ἰουλιανός mentioned on a receipt issued in his name for payments in a fourteenth indiction (?550/551); *P. Cairo Masp.* 67046, line 2 (from Antaeopolis).

The same man could also be referred to in *P. Cairo Masp.* 67026 (perhaps from Aphrodito), in which the *dux* is ordered to investigate his failure to help petitioners, cf. lines 7-9 τοὺς Ἰουλιανῶ τῷ ἐνδοξ(ότατῳ) προσηκ[όν]τας ἐπελθεῖν καὶ ἀφελέσθαι πᾶσαν τὴν ὑπ' ἐκείνου κ[ατα]-λειφθεῖσαν περιουσίαν.

Iulianus 14 argentarius (at Rome) 557

Arg(en)t(arius); died aged about forty-five in 557; buried in the church of St Agnes at Rome; *CIL* vi 6193 = Rossi 1 1094 = *ILCV* 696. Probably too young to be identical with Iulianus 7.

Iulianus 15 PVC 565-566

MAGISTER SCRINII a. 562: ἀντιγραφεύς (i.e. *magister scrinii*, cf. *CJ* 1 17.2, cited under Constantinus 1), he was one of the high officials who investigated a plot against Justinian in Nov./Dec. 562 (his colleagues were Constantinus 4, Procopius 3 and Zenodorus); later he and Constantinus were replaced on suspicion of favouring one of the accused, Aetherius 2; *Joh. Mal.* 494-5, *Joh. Mal. fr.* 49. He had already retired from this post when made PVC in 565; *Joh. Mal. fr.* 51 (cited below).

PVC a. 565-566: appointed PVC by Justinian in succession to Zemarchus 2 (in 565); *Joh. Mal. fr.* 51 (γέγονεν ἀντ' αὐτοῦ Ἰουλιανὸς ἐπαρχὸς ὁ ἀπὸ ἀντιγραφέων). In office a. 566 Sept. 14; *Just. Nov.* 140 (a Novel of Justin II, addressed Ἰουλιανῶ ἐπάρχῳ πόλεως; the Latin text gives 'Iuliano praefecto urbis Constantinopolitanae'). At the time of the appointment of Iulianus, Constantinople was troubled by great factional violence; he displayed exemplary severity, especially against the Greens who were chiefly to blame, but it took him ten months before the city was at peace again; *Joh. Mal. fr.* 51 (διὰ τοῦ Ἰουλιανοῦ ἐπάρχου πόλεως ἔλαβεν ἡ πόλις κατάστασιν), cf. *Vict. Tonn. s.a.* 566 (*sed eorum*, i.e. the Prasini, *atroces plurimi postea a Iuliano praefecto extincti sunt*). He erected statues in honour of Justin II and the empress Sophia; *Anth. Gr.* ix 803 (to Sophia, by Ἰουλιανὸς πολιοῦχος), 804 (to Justin, by Ἰουλιανὸς ὕπαρχος). Under Justin he is recorded in a poem as recovering a sundial, a gift of Justin and Sophia, which had been stolen; the poem praises him for not taking bribes; *Anth. Gr.* ix 779 (ὄντινα συληθέντα Δίκης θρόνον ἠνιοχεύων εὔρεν Ἰουλιανὸς χέρσιν ἀδωροδόκοις). Iulianus is to be identified with the unnamed city prefect praised by Corippus at the start of the reign of Justin; *Coripp. Iust.* iv 3-7 (*praefectus... urbis, consultor legum libertatisque tuendae dispositor, iusti vindex, corrector iniqui, censuram gravitate regens, multoque rigore terribilis, mitique magis pietate tremendus*; the occasion was Justin's consular celebrations, in January 566). He is to be identified

with the Iulianus whose monogram occurs on silverware from the end of Justinian's reign and the start of Justin's; Dodd, *BSS*, Table III, nos. 15-16 (under Justinian), Dodd, *BSS*, Suppl. 1 (*DOP* 18 (1964), p. 240, no. 19.1) (under Justin II), and see Feissel, *Rev. Num.*⁶ 28 (1986), pp. 134, 136 with nn. 87, 90, 92-4.

See also Alan Cameron, Some Prefects called Julian, *Byz.* 47 (1977), 56-64.

Fl. Iulianus 16

honorific MVM (in Egypt) c. 567

He forwarded a petition from a *protocometes* of Aphrodito to the *dux Thebaidis* Athanasius 3 (attested in office in c. 567); *P. Cairo Masp.* 67008 (possibly from Antinoe), line 3 [δ]ιὰ τοῦ ἐνδοξ(ο)τ(άτου) καὶ πανευφήμο(υ) στρατηλ(ά)τ(ου) Φλ. 'Ιουλιανοῦ. His very high rank proves that he was an MVM and that στρατηλάτης is not here equivalent to e.g. *tribunus*. The title is surely honorific and Iulianus was doubtless a prominent and wealthy landowner in Egypt.

Iulianus 17

ex praefectis; ?pagarch of Antaeopolis c. 570

According to a papyrus from Antinoopolis he had arbitrarily raised the tax rate throughout the Antaeopolite nome; *P. Lond.* v 1674, lines 37-8 'Ιουλιανοῦ τοῦ [ἀπ]ὸ ἐπάρχων καὶ [παγάρχου? For the date, see *P. Lond.* v, p. 57. Iulianus, who could be identical with Iulianus 32, was probably pagarch of the Antaeopolite nome. Because of the date he cannot be identified with the earlier pagarch Iulianus 13, unless the same man held the office again, later in his career.

Iulianus 18

CSL ?573/574

Named on a bronze weight; Pink, col. 58 = Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Die Gewichte in Smyrna*, p. 77, no. 1: + ἐπὶ 'Ιουλιανοῦ τοῦ ἐνδοξ(ο)ξ(οτάτου) κόμ(ητος) τῶν θε(είων) λαρ(γυτιόνων) ἰνδ' (the indiction number is missing). The weight bears the monogram of Justin II and Sophia as well as their busts; Iulianus probably held office therefore after Magnus 2 and Ioannes 86 but before Tiberius became Caesar, and may have succeeded Ioannes in 573/574. See Feissel, *Rev. Num.*⁶ 28 (1986), p. 134 with nn. 88-9.

Fl. Marianus Michaelius Gabriellus Ioannes Theodorus Georgius Marcellus Iulianus Theodorus Iulianus 19

MVM, praefectus Iustinianorum, dux et augustalis Thebaidis 578

A document from Elephantine, dated in May/Sept. 578, records the enrolment of a recruit (lines 4-7) ἐπὶ τῆς ἐξουσίας τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Φλ. Μαριάνου Μιχαηλίου Γαβρηλίου 'Ιωάννου Θεοδώρου Γεωργίου Μαρκέλ-

λου 'Ιουλιανοῦ Θεοδώρου 'Ιουλιανοῦ τοῦ τὰ πάντα ὑπερφυεστάτου στρατηλάτου καὶ πανευφήμου πραιφέκτου 'Ιουστινιανῶν, σὺν Θ(ε)ῶ δουκὸς καὶ ἀγουσταλί[ο]υ τῆς Θηβαίων χώρας; *P. Monac.* 2.

He was *dux et augustalis Thebaidis* but held the high-ranking honorific titles of MVM and *praefectus Iustinianorum* (on the latter, see Athanasius 3). The form 'Ιουστινιανῶν as late as 578 suggests that Iulianus received the title from Justinian and that it did not automatically change with the change of emperor in 565, but too little is known about the title for this to be certain.

Iulianus 20

PVC 580

QVAESTOR IVSTINIANVS EXERCITVS (or ?PRAEFECTVS INSVLARVM) a. 580: when made PVC in 580 (see below) Iulianus apparently held the post of 'prefect of the islands' ('ὑπαρχος NSYWS'); Joh. Eph. *HE* III 3.32. He was probably *quaestor Iustinianus exercitus* (created in 536, Just. *Nov.* 41); the holder of this office was described as governing the Islands (cf. Men. Prot. fr. 48, cited under Ioannes 91), he was included among the ἑπαρχοὶ τῶν πραιτωρίων (Just. *Nov.* 69 epil.; he was ἐπὶ τῶν νήσων), and was styled prefect by John Lydus, who calls him ἑπαρχος τῆς Σκυθίας and ἑπαρχος ἐπόπτης τῶν Σκυθικῶν δυναμέων (*de mag.* II 28-9). It is difficult to see what other post Iulianus could have held. He was perhaps the successor of Ioannes 91 (in office a. 578). Cf. also Theodorus 84 (from which it appears that the title *praefectus Insularum* may at some unknown date have become official).

PVC a. 580: he succeeded Sebastianus 2 as PVC; Joh. Eph. *HE* III 3.32. The date was in the second year of Tiberius and some time after Easter, i.e. April/Sept. 580; cf. Joh. Eph. *HE* III 3.27 and 29. He was appointed in order to investigate outbreaks of rioting at Constantinople after the acquittal of a number of suspected pagans; he found that many involved were Jews, with some Samaritans and heretics, and these he either exiled or executed; those rioters who were Christians, many of whom were only youths, he made a pretence of punishing, painting marks like bruises on them and parading them through the city; when one of their number sought to turn himself into a martyr by demanding to be executed, Iulianus persuaded the emperor not to pursue the Christians involved further but to grant them pardon; Joh. Eph. *HE* III 3.32. The investigation of pagans was then resumed by the full senate in his *praetorium*; Joh. Eph. *HE* III 3.33. Later, when allegations of paganism spread more and more widely, Iulianus himself was apparently accused and the enquiry was transferred to the *praetorium* of the *praetor plebis*; Joh. Eph. *HE* III 3.34 ('a praetorio praefecti urbis, qui ipse etiam eorum esse censebatur, translati sunt, sc. iudices, et praetori dati').

During his office Iulianus erected statues of Tiberius and Anastasia near the Senate House of Constantinople to commemorate renovation work on it; *Anth. Gr.* xvi 70 (κυδαλίμοις καμάτοισιν Ἰουλιανοῦ πολιάρχου), 71, and see Alan Cameron, in *Byz.* 47 (1977), pp. 50–6.

Iulianus 21 candidatus 581

He apparently supervised repair work to an aqueduct at Sardica; the work was ordered by Tiberius at the request of archbishop Leontius and was completed in July 581 – m(ense) Iulio per (in)dict(ionem) XIV; Beshevliev, *Spätgr. u. spätlat. Inschr. Bulg.* 3 (Sardica) (Tiberius... hunc aqueductum renovavit data pecunia p(er) v(irum) magnif(icum) Iulianum candidatum).

Iulianus 22 exarchus (?Italiae) 589

In office, apparently, on March 31, 589; Rossi, *ICVR* II i, pp. 454–5 (an inscription preserved in manuscript only, apparently recording the erection of a building at Rome by a *collegium* of Alexandrians ἐπι Ἰουλιαν(ῶ) τῷ ἐξάρχῳ Ἰταλίας . . .) and under a pope Pelagius, and inscribed in a seventh indiction on Pharmouthi 5; this gives either 559 March 31 (Pelagius I) or 589 March 31 (Pelagius II), of which the latter should be correct since the *exarchus Italiae* did not yet exist in 559). However the text of the inscription in the manuscript is very confused and the reconstruction by de Rossi is by no means certain. Among other difficulties, it is not satisfactory to insert an otherwise unrecorded *exarchus* in the list of exarchs of Italy at this date, between Smaragdus and Romanus 7 in view of the specific evidence of Paul the Deacon that Romanus was Smaragdus' immediate successor. See further Goubert, II ii, pp. 90–2.

Iulianus 23 scribo (in Dalmatia) 595–600

Addressee of a letter from pope Gregory in 595 concerning the bishop of Salona, Maximus; he is styled 'fili magnifice'; *Greg. Ep.* v 29 (a. 595 March 2; addressed 'Iuliano scriboni'). In 600, in a letter of Gregory to Maximus, Iulianus *scribo* is named as the object of a complaint by Maximus, apparently for harassing the poor of Salona; *Greg. Ep.* x 15 (a. 600 July).

For *scribonēs*, see Jones, *LRE* II, pp. 658–9, with n. 118. Iulianus was apparently stationed at Salona.

IVLIANVS 24 v.c., maior domus (?of Maurentius) 598

V.c., maior excellentiae (?vestrae) (see below); mentioned in a letter of Gregory to the MVM MAurentius 3 (if Iulianus had some chairs for which Gregory had asked Maurentius was to see that they were sent on);

Greg. Ep. IX 17 (a. 598 Oct.). The text reads: sed et Iuliano viro clarissimo maiori excellentiae, aut si quis alter habuerit (sc. sellas), eas nobis dirigere procuretis. Possibly 'vestrae' should be inserted after 'excellentiae' to make sense of the phrase, in spite of the remarks of Ewald and Hartmann in the *MGH* edition of Gregory, where they note: hic aliquid deesse videtur; sed 'vestrae' cum ed(itoribus) Maur(inis) addendum non est; nam nusquam Maurentius excellentiae titulo honoratur. *Gloriosi* were certainly addressed as *excellentia vestra*; see Callinicus 10, Romanus 7, Rusticiana 2 and Venantius 4. However, Maurentius is the only *gloriosus* among the *magistri militum* in Gregory and none of them is styled *excellentia vestra*. Cf. indices in *MGH, Epp.*, II, pp. 543, 550 and 562. Iulianus was evidently in Naples, like Maurentius, and it is not obvious what other *excellentia* could have been there, but the identity of Iulianus' employer remains uncertain.

FL. IVLIANVS 25 pagarch at Oxyrhynchus VI

He was pagarch at Oxyrhynchus some time in the sixth century (Φλαυίῳ [Ἰ]ουλιανῶ τῷ μεγαλοσπρεπστάτῳ) παγάρχη ταύτης τῆς Ὀξυρυγχιτῶν πόλεως), on Thoth 20 of indiction 6; probably sixth century); *PSI* I 52, 4 Oxyrhynchus (a guarantee addressed to him concerning a certain Theonoe; he is styled ἡ ὑμετέρα μεγαλοπρεπεία).

Iulianus 26 patricius VI

Iulianu patriciu; Zacos 887, Dumbarton Oaks seal 58.106.739 and 58.106.746 (seals; obv.: +/IYLI/ΔNΥ; rev.: +/PΔTY/ICIV).

Iulianus 27 illustris VI

Ἰουλιανοῦ ἰλλουστρίου; Fogg Art Museum seal 1598 (obv.: eagle with open wings, between which is a monogram (153) of Ἰουλιανοῦ; rev.: IAA/OVCT/P).

Iulianus 28 ex praefectis VI

Iulianu apo eparhon (sic); Zacos 886 (seal; obv.: IY/LIΔ/NY; rev.: ΓΡΟ/ΕΡΓΥ/hON), cf. Dumbarton Oaks seal 58.106.745 (seal; obv.: +/I./LIΔ/NY/+; rev.: . . o/e . . r/hon).

Iulianus 29 ?advocate and poet ?VI

Author of a short poem preserved in the *Anthologia Graeca*; *Anth. Gr.* IX 481 (Ἰουλιανοῦ σχολαστικοῦ τοῦ Μετεώρου). Μετέωρος is presumably a personal epithet applied to him to distinguish him from other Iuliani. Its meaning is not obvious.

Iulianus 30 ex praefecto ?VI
 Named on a seal found in Carthage; *BCTH* 1926, p. cxlvi, no. 2 (+ Iuli/anus/s* 1//ex pr/efec/to).

Iulianus 31 notarius (Egypt) VI
 Recorded in a papyrus of unknown provenance; *Stud. Pal.* viii 962, lines 2-3 από λο(γού) 'Ιουλιανο(ῦ) νοταρ(ίου).

Iulianus 32 ex praefectis; landowner in Egypt VI
 Landowner at Antaeopolis and Aphrodito, recorded in documents concerning taxation; *P. Cairo Masp.* 67060 (from Antaeopolis), lines 1-2 οἱ μεγάλοι κτήτορες τῆς πόλεως (sc. Antaeopolis), λόγω δὴ ἡ οὐσία τοῦ ἐνδ[οξ(οτάτου) ἀπὸ] ἐπάρχων 'Ιουλιανοῦ, *P. Cairo Masp.* 67285 (from Aphrodito), line 3 εἰς λόγον λοιπάδ(ων) τοῦ ἐνδοξ(οτάτου) ἀπὸ ἐπάρχ(ων) 'Ιο(υ)λιανο(ῦ) καὶ 'Ενωχ).
 Possibly identical with Iulianus 17.

Iulianus 33 tabellio (at Ravenna) L VI
 For(ensis) civ(itatis) Rav(ennatis); he wrote a deed of sale for Deuseddit *v.h.* and Holdigern *v.c.*; Marini, *P. Dip.* 121 = *P. Ital.* 36, line 59.

Iulianus 34 commerciarus (of Tyre) M VI/E VII
 'Ιουλιανοῦ, Σεργίου, Στεφάνου, κομμερκιαρίων Τύρου; Zacos 1 130 bis, note, no. 4 (seal, naming three *commercarii* of Tyre). Cf. Sergius 37 and Stephanus 38.

Iulianus 35 ex praefectis M VI/M VII
 'Ιουλιανοῦ ἀπὸ ἐπάρχων; Zacos 399 (seal; obv.: cruciform monogram (154) of 'Ιουλιανοῦ; rev.: cruciform monogram (28) of ἀπὸ ἐπάρχων).

IVLIANVS 36 comes (East) L VI/E VII
 A *comes*, he was a rich man of good family (γένος ἄγων ἐπίσημον) at Alexandria and formerly a follower of Julian of Halicarnassus; as a youth he was a loose liver but then married, only to lose the use of his limbs, allegedly through the sorcery (φαρμακεία) of a mistress; he was miraculously cured by Sts Cyrus and John and told to abandon his heresy for the orthodox faith; his former symptoms returned until he did so, and he then attended a Christmas service at the church of Theon in Alexandria, to the dismay of his former fellow-heretics; Sophronius, *Mir.*

SS. Cyr. et Ioh. 12 (*PG* 87.3, col. 3456-61) (περὶ 'Ιουλιανοῦ τοῦ κόμητος ἐκ περιεργίας παρειθέντος τὰ μέλη ἅπαντα).

Iulianus 37 ?v.c. L VI/E VII
 Father of Sarapammon 2; Sophronius, *Mir. SS. Cyr. et Ioh.* 22 (*PG* 87.3, col. 3485). Probably a native of Alexandria.

IVLI(A)NVS 38 vir gloriosus (in Sicily) 603
 Styled 'gloria vestra'; he built a monastery in Catana and is reproached by Gregory for hesitating to ask for money for dispensing alms there; *Greg. Ep.* xiii 23 (a. 603 Jan.; addressed 'Iulino').

Probably identical with 'filius meus domnus Iulianus' whose aid, if required, Gregory insisted be discreetly sought by his agents in Sicily to organise the purchase and distribution of sheep and pigs to the poor; *Greg. Ep.* xiii 37 (a. 603 June).

He was presumably a wealthy noble in Sicily, perhaps from Catana.

Iulianus 39 leading citizen of Manūf 609
 Executed by Bonosus 2; *Joh. Nik.* 107.42 (p. 546 Zotenberg). See further Isidorus 13.

Iulianus 40 scholasticus (at Alexandria) E VII
 Addressee of a letter from Maximus Confessor congratulating him and his fellow *scholasticus* Christopemptus on holding fast to the right faith; *Max. Conf. Ep.* 17 (*PG* 91. 580-84) (πρὸς 'Ιουλιανὸν σχολαστικὸν 'Αλεξανδρέα). For the date, before 633, see Sherwood, *Stud. Anselm.*, p. 36.

(Iu)lia(n)us (?) 41 a secretis VII
 Θεοτόκε βοήθει ('Ιου)λια(ν)ῶ (ἀ)σηκῆτις; Zacos 1396 = Dumbarton Oaks seal 55.1.46b (seal; obv.: cruciform monogram of Θεοτόκε βοήθει; rev.: ... /ΛΙΑ.Ω/.CHKPH/TIC+). The name is restored by Zacos as Αἰμιλιανῶ. Cf. Aemilianus 5.

Fl. Triadius Marianus Michaelius Gabriellus Constantinus Theodorus Martyrius Iulianus Athanasius

(Fl. Marianus) Michael Gabriel Ioannes Theodorus Iulianus Theodorus Marinus Athanasius

Fl. Theodorus Menas Iulianus Iacobus

Iulius (*CIL* vi 10012) V/VI: *PLRE* II.

FL. IVLIVS

v.sp., comes (in Egypt); dioecetes (of Fl. Ioannes) 598

Alluded to at Oxyrhynchus in 598; *P. Oxy.* 2239, lines 5-6 ΦΛ(αουίου) 'Ιουλίου του περιβλέπ(του) κόμετ(ος) καὶ διοικητοῦ ἀγτοῦ, sc. of Fl. Ioannes 110. He combined the imperial rank of *spectabilis comes* with the (private) post of overseer of the estates of the *vir gloriosus* Ioannes.

Iunillus

QSP 541/542-548/549

Native of Africa; *Proc. Anecd.* 20.17.

Possibly identical with the *v.c.* Iunillus who corresponded with Fulgentius (cf. *PLRE* II, p. 643); Fulgentius, *Ep.* 7.2.

Author of an introduction to the bible, known as the *Instituta Regularia divinae legis*, which he translated from an original by Paulus of Nisibis and recast into a question and answer format with an introduction; he undertook the work at the request of the bishop of Hadrumetum, Primasius, when the latter was on a visit to Constantinople; cf. Iunillus, *Instituta*, praef. The date of the work was perhaps c. 542; see Stein, *Bull. de la Cl. des lettres de l'Acad. de Belgique* 23 (1937), 379-82. The work was widely used in medieval times; cf. Schanz-Hosius IV 2, 583-5. It was already known to Cassiodorus who included Iunillus in his list of 'introductores scripturae divinae'; Cass. *Inst. Div. Litt.* x 1.

He received a letter from Ferrandus, deacon of Carthage, which is addressed 'domino merito illustri, praestantissimo atque in Christo carissimo filio sanctae matris ecclesiae catholicae Iunillo'; Ferrand. *Ep.* 8 (ed. Reifferscheidt, *Anecdota Casinensia*). The date is not recorded; if it was before Iunillus became QSP, he was already a *vir illustris* before 541/542.

QSP a. 541/542-548/549: appointed κοιμιστωρ on the death of Tribonianus (probably in 541 or 542); *Proc. Anecd.* 20.17. He held office for seven years; *Proc. Anecd.* 20.19. He died in office and was succeeded by Constantinus 4; *Proc. Anecd.* 20.20.

According to the hostile account in Procopius, Iunillus was wholly ignorant of the law and had not even practised as an advocate; although familiar with Latin, he had no knowledge of Greek and could not even speak the language correctly, his attempts to do so provoking the mirth of his subordinates; Procopius also alleges that he openly trafficked in documents bearing the emperor's signature; *Proc. Anecd.* 20.17.

He apparently died in 548 or 549; cf. above.

Iustina 1

daughter of Germanus M VI

Daughter of Germanus (*PLRE* II); *Proc. Anecd.* 5.8. Her mother was

therefore Passara (*PLRE* II) and she was sister of Iustinus 4 and Iustinianus 3. She was aged eighteen in 545 (and so was born in 527); *Proc. Anecd.* 5.8.

In 545 she was still unmarried, because the hostility of the empress towards her father made it difficult to find a suitable husband; however, in that year her father, in spite of the opposition of Theodora, married her to Ioannes 46 (nephew of Vitalianus), although he was of lower rank; *Proc. Anecd.* 5.8-12, *BG* III 12.11, cf. *BG* III 39.10, 40.10, 40.27, IV 26.11 (Ioannes son-in-law of Germanus).

Iustina 2

niece of Gregory of Tours M/L VI

Niece of Gregory of Tours; Ven. Fort. *Carm.* VIII 13, IX 7, lines 81-4. Presumably daughter of Iustinus 3 and Anonyma 4, and sister of Eusthenia; see stemma 12.

In 590 she was *praeposita* of the convent of St Radegund at Poitiers; *Greg. Tur. HF* x 15.

Iustinas

dux et augustalis Alexandriae E VII

Ordered by Phocas to execute Kūdīs and other conspirators; Joh. Nik. 103.11 (p. 539 Zotenberg; 'il envoya à Justinas, gouverneur d'Alexandrie, l'ordre de trancher la tête à Alexandre et à ses compagnons').

Iustinianus (*CIL* VI 32006 = *CIL* XV 7120) ?V/VI: *PLRE* II.

Fl. Petrus Sabbatius Iustinianus: Augustus 527-565; *PLRE* II.

Iustinianus 1

father of Theodorus Tzirus E/M VI

Father of Theodorus 31 *qui et* Tzirus; Theoph. Byz. fr. 4 (= Phot. *Bibl.* 64). His identity is not known; the possibility that Theodorus was an illegitimate son of the emperor cannot be excluded but there is no evidence. It is unlikely on chronological grounds that Theodorus was a son of the general Iustinianus 3.

IVSTINIANVS 2

v.c., praeses Moesiae Secundae 538

In office a. 538 Feb. 20, *Just. Nov.* 65 (addressed 'Iustiniano v.c. rectori Mysiae'). That his province was Moesia Secunda is proved by *Just. Nov.* 120, cap. 9. This province was still under *praesides* in 535; *Just. Nov.* 8, notitia 47. By 538 the governor was subject to the *quaestor exercitus*; cf. *Just. Nov.* 41, 50, Joh. Lyd. *de mag.* II 28-9.

Iustinianus 3 patricius 572-577(?); MVM per Orientem 575-577

Son of Germanus (*PLRE II*, p. 505); Proc. *BG III* 32.17-18, 39.17, 40.10, 40.27, Joh. Epiph. 5, Joh. Eph. *HE III* 6.4, 6.8, 6.27, Theoph. Sim. III 12.6. His mother was Passara (*PLRE II*). Brother of Iustinus 4; Proc. *BG III* 32.17-18, Evagr. *HE V* 14, Nic. Call. *HE XVIII* 2. He was younger than Iustinus; cf. Proc. *BG III* 32.14. Nephew of Boraidēs; Proc. *BG III* 32.18. He was therefore a relative of the emperors Justinian and Justin II; see stemma 2. He apparently had a son (?Germanus 5) and daughter, both unmarried in 578; Greg. Tur. *HF V* 30, Paul. Diac. *Hist. Lang.* III 12 (see below).

He was still youthful in 549; cf. Iustinus 4. In 575 he was described as of an age to avoid the impetuosity of youth and the weakness of old age; Joh. Epiph. 5. He was probably born c. 525/530.

In 549 he did not yet hold public office; Proc. *BG III* 32.17 (cited under Iustinus). His career was military; Joh. Epiph. 5 (ἄνδρα τοῖς πολεμικοῖς ἀγῶσιν ἐντραφέντα).

In 550 Iustinianus and his brother accompanied their father in his preparations for the proposed expedition to Italy and helped him to raise troops; Proc. *BG III* 39.17. After Germanus' sudden death, the emperor ordered Iustinianus and Ioannes 46 to lead the army to Italy; they left for Salona in Dalmatia, intending to winter there; Proc. *BG III* 40.10-11. They reached Dalmatia in late 550; Proc. *BG III* 40.27, 40.30. For the fate of this expedition, which remained at Salona throughout 551, cf. Ioannes 46. It is not recorded whether Iustinianus remained with it during this time or not.

In 552 Iustinianus and his brother with other unnamed commanders led an army against the Sclaveni in Illyricum; they were heavily outnumbered and could do little except harass the enemy from the rear; Proc. *BG IV* 25.1-2 (cited under Iustinus). Later in 552 the two brothers together with Aratius, Suartuas and Amalafidas led an expedition to help the Lombards against the Gepids; Proc. *BG IV* 25.10-11. Apart from Amalafidas none of them advanced further than Ulpiana in Illyricum (see Aratius); Proc. *BG IV* 25.13.

PATRICIUS: he was *patricius* in 572; Joh. Epiph. *HE III* 2.20 (cited below). Also styled *patricius*; Joh. Epiph. 5, Joh. Eph. *HE III* 6.4, 6.8, 6.13 (all in 575), 6.27 (in 577).

?MVM PER ARMENIAM a. 572-573: Iustinianus was apparently the senior Roman army commander in the area when the Armenians revolted against Persia (see below for the date); Joh. Eph. *HE III* 2.20 (cited below). He was probably succeeded in 573 by Ioannes 88 and was therefore MVM *per Armeniam* (cf. below).

After the murder of the Persian *marzban* by the Armenian rebels under Vardan (on Feb. 2, 572; cf. Stephen of Taroun, p. 60 and Stein, *Stud.*, p. 37, n. 23), they took his head to Iustinianus at Theodosiopolis; Joh. Eph. *HE III* 2.20 ('et (caput eius) ad patricium Iustinianum attulerunt, qui illo tempore in urbe Theodosipoli (sic) in limite consistebat'). Iustinianus was probably the commander of the imperial troops sent by the emperor Justin to aid the Armenians. They expelled the Persians from Dvin, but in the process angered the Armenians by setting fire to the church of St Gregory the Illuminator, which the Persians had been using as a storehouse; Sebeos, I, p. 5. This perhaps led to the replacement of Iustinianus by Ioannes 88 (who was ὁ τῆς Ἀρμενίας στρατηγός in 573; Theoph. Byz. 4); cf. Stein, *Stud.*, p. 38.

MVM PER ORIENTEM a. 574/575-577: appointed MVM *per Orientem* by Tiberius Caesar in late 574 or early 575, with supreme authority to conduct the war with Persia; Joh. Bicl. s.a. 575 (dux Romanae militiae et magister militiae Orientis a Tiberio designatus), Joh. Eph. *HE III* 6.4 ('super omnes duces exercituum Romanorum qui in toto Oriente erat (sic) princeps et ductor erat', in 575), Men. Prot. fr. 41 (ὁ τῆς ἑω στρατηγός, in 575), Joh. Epiph. 5 (ἐπιτρέψας αὐτῷ τὴν ὅλην τοῦ πολέμου διοίκησιν, in 575), Theoph. Sim. III 12.6 (στρατηγός, in 575), Joh. Eph. *HE III* 6.27 ('qui omnibus ducibus et copiis in Oriente praefectus erat', in 577), cf. Theoph. AM 6072, Cedr. I 689, Zon. XIV 11 (all στρατηγός Ἀνατολῆς). He is described by Theophylact as one of the leading figures of the day (τοῖς κορυφαιοτάτοις τῶν ἐν τέλει συναριθμούμενος); Theoph. Sim. III 12.6.

He was given sole charge of the war in the East while the one-year truce (from Feb./March 574 to 575; cf. Stein, *Stud.*, pp. 48 and 54, n. 14) was still in force and immediately hurried out there to assume his responsibilities; Joh. Epiph. 5. A large army including many barbarians had been raised by Tiberius Caesar; cf. Stein, *Stud.*, pp. 59-60, 79 n. 4. Iustinianus subjected it to a programme of training and drill; Theoph. Sim. III 12.7. It was probably at this time that Iustinianus received overtures of friendship from the Ghassānid al-Mundhir (Alamundarus), who had for three years been estranged from the Romans; they met at the shrine of St Sergius at Resapha and made a reconciliation; Joh. Eph. *HE III* 6.4. At the end of the one-year truce a Persian army under Tamchosro and, perhaps, Adarmaan invaded Mesopotamia; Joh. Epiph. 5, Joh. Eph. *HE III* 6.13, Theoph. Sim. III 12.9, Men. Prot. fr. 50. The Roman army under Iustinianus advanced to oppose them in the area of Tella (Constantina) and Dara; Joh. Eph. *HE III* 6.13 (the citizens of Tella heard that he was approaching 'with sixty thousand Lombards' and refused to surrender to Adarmaan, who withdrew to Dara),

Theoph. Sim. III 12.9, Theoph. AM 6072, Cedr. I 689 (he took a large army to Dara). Before the two sides could join battle an agreement was made (cf. Traianus 3 and Zacharias 2) which established a three-year peace in Syria and Mesopotamia but did not apply to Armenia; Joh. Eph. HE III 6.8, Theoph. Sim. III 12.10, Theoph. AM 6072, Cedr. I 689, Zon. XIV 11 (on the confusion in the later sources, see Stein, *Stud.*, p. 81 n. 5).

In the meantime Chosroes launched an invasion of Armenia and beyond to Cappadocia; Joh. Eph. HE III 6.8, Evagr. HE V 14, Theoph. Sim. III 12.11, Theoph. AM 6073. On instructions from Tiberius Caesar, Iustinianus marched to Armenia, passing through Amida, to assume command in the war there and to check the Persians; Men. Prot. fr. 41, Evagr. HE V 14, Theoph. Sim. III 12.11. The sources for the campaign which ensued are confused; for details of it, including the tactics of Iustinianus and the Persian defeat at Melitene, cf. Stein, *Stud.*, pp. 66–8. The Romans under Iustinianus prevented Chosroes from attacking Theodosiopolis and then checked his attempt to march on Caesarea in Cappadocia, but could not avert the sack of Sebasteia (in Armenia Prima); Joh. Eph. HE III 6.8, Evagr. HE V 14, Nic. Call. HE XVIII 2. Twice thereafter Iustinianus caught Chosroes by a pincer movement and twice the king escaped; on the first occasion he did so only by abandoning his camp and all the treasures stored there, which fell into Roman hands; on the second occasion there was dissension among the Roman commanders and the Persians won a victory not far from Melitene (cf. Joh. Eph. HE III 6.8 – Iustinianus is said to have retreated before the Persians because his fellow-commanders failed to support him); Chosroes then captured and burnt Melitene before setting out for Persia; near the Euphrates a few miles from Melitene the Romans under Iustinianus caught up with him and challenged him to battle; the two armies drew up in battle array but the day passed without fighting; during the following night Chosroes tried to withdraw his army secretly across the Euphrates but was detected by Iustinianus who attacked and inflicted very heavy losses on the retreating army; Chosroes escaped with the survivors and made his way back to Persia; Joh. Eph. HE III 6.8–9, Joh. Bicl. s.a. 575.1 (by citing this battle ‘in campis qui inter Daras et Nizivios ponuntur’ John of Biclarum has apparently confused the battle of Melitene with the battle of Sargathon, won by Marcianus 7 in early 573), Theoph. Sim. III 14.1–11 (but see Whitby, p. 95, n. 65), Theoph. AM 6073, Evagr. HE V 14, Sebeos, I, pp. 6–7, II, p. 9, Zon. XIV 11 (p. 289). This was probably in autumn 575. Iustinianus then advanced with his army through Persarmenia as far as the Caspian, plundering widely as he went; because the year was well advanced he spent the

winter on enemy soil and returned to Roman territory the following spring (in 576); Joh. Eph. HE III 6.10, Evagr. HE V 14, Theoph. Sim. III 15.1–2, Theoph. AM 6073, Cedr. I 689, Zon. XIV 11 (p. 289), Nic. Call. HE XVIII 2. After his victories he sent abundant spoils to Constantinople; Joh. Bicl. s.a. 575.1. He spent the summer of 576 in the frontier area; Evagr. HE V 14 (σὺν εὐπαθείᾳ καὶ κλέει πολλῶν παρ’ αὐτὰ ἐθέριζε τὰ μεθόρια).

He suffered at least one major defeat, possibly two, in 576/577, from a Persian army under the command of Tamchosro; Theoph. Sim. III 15.8, Joh. Eph. HE III 6.10 (caught totally unprepared, the Roman army and its leaders took to headlong flight), cf. Sebeos, II, p. 10 and Stein, *Stud.*, p. 70 (for the two victories won in Armenia by Tamchosro, at Bolorapahak in Phasiane and at Kethin in Bagravandene). One defeat probably occurred in summer/autumn 577; cf. Men. Prot. fr. 47 and Stein, *Stud.*, pp. 69 and 84 n. 12.

Probably in late 577, as a result of his lack of success, Iustinianus was dismissed by Tiberius Caesar and replaced by Mauricius 4; Evagr. HE V 19 (παύει μὲν αὐτὸν τῆς ἀρχῆς), Nic. Call. HE XVIII 5, Joh. Eph. HE III 6.27 (said to have died, presumably wrongly).

According to a tradition preserved only in western sources, there were two attempts to secure the throne for him after the death of Justin II; one coincided with the accession of Tiberius and after it failed Iustinianus secured pardon by paying fifteen *centenaria* to the emperor; a later attempt devised by Justin’s widow Sophia also failed when it was revealed to Tiberius, who punished Sophia but only reprimanded Iustinianus and then pardoned him again; the emperor is said to have contemplated a matrimonial alliance with Iustinianus by marrying his own son and daughter to those of Iustinianus, but nothing came of it; Greg. Tur. HF V 30, Paul. Diac. *Hist. Lang.* III 12.

Iustinianus 4 son of Maurice L VI/E VII

Son of the emperor Maurice; with his father he fled from Phocas on Nov. 22, 602, and was captured and killed at Chalcedon on Nov. 27; *Chron. Pasch.* s.a. 602, Greg. *Ep.* XIII 1, and cf. Mauricius 4.

Iustinianus, Iustinus: for this name, found in the formulae *πραιφεκτος* ’Ιουστινιανου, *πραιφεκτος*, ’Ιουστινου, in the reigns of Justinian and Justin II, see Athanasius 3, p. 146.

(Fl.) Ioannes (Menas?) Iustinianus (Demos)thenes Str(aton) (E)lias The(onas) (Dio)scorus

Fl. Menas Iustinianus Demosthenes Ioannes Thomas

Iustinus 1 ?MVM et dux Moesiae (Secundae) 528

Στρατηλάτης τῆς Μοσίας, in 528; he and **Baduarius 1** joined battle with an army of Bulgars (John Malalas calls them Huns) invading Scythia and Moesia and Iustinus was killed; he was succeeded by **Constantiolus**; Joh. Mal. 437, Theoph. AM 6031. He was probably *dux Moesiae (Secundae)* with the rank of *magister militum* (στρατηλάτης); cf. **Baduarius** and **Godilas**.

Iustinus 2 MVM per Illyricum (?536-)538; MVM vacans ?538-552
MVM PER ILLYRICVM a. (?536-)538: ὁ τῶν Ἰλλυριῶν στρατηγός; Proc. BG II 13.17 (for the date, cf. below). This post was held by **Mundus** in 536 and by **Vitalius 1** in 544; possibly Iustinus was appointed after the death of **Mundus** in 536.

MVM VACANS a. 538/544-552: he probably reverted to *magister militum vacans* at some date in or after 538 and no later than 544 and remained such for the rest of his active military career; in 552 he and **Valerianus 1** were styled οἱ στρατηγοί (cf. below).

In 538 Iustinus was one of the commanders who went with **Narses 1** to Italy to reinforce **Belisarius** in the war with the Goths; Proc. BG II 13.17 (his fellow-commanders included **Narses 2** (brother of **Isaac**) and **Aratius**), cf. 18.6 (commander in Italy with **Narses 1** the eunuch). When **Narses** and **Belisarius** disagreed on the conduct of the war and began to operate separately, Iustinus apparently joined forces with **Narses** and accompanied him first to **Urbinum** and then to **Ariminum**; cf. Proc. BG II 18.6, 19.1, 19.10 and see **Narses** (p. 915) and **Belisarius** (p. 203). From **Ariminum** he and **Ioannes 46** tried to capture **Caesena**; failing there, they went on to take **Forum Cornelia** by surprise and then, as the Goths continually retreated to avoid battle, they took possession of the whole of **Aemilia**; Proc. BG II 19.19-22. The date was Dec. 538/early 539; cf. Proc. BG II 20.1.

While they were in **Aemilia**, their help was sought by **Martinus 2** whom **Belisarius** had sent to raise the siege of **Milan**; they refused to obey the orders of **Belisarius** and agreed to go to **Milan** only when the order was issued by **Narses**; Proc. BG II 21.14-23. During the delay, however, **Milan** surrendered; Proc. BG II 21.25, 21.38-9. The date was around February/March 539; Proc. BG II 22.1. Shortly after this **Narses** was recalled from Italy and his troops put under the command of **Belisarius**; Proc. BG II 22.1-5.

In spring 539 (probably April or May; cf. **Belisarius**, p. 204) Iustinus and **Cyprianus** with their men were sent with some **Isaurians** and

regular infantry by **Belisarius** to besiege the Goths in **Faesulae**; Proc. BG II 23.2. The place was impossible to assault, but they defeated several sorties by the Goths and forced them to remain behind the walls with food running short; Proc. BG II 24.18. Finally the besieged yielded themselves and the fortress to the Romans in return for promises of safety; **Cyprianus** and Iustinus took their army and prisoners to **Belisarius** at **Auximum**, leaving **Faesulae** strongly garrisoned (autumn 539); Proc. BG II 27.25-6, *Marcell. com. Addit.* ad a. 539.

His presence in Italy is not attested again until 542 (see below), but he probably continued to serve there throughout, remaining behind after the fall of **Ravenna** and the return of **Belisarius** to the east (in 540); he was presumably one of the commanders whose general inactivity and failure to co-operate effectively with one another against the Goths assisted the revival in Gothic fortunes from 540 to 542; cf. **Ioannes 46**.

In 542 Iustinus was in **Florence**, when **Totila** sent a strong army to besiege the city; Iustinus sent an urgent request for help to the Roman commanders in **Ravenna** because he had failed to lay in a store of provisions to withstand a siege; Proc. BG III 5.1-2. A relief army set out under **Ioannes 46**, **Bessas** and **Cyprianus** and the Goths abandoned the siege of **Florence** and withdrew to **Mucellis** (**Mugello**); the relief army joined forces with Iustinus and set off in pursuit of the Goths, leaving in **Florence** a garrison drawn from the troops under Iustinus; Proc. BG III 5.1-6. In the battle which followed the Romans were totally defeated and routed; Proc. BG III 5.7-16 (see **Ioannes 46** for details). They scattered far and wide, seeking refuge where they could; Iustinus sought safety in **Florence** and remained there; Proc. BG III 5.17-18 (the Roman flight), 6.8 (Iustinus in **Florence**).

He was perhaps one of the commanders who in 543 supported the letter which **Constantianus 2** sent to **Justinian** explaining the impossibility of continuing the war in Italy; Proc. BG III 9.5-6.

Late in 545 Iustinus was left in command of a garrison in **Ravenna** by **Belisarius** when the latter left for **Epidamnus**; Proc. BG III 13.19. He is not recorded again until 552 when he was apparently still in **Ravenna** (cf. below); Roman troops seem to have remained there throughout these years although rarely mentioned; cf. Proc. BG III 39.23 (in 550). Perhaps Iustinus also remained, as commander in **Ravenna** from 545 to 552. In 552 when the expedition under **Narses 1** arrived in **Ravenna** (possibly on June 6; cf. **Valerianus**), it was joined by Iustinus and **Valerianus** οἱ στρατηγοί and all other Roman troops remaining there; Proc. BG IV 28.1. When **Narses** marched south shortly afterwards, Iustinus was left in **Ravenna** with a garrison; Proc. BG IV 28.2. He is not recorded again.

Iustinus 3 brother-in-law of Gregory of Tours M VI

Husband of Anonyma 4 (the sister of Gregory of Tours); Greg. Tur. *Mir. S. Mart.* II 2. They lived in Besançon; Greg. Tur. *Glor. Mart.* 70. Both passages record his miraculous recovery from fevers. Cf. Stroheker, no. 209.

Fl. Mar. Petr(us) Theodor(us) Valent(inus) Rust(ic(i)us) Bora-id(es) Germ(anus) Iust(inus) 4

consul 540; MVM (in Lazica and Thrace) 557-566

Full name; *CIL* XIII 10032, 9 = D 1311 (a consular diptych). Iustinus: *elsewhere*. The expansion of Mar. could be Marcellus or Marcianus, both names occurring in the imperial family, or it could be the 'Christian' name, Marianus; cf. Feissel and Kaygusuz, *Travaux et Mémoires* 9 (1985), pp. 401-4.

Son of Germanus (*PLRE* II, p. 505); Proc. *BG* III 32.14, 32.21, 39.17, 40.34, *Marcell. com. Addit.* ad a. 540, *Jord. Rom.* 376, *Agath.* II 18.8, III 17.4, 20.9, 24.7, 25.8, IV 15.1, 21.1, *Joh. Mal.* 480, *Joh. Bicl. s.a.* 568, *Men. Prot. fr.* 4. His mother was Passara (*PLRE* II). He was the elder son; Proc. *BG* III 32.14. Brother of Iustinianus 3; Proc. *BG* III 32.17, 39.17, *Evagr. HE* V 14, *Nic. Call. HE* XVIII 2. A close relative of the emperor Justinian; *Agath.* IV 21.4. Cousin of the emperor Justin II; *Joh. Bicl. s.a.* 568 (consobrinus), *Evagr. HE* V 1, *Joh. Ant. fr.* 217b, *Theoph. AM* 6063. Nephew of Boraidēs; Proc. *BG* III 32.18. See stemma 2.

A young man in 549; Proc. *BG* III 32.14 (νεανίας μὲν καὶ πρῶτον ὑπηγητής), cf. 32.10. Still described as young in 554; *Agath.* II 18.8 (νεάζων μὲν ἔτι κομιδῆ). On his consular diptych of 540 (see below), he is depicted as a beardless youth (see W. F. Volbach, *Elfenbeinarbeiten der Spätantike und des frühen Mittelalters*³ (1976), no. 33). He was probably born c. 525.

VIR INLYSTRIS, COMES DOMESTICORVM ET CONSVL ORDINARIVS a. 540: vsnl (sic) c. dom. et cons. ord.; *CIL* XIII 10032, 9 = D 1311. His title of *comes domesticorum* is not recorded elsewhere; it was certainly an honorary title. Consul; *Fasti*, Proc. *BG* III 32.15, *Marcell. com. Addit.* ad a. 540, *Jord. Rom.* 376, *Vict. Tonn. s.a.* 540, *Mar. Avent. s.a.* 540, *Chron. Pasch. s.a.* 540, *Rossi* I 1068-9, *CIL* XII 2082, 2084, 2097, 2367, *P. Michael.* 45. See also Bagnall and others, *Consuls*, pp. 614-15.

In 540 he accompanied his father to Antioch to oppose the Persian invasion; *Joh. Mal.* 480, *Marcell. com. Addit.* ad a. 540. Finding this impossible, they withdrew from Antioch into Cilicia; *Jord. Rom.* 376.

Early in 549 he was invited by Arsaces to join a plot against Justinian;

Proc. *BG* III 32.15-20. He was thought to be discontented because of the emperor's intervention over the will of Boraidēs and because he with his father and brother held no public office as yet; Proc. *BG* III 31.17-18, 32.10, 32.18 (the will) and *BG* III 32.17 (ἐν ιδιώτου μοίρα καθημένους τὸν πάντα αἰῶνα). He refused to join the plot and informed his father about it; Proc. *BG* III 32.21-2. Following his father's instructions he first made contact with Arsaces' colleague, Chanaranges, feigning interest, and then arranged an interview between Germanus and Chanaranges, which he also attended, and which Leontius 5, an agent of Marcellus 3, secretly overheard by arrangement; Proc. *BG* III 32.27-36. Subsequently Iustinus and Germanus were accused of sharing in the plot when the matter was examined in a consistory, but they were cleared by the testimony of Marcellus, Constantianus 2 and Buzes; Proc. *BG* III 32.44-6.

In 550 Iustinus and his brother helped their father to raise an army in preparation for the war against the Ostrogoths in Italy; Proc. *BG* III 39.17. After their father's sudden death, Iustinus evidently remained in the east.

In 551 Iustinus was one of the commanders of an army sent by Justinian under Scholasticus against the Sclaveni; Proc. *BG* III 40.34. For his colleagues and the date, see Aratius.

In 552 Iustinus and his brother with others unnamed again commanded an army against the Sclaveni who were overrunning Illyricum; their force was too small to be effective and could only harass the enemy; Proc. *BG* IV 25.1-2 (στράτευμα... οὐ δὴ ἄλλοι τε καὶ οἱ Γερμανοῦ παῖδες ἤγοῦντο). Later in the same year they were among the commanders sent on an expedition to help the Lombards against the Gepids; Proc. *BG* IV 25.10-11 (their colleagues were Aratius, Suartuas and Amalafriidas). Apart from Amalafriidas none of them advanced further than Ulpiana in Illyricum (see Aratius); Proc. *BG* IV 25.13.

In 554, by now experienced in war (τὰ δὲ πολέμια ἤδη πεπαιδευμένος), he was in Lazica with the commanders Bessas (*PLRE* II), Martinus 2 and Buzes; *Agath.* II 18.8. He and Bessas were encamped on the plain of Chytropolia near Telephis where Martinus hastened to join them after his defeat at Telephis by the Persians; the commanders decided to make a stand there and prevent further progress by the enemy; *Agath.* II 20.4-6. However they were caught unprepared and all fled to Nesus (cf. Martinus); *Agath.* II 21.5-11.

In 555, following the dismissal of Bessas, Iustinus was second in command in Lazica to Martinus; *Agath.* III 2.8 (cited under Martinus). He and Buzes were summoned by Martinus and Rusticus 4 to a conference with Gubazes, the king of the Lazi; they understood that

they would be planning an attack on the fort of Onoguris, held by the Persians, and were ignorant of the intended murder of Gubazes; Agath. III 3.8. The murder shocked them but they did not protest since they assumed that Justinian had ordered it; Agath. III 4.7. With the others Iustinus now prepared to attack Onoguris; in the plain near Archaeopolis his bodyguards captured a Persian messenger who revealed that Persian reinforcements were near; Agath. III 6.1-2. For the attack on Onoguris and the flight of the Romans, cf. Martinus.

In spring 556 Iustinus was in Nesus with Martinus; Agath. III 15.1, 17.4. With the other commanders he left Nesus in great haste to occupy Phasis before the Persians could take it; in Phasis he and his men were entrusted with the defence of the highest point on the seaward side; Agath. III 20.8-9. For the role of Iustinus in the siege of Phasis and the subsequent Roman victory, see Martinus.

After this, Iustinus and Buzes remained to guard Nesus while a campaign against the Misimiani was launched (cf. Martinus); Agath. IV 13.2. From here during the summer he sent one of his officers, Elminzur, with two thousand cavalry against Rhodopolis; Agath. IV 15.1.

MVM PER ARMENIAM a. 557-(?): he succeeded Martinus 2 as MVM *per Armeniam*; Agath. IV 21.1 (ὁ δὲ - sc. Justinian - 'λουστίνον τὸν Γερμανοῦ καθίστησιν ἀντ' αὐτοῦ - sc. Martinus - στρατηγὸν αὐτοκράτορα τῶν τε κατὰ τὴν Κολχίδα χώραν καὶ τῶν ἐν Ἀρμενίᾳ ταγματῶν). He was summoned to Constantinople to be given the command during a period of calm in the east and then sent back to Lazica; Agath. IV 21.4 (ἄπασαν τε αὐτῶ παραδίδωσι τὴν ἀρχὴν καὶ αὐθις ἐς Κόλχους ἐκπέμπει τοῖς ἐφεξῆς ἀρμοσόμενον). This was after the campaigning season of 556 (cf. Agath. IV 21.1 μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα) and the winter of 556-557 (cf. Agath. IV 15.4); presumably in spring or summer 557; cf. Stein, *Bas-Emp.* II 516, n. 1. Ὁ στρατηγός (in 557); Agath. IV 23.1 ('λουστίνου ἐπὶ πᾶσι στρατηγοῦ κατασπάντος), Men. Prot. fr. 4. In 557 he was τῶν ἐν Λαζικῇ καταλόγων ἐξηγούμενος; Men. Prot. fr. 4. During 557, possibly in the autumn (cf. Stein, *Bas-Emp.* II 517, n. 2), a peace treaty between Persia and Rome ended further hostilities in Lazica; Agath. IV 30.7-10. Probably about the same time, Iustinus forwarded to Justinian a message that the Avars wished to establish relations with the Romans; he then received orders from the emperor to send the Avar embassy (under Candich) to Constantinople; Men. Prot. fr. 4. This embassy was apparently in Constantinople between Dec. 557 and February 558; Joh. Mal. 489, Theoph. AM 6050.

While Iustinus was in Lazica, he financed and supported the extortionate activities of Ioannes 68, formerly servant of one of his bodyguards, who abused his monopoly powers and his authority to

purchase supplies for the army to the great profit of himself and Iustinus; Agath. IV 21.5-22.6.

?QVAESTOR IVSTINIANVS EXERCITVS c. a. 561-565/566: ὁ στρατηγός, on the Danube, probably in 561 (cf. below); Men. Prot. fr. 9. Still there at the start of the reign of Justin II; Evagr. HE V 1, Nic. Call. HE XVII 34. He was famous for preventing the Avars from crossing the Danube to raid Roman territory; Agath. IV 22.7 (μέγιστον ἤρατο κλέος ἀμφὶ τὸν Ἰστρον ποταμὸν τὰς τῶν βαρβάρων ἐπιδρομὰς ἀνακόπτων), Evagr. HE V 1 (ἀμφὶ τὸν Ἰστρον τὰς διατριβὰς ποιούμενος καὶ τὰς τῶν Ἀβάρων διαβάσεις ἀνείργων), Nic. Call. HE XVII 34 (from Evagrius). He reported to Justinian that Avar ambassadors had come seeking land within the Roman frontier on which to settle; when Justinian offered them part of Pannonia Secunda and they rejected it, insisting on Scythia, Iustinus nevertheless sent them on to Constantinople; he also advised the emperor to detain the envoys as long as possible, since the Avars' plan, betrayed to him by one of their number (Counimon), was to cross the Danube under a cloak of friendship and then to launch an all-out attack, but until the envoys returned they would not cross the river; while the envoys were detained in Constantinople, Iustinus strengthened the defences on the Danube and gave his *maior domus* Bonus 4 special responsibilities for guarding the frontier; later, the envoys were allowed to return home with a quantity of arms which they had purchased, but Iustinus, on orders from Justinian, met them and took the arms away from them; Men. Prot. fr. 9. For the date, probably 561, cf. Stein, *Bas-Emp.* II 544, n. 1-2.

He was recalled to Constantinople by Justin II soon after the latter became emperor, as if to fulfil the understanding between them that whichever became emperor would give to the other second place in the empire (ὥστε τὸν ἐς τὴν βασιλείαν παριόντα τὴν δευτέραν χώραν θάτερω δοῦναι, ἴν' ἐκ τῶν δευτερείων τῆς βασιλείας τὰ πρωτεῖα τῶν ἄλλων ἀποφέροίτο); Evagr. HE V 1, Nic. Call. HE XVII 34 (from Evagrius). The emperor at first greeted him warmly, but then began to make accusations against him and placed him under house-arrest, stripping him of his bodyguard; he then banished him to Alexandria, possibly as *dux et augustalis* (see below); there he was murdered in his bed one night and his head conveyed to the emperor and empress; Evagr. HE V 2, Nic. Call. HE XVII 34. Said to have been murdered in Alexandria 'factione Sophiae Augustae'; Joh. Bicl. s.a. 568. His murder is also recorded by Agath. IV 22.7-9 (supposedly divine vengeance for his crimes in Lazica), Joh. Ant. fr. 217b = *Exc. de ins.*, fr. 105, Theoph. AM 6063, Cedr. I 684. According to John of Antioch and Theophanes he was executed for plotting against the emperor; this was presumably the reason given publicly, but the

tone of Evagrius and the respective careers of the two men perhaps suggest that Iustinus was too great a rival to the imperial throne for Justin and Sophia to allow him to live.

?DVX ET AVGVSTALIS (ALEXANDRIAE) a. 566: according to Theophanes, AM 6063, the murder took place in 571 when Iustinus held the post of *augustalius* at Alexandria. The title may be an error and the date is certainly so. Evagrius gives no support to the view that Iustinus was sent to Alexandria to hold office. The date of his exile and murder appears from both Evagrius and John of Biclarum to have shortly preceded the trial and deaths of Aetherius 2 and Addaeus (cf. Evagr. *HE* v 3 (οὐ μετ' οὐ πολὺ δὲ) and Joh. Bicl. s.a. 568). They were executed on October 3, 566 (cf. Eustrat., *V. Eutyech.*, in *PG* 86, 2361). The death of Justinus has therefore been misplaced in Theophanes.

Procopius alludes to him in his younger days as energetic and keen to be involved in activities (δραστήριος δὲ καὶ ἐς τὰς πράξεις ὀξύτερος); Proc. *BG* iii 32.14. By 557 he was very well known (ὀνομαστότατον ἐν τῷ τότε εἶναι δοκοῦντα); Agath. iv 21.4. His reputation stood high at the end of Justinian's reign for his military qualities and his success with the Avars (cf. above); Evagr. *HE* v 1, Nic. Call. *HE* xvii 34. His end is described by Evagrius as a poor reward for his loyalty and services to the state (ταύτην ἀμοιβὴν τῆς ἐς τὸ πολίτευμα εὐνοίας καὶ τῶν ἐς τοὺς πολέμους ἀνδραγαθημάτων κομισάμενος); Evagr. *HE* v 2.

Iustinus 5

Augustus 565-578

Of Thracian origin; Theoph. AM 6058, Cedr. i 680, Mich. Syr. x 1, *Chron.* 1234, lxiv, Bar Hebr., *Chron.*, p. 76, cf. Zon. xiv 10 (an Illyrian). Son of Dulcidius; Vict. Tonn. s.a. 567. His mother was Vigilantia (*PLRE* II), sister of the emperor Justinian; Vict. Tonn. s.a. 567, Coripp. *Iust.*, praef. 21, Joh. Eph. *HE* iii 1.3, Joh. Eph. *V. SS. Or.* 48, Mich. Syr. x 1, *Chron.* 1234, lxiii, lxiv, Bar Hebr., *Chron.*, p. 76. Nephew of Justinian; Joh. Bicl. s.a. 567, Mar. Avent. s.a. 566, Joh. Epiph. fr. 2, Men. Prot. fr. 15, Coripp. *Iust.* i 48, 146, Evagr. *HE* v 1, Theoph. Sim. iii 9.3, Nic. Call. *HE* xvii 33, Theoph. AM 6051, 6055, 6057, 6058, Cedr. i 678, 680, Zon. xiv 9, *Patr. Const.* iii 23. He was already of mature years when he became emperor in 565; Coripp. *Iust.* i 53 (praestantior aetas). Brother of Marcellus 5 and of Praiecta. Cousin of Iustinus 4.

His wife was Sophia; Vict. Tonn. s.a. 567, Coripp. *Iust.*, praef. 23, *Iust.* 165, *Anth. Gr.* ix 779, Evagr. *HE* v 2, Ven. Fort. *App. Carm.* ii 51-2.91-2, Theoph. AM 6058, 6061, Cedr. i 680, 683, Zon. xiv 10, *Patr. Const.* ii 62, iii 23, Mich. Syr. x 1, *Chron.* 1234, lxiv, Bar Hebr., *Chron.*, p. 76. Father of Iustus 3; Theoph. AM 6061. He also had a daughter, Arabia; *V. Sym.*

Iun. 207, Coripp. *Iust.* ii 72ff., *Enarr. Brev. Chron.* 35 (*Patr. Const.* i 38) (= Suid. M 1065), *Patr. Const.* ii 62, 184, iii 37. Father-in-law of Baduarius 2. See stemma 1.

HONORARY CONSVL a. 552-553 (-565): ex consule et cura palatii (see below), on Jan. 28, 552, Vigilius, *Ep.* i (ed. Schwarz); gloriosissimus consularis, on May 25, 553, *ACOec.* iv i, p. 185.

CVRA PALATII a. 552-565: in office a. 552 Jan. 28, Vigilius, *Ep.* i (cited above); a. 559, Theoph. AM 6051, Cedr. i 678; a. 562 May, Joh. Mal. 491 (ὁ ἐνδοξότατος κουροπαλάτης); a. 562, Eustrat. *V. Eutyech.* 66 (*PG* 86.2349); a. 563 April, Theoph. AM 6055; a. 565 (up to his accession, on Nov. 14), Evagr. *HE* v 1 (τὴν δὲ φυλακὴν τῆς αὐλῆς ἐμπειπιστευμένος, ὃν κουροπαλάτην ἡ Ῥωμαίων λέγει φωνή), Nic. Call. *HE* xvii 33 (based on Evagrius), Theoph. AM 6057, 6061, Cedr. i 680, Zon. xiv 9. Formerly *cura palatii*; Coripp. *Iust.* i 135-7 (cum magni regeres divina palatia patris, par extans curis, solo diademate dispar, ordine pro rerum vocitatus cura palati). Styled ἀποκουροπαλάτης; *Patr. Const.* ii 62, 65, iii 23, 32, 35.

He was sent with other *gloriosi iudices* (see Belisarius, p. 217) to Chalcedon on Jan. 28, 552, to try to persuade pope Vigilius to return to Constantinople; Vigilius, *Ep.* i. He was summoned in May 553 with other notables (see Belisarius, p. 218) to see Vigilius; *ACOec.* iv i, p. 185. In 559 he was sent by Justinian to escort the Hun invaders (see Zabergan) back safely across the Danube; Theoph. AM 6051, Cedr. i 678. In May 562 he and Marinus 2 were sent to suppress faction violence in Constantinople; Joh. Mal. 491. In April 563 he was again sent to suppress fighting between the factions; Theoph. AM 6055.

Described by Corippus in the panegyric on his accession as virtually co-ruler in the later years of Justinian; Coripp. *Iust.* i 137-42 (dispositio nam Caesar eras: cum sceptrā teneret fortis adhuc senior, regni tu summa regebas consilio moderata gravi. Nil ille peregit te sine, magnanimus seu fortia bella moveret foedera seu pacis cum victis victor iniret). His accession was supposedly foretold by the patriarch Euty chius in 562, and also by St Symeon the Younger; Eustrat. *V. Eutyech.* 66 (*PG* 86.2.2349), *V. Sym. Iun.* 203.

AVGVSTVS a. 565-578: he succeeded Justinian in 565 and was crowned on the same day as his uncle died, Nov. 14; Joh. Eph. *HE* iii 5.13, *Chron. Pasch.* s.a. 566, Theoph. AM 6058, Bar Hebr., *Chron.*, p. 76 (in November), cf. Mich. Syr. x 1 (in October), *Exc. Sang.* (*MGH, AA* ix, 335) (Dec. 22, wrongly). Successor of Justinian; Joh. Bicl. s.a. 567, Mar. Avent. s.a. 566, Vict. Tonn. s.a. 567, Joh. Epiph. fr. 2, Evagr. *HE* v 1, *V. Sym. Iun.* 206, Theoph. Sim. iii 9.3, Nic. Call. *HE* xvii 33, Cedr. i 680, Zon. xiv 9, *Chron.* 1234, lxiii, *Hist. Nest.* ii 33, Euty chius, *Annales* (*PG* 111,

col. 1077). His accession and coronation are described in Coripp. *Iust.* I-III.

On Dec. 7, 574, he adopted Tiberius and proclaimed him Caesar, when his own capacity to rule was impaired by mental illness; Joh. Eph. *HE* III 3.2-5, 5.13, Theoph. Sim. III 11.3-4, *Chron. Iac. Edess.*, p. 329 = p. 257, Elias, *Op. Chron.* I, p. 123 = p. 59 (all Dec. 7), *Chron. Pasch.* s.a. 574 (wrongly Sept. 7), Joh. Epiph. fr. 5, Evagr. *HE* V 11, 13, Nic. Call. *HE* XVII 39, 40, Joh. Bicl. s.a. 574, Theoph. AM 6065, 6066, 6067, Cedr. I 685, Zon. XIV 10, Mich. Syr. X 1, *Chron.* 1234, lxx-lxxi, Bar Hebr., *Chron.*, p. 79, *V. Sym. Iun.* 208, *Hist. Nest.* II 33.

Four years later, on Sept. 26, 578, he proclaimed Tiberius Augustus and shortly afterwards, on October 4 or 5, he died; Joh. Eph. *HE* III 3.6 (Oct. 4), 5.13 (he died nine days after Tiberius became Augustus), Elias, *loc. cit.* (Oct. 4), *Chron. Pasch.* s.a. 578 (Sept. 26, the coronation of Tiberius), Evagr. *HE* V 23, Nic. Call. *HE* XVII 40, Theoph. Sim. III 16.3-5, Theoph. AM 6070, Cedr. I 685-6, Zon. XIV 10, *V. Sym. Iun.* 211, *Hist. Nest.* II 33, *Chron.* 1234, lxii, Bar Hebr., *Chron.*, p. 80. Said to have reigned for twelve years, ten and a half months, and with Tiberius for four years, less one month, Evagr. *HE* V 23 (= Nic. Call. *HE* XVII 40); for thirteen years, less forty days (giving October 5 for his death), Joh. Eph. *HE* III 5.13; for thirteen years, Cedr. I 680, Zon. XIV 10, Eutychius, *annales* (PG 111, col. 1077), Bar Hebr., *Chron.*, p. 76. He was buried in the heroum of Justinian; Cedr. I 685-6, and see Grierson, *Tombs and Obits*, p. 47.

Iustinus 6 vir inlustris; comes (East) 565/578

Sent by the emperor Justin with a fragment of the True Cross for the nunnery of Radegundis at Poitiers; Baudonivia, *V. S. Radeg.* 16 (per fidelem suum virum inlustrem Iustinum comitem).

Iustinus 7 notarius (at Grado) 571/586

Iustinus notarius votum solvit; *AE* 1975, 416r on a mosaic pavement in the cathedral at Grado, from the time of bishop Elias (a. 571/586). He was perhaps an ecclesiastical official.

Iustinus 8 vir gloriosus, praetor Siciliae 590-592

An old acquaintance of Gregory who expressed delight when he became praetor Siciliae; Greg. *Ep.* I 2 (dudum vos, et nullius dignitatis occupationibus implicatos, multum dilexi... et cum vos venisse ad administrandam praeturam Siciliae audivi, valde gavisus sum).

PRÆTOR SICILIAE a. 590 Sept.-592 July 5; in office a. 590 Sept., Greg. *Ep.* I 2 (addressed 'Iustino praetori Siciliae'; the letter concerns the corn

supply of Rome from Sicily, cf. Ciconatus, and also alludes to harassment by Iustinus of the bishops and the church in Sicily); a. 592 July 5, *Ep.* II 30 (addressed 'Iustino praetori'; Gregory commended bishop Leo of Catania to him). His quarrel with Sicilian bishops still continued in 591; Greg. *Ep.* I 70 (a. 591 Aug.; ea causa, quae cum viro magnifico Iustino ex praetore dicitur, eorum iter (to Rome) interim praepedivit; the words *ex praetore* are certainly wrong as he was in office until 592). He is styled 'gloria vestra', *Ep.* I 2, II 30; and is to be identified with the unnamed 'vir gloriosus praetor' mentioned in *Ep.* I 39a (a. 591 March 16).

By May 593 he had been succeeded by Libertinus; alleged by Gregory to have accepted bribes not to punish Nasas, a Jew thought to have Christian slaves; Greg. *Ep.* III 37.

Iustinus 9 ?consiliarius of the exarch of Ravenna 599

In 599 he gave advice to Callinicus to which favoured the schismatics over the Catholic church, to Gregory's annoyance; Greg. *Ep.* IX 154 (a. 599 May; to Callinicus; Iustinus is alluded to as 'domnus Iustinus', 'praedictus vir eloquentissimus' and 'vestrorum consiliorum particeps'; Gregory suggested his dismissal from Callinicus' service - a vestris obsequiis recedat). He was evidently one of the exarch's close advisers, perhaps his *consiliarius*.

Iustinus 10 MVM (in Thrace) ?VI
+ Κ(ύρι)ε βοήθισον/Εἰουστίν(ω)/στρατηλάτ(η); Beshevliev, *Spätgr. u. spätlat. Inschr. Bulg.*, n. 173 (Rusokastro, near Burgas; north-west of Deultum in Haemimontus).

Iustinus 11 decurio M VI/M VII
'Ιουστίνου δεκουρίωνος; Zacos 400 (seal; obv.: cruciform monogram (155) of 'Ιουστίνου; rev.: + ΔΕ/[K]OVP/IΩNO/[C]).

Iustinus 12 MVM M VI/M VII
'Ιουστίνου στρατηλάτου; Zacos 401 = Dumbarton Oaks seal 55.1.108 (seal; obv.: cruciform monogram (155) of 'Ιουστίνου; rev.: cruciform monogram (323) of στρατηλάτου). Three similar seals occur in Zacos' series, one probably = Dumbarton Oaks seal 55.1.109.

Iustinus 13 son of Maurice L VI/E VII
Son of the emperor Maurice; with his father he fled from Phocas on Nov. 22, 602, and was captured and killed at Chalcedon on Nov. 27; *Chron. Pasch.* s.a. 602, and cf. Mauricius 4.

Iustinus 14 patricius (et ?MVM per Armeniam) 610/611

At Ancyra, in late 610/early 611, Iustinus and his Armenians suddenly turned against Comentiolus 2 (brother of Phocas) and assassinated him; *V. Theod. Syc.* 152 (Comentiolus was killed ὑπὸ Ἰουστίνου πατρικίου τῶν Ἀρμενίων ἐξαίφνης αὐτῷ ἐπισυστρέψαντος αὐτοῦς). The phrase πατρικίος τῶν Ἀρμενίων is not technical but a loose, popular expression denoting a *patricius* who commanded Armenian troops; the title *patricius* implies that he was a *magister militum* (actual or honorific), so that Iustinus was possibly MVM *per Armeniam*, or perhaps a *magister militum (vacans)* commanding Armenian troops in the eastern army (which was under Comentiolus). He and his men had presumably accompanied Comentiolus from the east to Ancyra to oppose Heraclius but then changed sides to support Heraclius.

Iustinus 15 ex praefectis VII

Ἰουστίνου ἀπὸ ἐπάρχων; Zacos 652 = Dumbarton Oaks seal 55.1.352 (seal; obv.: eagle, with cruciform monogram of Θεοτόκε βοήθει; rev.: +ΙΣ/CTINOV/ΑΠΟΕΠΑ/ΡΧΩΝ). Cf. also Zacos 2071 (M/L VII; Θεοτόκε βοήθει τῷ δούλῳ σου Ἰουστίνῳ ἀπὸ ἐπάρχων).

Iustus 1 sextus scholarius (of the PPO Italiae) 534-535

He served in the *officium* of the PPO Italiae and reached the position of *sextus scholarius* in 534; Cass. *Var.* xi 26 (title: de sexto scholario) Iustus igitur locum sexti scholaris se noverit consecutum inventurus militiae praemium, cum se actibus studuerit sociare fidelibus. For the *sextus scholarius* (sixth in rank of the *exceptores promoti*), see Stein, *Untersuchungen*, pp. 33-4.

Iustus 2 ?MVM (vacans) 542-544

Cousin of the emperor Justinian; Proc. *BP* I 24.53, II 20.20, 24.15, 28.1. Brother of Boraidēs; Proc. *BP* I 24.53. He was therefore a nephew of Justin I and brother of Germanus (*PLRE* II).

In 532 on the last day of the Nika revolt (Jan. 18) he and Boraidēs seized Hypatius (*PLRE* II) in the hippodrome and delivered him and Pompeius (*PLRE* II) to Justinian; Proc. *BP* I 24.53.

?MVM (VACANS) a. 542-544: στρατηγός, in 544; Proc. *BP* II 28.1. Probably *magister militum vacans* during the eastern campaigns from 542 to 544 (cf. below).

In 542 Iustus, Buzes and others sought refuge in Hierapolis when Chosroes invaded; they wrote inviting Belisarius to join them there; when he preferred to go to Europum, the others joined him, leaving

Iustus behind in Hierapolis with a small force to keep guard; Proc. *BP* II 20.21-8.

In 543 Iustus was again one of the Roman commanders (οἱ Ῥωμαίων ἄρχοντες) on the eastern frontier; he accompanied Peranius and others on a raid into Taraunitis, separately from the main army under Martinus 2; they took some plunder and then returned to Roman territory; Proc. *BP* II 24.15-16, 24.20, 25.35. Cf. Peranius for further details. This year's campaign was described in a lost section of Zacharias, *HE*; cf. Zach. *HE* x 10 (index) ('de Martino et Iusto qui Armeniam Persarum invaserunt et reversi sunt').

In 544 he fell ill and died; his successor was Marcellus 5 (nephew of Iustus and of the emperor); Proc. *BP* II 28.1-2.

Iustus 3 son of Justin II and Sophia M VI

Son of Iustinus 5 (the future emperor Justin II) and Sophia, he died before his father became emperor and was buried in the chapel of the Archangel in the palace of Sophianae; Theoph. AM 6061.

IVSTVS 4 v.c. (in Egypt); oeconomus of a church at Arsinoe VI

Mentioned in a papyrus from Arsinoe, possibly sixth-century in date; *Stud. Pal.* III 164 = xx 198, line 2 παρὰ σοῦ Ἰούστου τοῦ λαμπροτάτου οἰκονόμου τῆς ἁγίας ἐκκλησίας τοῦ Ἁγίου Θεοδώρου. Cf. also *Stud. Pal.* VIII 1152 = *BGU* II 694, provenance unknown, of Arab date, recording a Iustus λαμπρ(ότατος) οἰκονομος (and also a pagarch Theodorus).

IVSTVS 5 comes (in Egypt) VI

Son of Eudaemon; recorded in a sixth-century papyrus from Oxyrhynchus as receiving payments for (?irrigation-) machines (ὑπὲρ τῆς μηχανῆς); *P. Oxy.* 2195, lines 98 (τῷ κόμε(τι) Ἰούστῳ Εὐδαίμωνος) and 102 (τῷ αὐτῷ κόμε(τι) Ἰούστῳ Εὐδαίμωνος).

Iustus 6 vir gloriosissimus (in Egypt) VI

Recorded with his brothers as contributing money for fuel for the public baths; *P. Oxy.* 2040, line 11 (δ(ιὰ) τοῦ ἐνδοξ(οτάτου) Ἰούστου καὶ τῶν αὐτ(οῦ) ἀδελφ(ῶν)). Subsequently his heirs are mentioned in a document recording payments of barley (δ(ιὰ) κλ(ηρονόμων) Ἰούστου ἐνδοξ(ο)τ(άτου)); *P. Oxy.* 2020, line 18. Presumably a landowner in the Oxyrhynchite nome.

Iustus 7 ?v.c. (in Egypt) VI

Λαμπρ(ότατος); in a document recording payments of barley he is recorded as making a payment for the heirs of one Ioannes, son of ?Nonnus; *P. Oxy.* 2020, line 40.

Iustus 8

scholarius M VI/M VII

'Ιούστου σχολαρίου; Zacos 355 (seal; obv.: cruciform monogram (156) of 'Ιούστου; rev.: cruciform monogram (331) of σχολαρίου).

IVSTVS 9 v.c. (in Egypt); chartularius of the Apion estates 610

'Ιουῆτος [ὁ] λαμπροτάτος χαρτ[ου]λά[ρ]ιος, sc. τοῦ ἐνδόξου ὑμῶν οἴκου (i.e. of the Apion family); son of Theodorus; *P. Oxy.* 2420, lines 7-8, 20, 23 (dated a. 610).

Iustus 10

vir magnificus (in Egypt); dioecetes of the estates of Theodosius ?VII

Mentioned in a papyrus from the Fayum; *BGU* 1 323, lines 4-5 'Ιούστου τοῦ μεγαλο(πρεπεστάτου) διοικητοῦ οὐσίας Θεοδοσίου τοῦ τῆς ἐνδόξου μνήμης. The provenance is unknown, the date is evidently late empire, and may be Arab. Possibly the estate owner is identical with Theodosius 42, who was still alive in the early seventh century. See also Fl. Papnuthius.

Iutungun

Moorish chief 546/547

One of the Moorish 'duces' with Carcasan and Antalas in winter 546/547; Coripp. *Ioh.* iv 642 (Iutungun dirus). Killed in battle during this winter by Solumuth; *Ioh.* v 317.

Iuvenalis

son of Georgius L VI

BCH 1877, p. 328 Sis (Cilicia) (dated 596). See Georgius 12.

IVVENTINVS army commander at Chalcis (?dux Syriae) 572

In autumn 572 he commanded the regiments stationed at (?Syrian) Chalcis and accompanied Marcianus 7 on the campaign against Persia; he was sent with Theodorus 32 and Sergius 7 with three thousand men to plunder Arzanene and they returned laden with spoil; *Joh. Epiph. fr.* 3 ('Ιουβεντίνον τε, τῶν ἐν Χαλκίδι ταγμάτων ἡγούμενον), *Theoph. Sim.* III 10.3. For troops stationed at Chalcis, see *Proc. BP* II 12.1 (in 540) and *Theoph. Sim.* v 11.4 (in 591), and cf. *Marinus* 5. Iuventinus was possibly *dux Syriae*.

'Iyād ibn Ghanm: see Iad.

